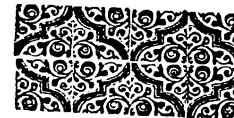


Lord THE *Brundell*
ANNALES OF
CORNELIVS *A2*
TACITVS. *12*

THE
DESCRIPTION
OF
GERMANIE.



LONDON,
Printed by *J. L.* for *Richard Whitaker*, and are to be
sold at the signe of the Kings Armes in *Pauls*
Church-yard. 1640.

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TO
THE RIGHT HO-
NOVRABLE, ROBERT
EARLE OF ESSEX AND EVVE,
Earle Marshall of England, Viscount Hereford
and Bouchier, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Bouchier
and Lovaine, Knight of the most noble Order of the
Garter, Master of the Queens Majesties horse, and
one of her Majesties most honourable
Privie Counsell.

TH E worthinesse of this Authour well known un-
to your Honour, putteth me in some hope of par-
don for my presumption; in presenting unto your
Honours view, and craving a favourable acceptance
of my bold unskilfulnesse. For if Historie be the
treasure of times past, and as well a guide, as image
of mans present estate, a true and lively patterne of things to come,
and as some terme it, the work-mistresse of experience, which is the
mother of prudence; Tacitus may by good right challenge the first
place among the best. In judgement there is none sounder, for instru-
ction of life, for all times, to those which oft reade him judiciously,
nothing yeelding to the best Philosophers: no word not loaden with
matter, and as himselfe speaketh of Galba, he useth Imperitoria brevi-
tate: which although it breed difficultie, yet carrieth great gravitie. I
present him therefore to your Honours favourable protection in re-
gard of himselfe; but yet no otherwise then as a glasse, representing
in

in lively colours of prowesse, magnanimitie and counsell; not onely worthy personages of ages past and gone, but also your L. owne honourable vertues, whereof the World is both witnesse and judge. If your L. vouchsafe to receive him (though greatly darkened of that he first was, and very much dimmed in respect of the Historie alreadie in our tongue) into any degree of favour, I little doubt but others will both look on him, and the better like and allow him: for here below we receive either light or darknesse from above. *Vespasians* example wrought more then a law: for *obsequium in Principes*, and *amulandi amor*, to speak with *Tacitus*, maketh that to be in-greatest request, which perhaps in it selfe deserveth least. What-

soever my unskilfull paines hath been, my zeale and devo-
tion to your Honour I present with it; unto whom

I wish all good hap and felicity, with the
accomplishment of vertues
and honourable
desires.

Your Honours most humbly devoted,

RICHARD GREENWEY.



TO THE READER.

THat which most men alleadge, courteous Reader, as a cause of publishing unto the World their commendable endeavours; as commandement of superiours, intreatie of friends, or such like; causes yeelding some excuse, if things well done by them needed any, that can I no way pretend: though no man hath juster cause to invent somewhat to excuse that, which (well knowing and confessing my owne insufficiency) I should by no inducements have beene drawne unto. For I wanted not judgement to know, that to performe this I undertooke as I ought, was a matter beyond the compasse of my skill: yet nevertheless my will overcoming my owne judgement and reason in undertaking, I have ventured my credit to the wide sea of common opinion, and dangerous censure; and knowing the best, have followed the worst. A fault perhaps pardonlesse in the rigoroust censure, and which bred in my selfe a long time distrust and feare: yet at last, encouraged by hope to finde some milder Iudges for my boldnesse, I ventured this labour, and performed it thus meanely as thou seest: trusting the courteous Reader, if in ought I have pleased him, will affoord me his good word for my good will, and in that I have done amisse pardon, and a favourable construction for my paines. And although in reason it seemeth, I should most of all feare the censure of the learned (if any such vouchsafe to reade this Translation) in regard they best can, and with quickest insight pierce into my want of skill, judgement, and understanding; yet in
those

those is my greatest hope, because they be learned. Cause sufficient to feare no captious or carping constructions; as a property ill be-
seeming their good qualitie and education. I was well assured that he
who best might would take no further paines in this kinde: nor bearing
of any other which would, I thought some could be contented
to have it rather ill done, then not at all. Friend-
ly Reader, I crave pardon for my faults,
and desire thou wouldest favour-
ably beare with my
oversights.

Farewell.



THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

*The Proeme of Tacitus, containing the forme of government untill
Augustus time: with the subject of this Work.*



HE Citie of Rome was in the beginning governed by Kings. Libertie and the Consulship *L. Brutus* brought it. The Dictators were chosen but for a time: the *Decemviri* passed not two yeers: neither had the Consulary authoritie of the Tribunes of the souldiers any long continuance: nor *Cinna*, nor *Sillaes* dominion: *Pompey* and *Crassus* quickly yeelded to *Cæsars* forces: *Lepidus* and *Antony* to *Augustus*; who entitling himself by the name of Prince, brought under his obedience the whole Ro-
mane state, wearied and weakened with civill disorders. But as well the prosperous, as unprosperous successes of the ancient Common-wealth, excellent Writers have recorded: neither wanted their worthy and singular wits, to deliver *Augustus* exploits, untill they were by the overfarming of flatterers utterly discouraged. *Tiberius*, *Caius*, *Claudius* and *Neroes* actions, they yet living, and flourishing, were falsly set down, for feare; and after their death, through fresh harred, as corruptly as before. Whereupon I intend to deliver some few things done in *Augustus* latter times: then *Neroes* reign, and other occurrences as they fell out, without passion or partialitie, as being free from motives of both.

I. *The means by which Augustus came to the Empire:
and whom he chose to succeed.*

AFTER that *Brutus* and *Cassius* were slain, and no armes now publicly born; *Pompey* defeated in Sicilie; *Lepidus* disarmed; *Antonie* killed; and no chief leader of *Julius Cæsars* faction left, but onely *Augustus*: he would no longer be called *Triumvir*, but in shew contented with the dignity of a Tribune to defend the people, bearing himself as Consul: after he had wound into the favour of the souldier by gifts, of the people by provision of sustenance; and of all in generall with the sweetnesse of ease and repose; by little and little taking upon him, he drew to himself the affaires of Senate; the dutie of magistrates and laws, without contradiction of any: the stoutest by warre or proscriptions already spent, and the rest of the nobilitie, by how much the more serviceable, by so much the more bettered in wealth, and advanced in honours: seeing their preferment to grow by new government, did rather choose the present estate with securitie, then strive to recover their old with danger. That form

of government the Provinces disliked not, as mistrusting the Senates and peoples regiment by reason of noble mens factions; coverousnesse of magistrates: the laws affording no securitie, being swayed hither and thither by might, ambition, and corruption. Besides this, *Augustus* labouring by some stay to settle the soveraigntie, advanced *Claudius Marcellus* his sisters sonne, being very young, to the pontificall dignitie and *Ædilis*hip: and *M. Agrippa* meanelly descended, but in martiall exploits warlike, and a companion in his victories, to be twice Consul together; and after *Marcellus* death, chose him to be his sonne in law. And his own house not failing, he bestowed the title of Emperour upon *Tiberius Nero* and *Claudius Drusus* his wives children; and adopted *Caius* and *Lucius Agrippæ* children: and making shew to the contrary, yet his earnest desire was, they should be called Princes of youth, and chosen Consul elect, before they had cast off their pretext or infants garments. But when *Agrippa* was dead, and *Lucius* going into Spain to take charge of the armie, and *Caius* returning wounded out of Armenia, by hastie fate or treachery of their stepmother *Livia*: *Drusus* also dead long before, onely *Nero* was left of all *Augustus* sonnes in law. Unto him all men now crowched and fawned; being received the adopted sonne of *Augustus*; copartner of the Empire; associate of the Tribunitian dignitie; shewn to the campe as successeur; not as before, by secret devises and practises of his mother, but openly perswading the Emperour thereto. For she had so enthralled the silly old man, that *Agrippa Posthumus* his onely nephew, he had confined in the Island *Planasia*: indeed, badly trained up in liberall Sciences, and sottishly bragging of his strength and activitie of body; but yet never detected of any notorious vice. He gave *Germanicus* son unto *Drusus*, charge over eight legions, by the river of Rhene; and commanded *Tiberius* (albeit he had a sonne of his own) to adopt him, the better to establish the succession with moe stayes then one. Warres there were none at that time, but only against the Germans, not so much in regard of enlarging the Empire; hope of bootie or reward, as to blot out the dishonour received, when he lost his army with *Quinctilius Varro*. All was quiet in the Citie, the old names of the magistrates unchanged; the young men born after the victory of *Actium*, and the greatest part of the old, during the civill wars: how many were there, which had seene the ancient forme of government of the free Common-wealth? Thus then the state of the citie turned up-side down, there was no signe of the old laudable customes to be seene; but contrary, equalitie taken away, every man endeavoured to obey the Prince; misdoubting nothing, whilest *Augustus*, yet strong in body, was able to defend himself, his house, and peace. But when he grew old and feeble with sicknesse, and that the end of his government, and hope of a new was not farre off: some few, but in vain, discourt of the commodities of libertie: some feared warre, some desired it: but the greatest part used lavish speeches, and spread rumours against the next conjectured successeur. *Agrippa* they counted by nature cruell, and through the indignitie of his late disgrace easily kindled; young, and raw in state matters, unable for so great a charge. Indeed, *Tiberius* was of convenient and ripe yeers, expert in feates of warre, but possesst with the hereditary pride of the *Claudian* Family: yea many apparant sparkles of crueltie did burst out in him, howsoever he went about to suppress them. Besides, he was brought up in an house, which knew how to reigne: the Consulship was more then once cast upon him with triumphes. During the time that he was at Rhodes (cloking his exile under colour of retiring himself) he dreamt of nothing but revenge, dissimulation, and secret means of licentious lusts: withall, he had his mother at hand, intolerable in all imperfections incident to the sexe: and thereby they were to obey a woman, and two young men, which would in the meane space oppresse, and in time rent in pieces the Common-wealth.

II. The death of Augustus: and Tiberius Nero made Emperour.

VV Hilest they thus debated the matter, *Augustus* maladie increased; and as it was suspected by some, through the lewde practise of his wife. For not many moneths before, a rumour was spread, that *Augustus* with the privitie of a few, accompanied onely with *Fabius Maximus*, had conveyed himselfe to the Island *Planasia*, to visit his nephew *Agrippa*, both weeping tenderly at their meeting, with manifest tokens of love, and a hope conceived that the young man should be recalled and restored to his Grandfathers house. *Fabius* disclosed this to *Martia* his wife, and shew to *Livia*, and *C. Nævus* to *Cæsar*: for not long after *Fabius* (doubtfull whether by his owne procurement or not) being deceased, his wife *Martia* among other her lamentations at her husbands funerall, was overheard to accuse her selfe, as the cause of her husbands death. But howsoever the matter passed, *Tiberius* had scarce put foot in Illyricum, when by letters from his mother hee was recalled in post haste: not being well knowne, when hee arrived at *Nola*, whether there were any breath yet left in *Augustus* or not. For *Livia* had beset the house with a watchfull and straight guard, sometimes giving out that *Augustus* was on the mending hand; and so having made all sure on all hand, as the time and occasion required, the same rumour which not long before gave joyfull newes of *Augustus* amendment, now published that hee was dead, and *Nero* in possession of the Empire. The first exploit this new Prince did, was the murdering of *Posthumus Agrippa*; whom a Centurion resolute and appointed for the purpose, and taking him unarmed and misdoubting nothing, yet could hardly dispatch. *Tiberius* made no words of this to the Senate, but pretended that it was done by his fathers appointment; who (as hee said) had given charge to the Centurion which had the guarding of him, to make him away incontinently after hee had intelligence of his death. Little doubt but *Augustus* complaining of the young mans untowardly behaviour, caused his exile to be confirmed by decree of the Senate: but yet he never persisted long in desiring the death of any of his; neither was it credible that to assure the estate to his wives sonne, he would seeke the bloud of his owne nephew. But very likely it is, that the young mans death was hastened by *Tiberius* feare, and *Livia*es hatred: the one as jealous, least hee should bandie for the soveraigntie; the other through the naturall hatred incident to all stepmothers. When the Centurion brought him word (as the manner of service was) that hee had fulfilled his commandement, he answered presently, that he commanded him no such matter, and that hee should answer it before the Senate. When this newes came to *Crispus Sulpicius* eares (who being inward in greatest secrets with *Tiberius*, had by letters given the Centurion order how to proceede) fearing least his owne turne should bee next, dangerous to him alike: to confesse the trueth, or to stande to a lie: advised *Livia* that she should not in any wise divulgate the secrets of her house, the counsell of friends, and services of fouldiers; and that *Tiberius* should beware of weakening the power of Soveraigntie, in referring all things to the Senate: the qualitie of absolute rule being such, that it could not stand but in one alone. Now at *Rome* the Consuls, the Senators, and Gentlemen ranne headlong to servitude; and the more nobler, the fairer shew, and the more hasty; but with a composed and settled countenance, least they should seeme over glad of the death of the last, or discontented with the new Prince, they tempered their griefe with joy, and lamentation with flatterie. The two Consuls

Sext. Pompeius, and *Sext. Apuleius* did first sweare allegiance to *Tiberus Caesar*: and after into their hands, *Seius Strabo* and *C. Turrianus*, the one Capitaine of the guard, the other chiefe Officer for provision of corne. After them the Lords of the Senate, the souldiers, and the people. For *Tiberius* would have all things begunne by the Consuls, as the manner was in the ancient free commonwealth: as though hee had not resolved with himselfe whether it were best for him to accept of the Empire or not. No, not so much as the edict to call the Lords to the Senate to counsell, but was proclaimed in vertue and authoritie of a Tribune, which dignitie he had received in *Augustus* time. The words of the Edict were not many, and delivered in modest termes. That he would onely consult what pomp and honour were fit to be done for his father: and that he would not depart from the body: which should be the onely publick charge he would undertake. Neverthelesse when *Augustus* was dead, he gave the watch-word to the guard: placed the watch: disposed of the souldiers: managed all the affaires of Court, as if hee had bene Emperour. The souldiers waited on him to the place of publike assemblies; to the Senate house; and dispatched letters to the Campe, as though he had bene in full possession of the state: irresolute in nothing, but when hee should speake in the Senate. The chiefe cause proceeded of feare; least *Germanicus* who had so many legions at commandement; such strong aides of confederates; and so exceedingly beloved of the people; should rather hold, then expect the possession of the Empire. He stood on his reputation likewise, and seemed rather to be called and chosen by the Common-wealth, then creepe in by the canvassing of a woman, and adoption of an old man. It was afterward further knowne, that he used that lingering doubtfullnesse, the better to found the affection of the Nobilitie; for observing their countenance, and wresting their words to the worst, he bare them all in minde. In the first meeting of the Senate, hee would have nothing debated, but *Augustus* last will and Testament; which being brought in by *Vestaes* Virgins, declared *Tiberius* and *Livia* to be his heires: and that *Livia* was adopted into the *Julian* family, and intituled by the name of *Augusta*. After them he substituted his nephewes, and nephewes sons: and in the third place the Peeres of the citie, which in generall he hated; yet hee did it to winne fame and glory with posteritie. His legacies were moderate, like unto other citizens, saving that hee gave as well to the common sort, as the rest of the people, foure hundred and thirtie five thousand nummos*: to every souldier of the Pretorian band a thousand*; to every one of the legionary cohorts which consisted of citizens of Rome, three hundred*.

III. The solemnities of *Augustus* funerals, and the censure which men gave of him.

After that, consultation was had concerning the pompe and solemnities of the funerals, among which the most honourable and magnificent were iudged to be these. *Gaius Asinius* thought it meete that the dead corps should bee brought through the triumphall gate; and *L. Arruntius*, that the titles of the lawes by him ordained, and the names of the nations by him vanquished, should be carried before him. *Messalla Valerius* added, that it was convenient the oath of allegiance should every yeere be renewed in *Tiberius* name. Who being demanded of *Tiberius*, whether hee had commandement from him so to advise; answered, that he did propound it of his owne free motion: and that in matters concerning the Common-wealth, he would use no mans advise but his own, although it should be with danger and

and offence: so farre had flattery spread it selfe, that that onely kinde remained unpractised. The Lords of the Senate after that cryed with one voice, that they themselves would carry the corpes to the funerall fire on their shoulders: which *Caesar* did yeeld unto with a modestie, yet favouring of arrogancy. And admonished the people by proclamation, that they would not (as in times past they had disturbed the buriall of *Julius Caesar* of famous memory) carried away with over-great affection, so desire now that *Augustus* body should rather be burnt in the place of publick assemblies, then in *Campus Martius*, a place deputed to that use. The day of the funerals being come, the souldiers were placed as it were a guard to the body, when as such as had either scene or heard their fathers report, of the fresh and late yoke of cruell servitude, unluckily attempted to be shaken off, and recover their ancient libertie: then I say, when the murdering of *Julius Caesar* the Dictator seemed unto some a wicked, and unto others a worthy deede; laughed to see that now an old Prince which had reigned so many yeeres, and provided heires to succeed him in might and wealth, should need a guard of souldiers quietly to celebrate his funerals. This bred sundry speeches of *Augustus*, many marvelling at vain and frivolous things: as that his death fell on the same day he was made Emperour: that he died at *Nola* in the same house and chamber, that before him his father *Octavius* did: they made it a great matter that he alone had been as oft Consul, as *Valerius Corvinus*, and *C. Marius* both together: that he had continued Tribune seven and thirtie yeeres; had been honoured with the name of Emperour one and twenty times; with many other old and new dignities bestowed or invented for him. But among the better fort his life was diversly commended or discommended: Some said, that the love of his father, and the care of the Common-wealth, at that time when all lawes were dashed, drove him to civill warres, which can never be begun or prosecuted by any good meanes: and that he had yeelded in many things to *Antony*, and to *Lepidus* in like manner, because he would revenge his fathers death. For seeing the one grew carelesse with age, and the other watted with lasciviousnesse, there was no other meanes left to redresse all discords in the common-wealth, then to bring her under the obedience of one alone, who should governe; neverthelesse not as King or Dictator, but as Prince. The Empire he had bounded with the Ocean, and other Rivers farre off: the Legions, Provinces and Navie, were linked and knit in peace and unity: justice was ministred in the cities: the allies entreated with modesty: the city beautified with sumptuous building: and if any rigorous dealing had been used against some few, it was for settling of quietnes in the whole. Contrarily some said, that the love of his father, the corruption of times, served him but for a cloake and colour: and that he had stirred up the old souldiers by gifts and bribery, through ambition and desire of rule; that being yet but young and a private person, he had gathered a power; corrupted the legions of the Consuls; that he made a shew onely of favouring *Pompeius* side: but had no sooner gotten by order of the Senators the *fascis* or knitch of rods, and the Pretorship; after the death of *Hircius* and *Pansa*, (both slain by the enemy, or *Pansa* wound poisoned, and *Hircius* murdered by the souldiers, or by *Caesar* the contriver of the feat) but he sealed on both their forces, extorted the Consulship; maugre the Senators; and the power assigned him to subdue *Antony*, he converted against the Common-wealth. He banished the Citizens, divided their lands, and gave away their goods, which were things by the doers themselves discommended. Indeed the revenge and pursuing his fathers death upon *Cassius* and *Brutus* may be tolerated (albeit it had been convenient for a publick benefit to have laid aside private grudges) but he deceived *Pompey* under

* Three pound
seven shillings
eleven pence
9. ccc.
* 7. li. 16 s. 3 d.
* 46. s. 10. d. 9.

colour of peace, and *Lepidus* under a shadow of friendship. Afterward he tolled on *Antonie* with the treatie of Tarentum and Brundisium, and marriage of his sister, which deceitfull alliance he payed with the losse of his life. Doubtlesse a peace ensued this, but a bloody one, as may witnesse the death of *Lollus* and *Varus*, and in Rome it self, of *Varro Egnatius* and *Iulius*. Neither did they forbear to discourse of his domestic all affaires: as that he took *Neroes* wife from him, and asked the opinion of the Pontife in a scoffe, whether there might be a lawfull marriage betwixt them, she being with childe by her other husband, but not yet delivered. They forgot not *L. Aredius*, and *Pedius Pollus* riot and lasciviousnesse. Finally, that *Livia* was an intolerable and burthen some mother to the common-wealth, and to the house of the *Cæsars* a dangerous stepdame. There was no honour left for the gods, seeing he would himselfe by the Priests and Flamines be worshipped in the temples, with all the ornaments belonging to the gods. Neither was *Tiberius* chosen succesor to the State for love of himselfe, or care of the Common-wealth, but deeply in feeling into his lofty and bloody disposition, he would by being so unequally compared with so outrageous a mate, win glory afterward to himselfe. And although *Augustus* had not many yeeres before uttered honourable speeches in *Tiberius* behalfe before the Lords of the Senate, when he sued to make him once again Tribune: yet he interlaced somethings among, touching his attire and behaviour, which in the excusing of him, seemed to turn to his disgrace and reproach.

IIII. *Tiberius assembling colour in refusing the Empire; Augustus judgement of three which were desirous or worthy of the Empire.*

Augustus funerals being ended according to the usuall manner; a temple and religious ceremonies were instituted in honour of him: from that time forward all suits and requests were made to *Tiberius*, who discourting diversly of the greatnesse of the Empire, and in modest termes of his own insufficiency, thought *Augustus* wisdom onely capable of so weighty a charge, that himselfe being assumed by *Augustus*, as an associate and partner in the state, had by good prooffe learned, how hard a matter, and how subject unto fortunes change, rule and soveraignty was. And seeing the city was replenished with so many famous and worthy personages, better it were and more ease, that many joyning their studies and cares together, should undertake the charge, then cast all upon one mans shoulders. This speech carried greater majestie then truth: for *Tiberius* either by nature, or by custome, even in those things which he would have known, spake alwayes darkly and doubtfully; but then of set purpose endeavouring to hide his drifts, wrapped himselfe more then ever, in a dark cloud of uncertaintie and ambiguitie. But the Lords of the Senate fearing all one thing (which was lest some perill might ensue, if he should doubt that they perceived his dissimulation) began to lament, complain; offer up vows; and lift up their hands to the gods; to *Augustus* image, and to his own knees; untill he commanded the booke of remembrances to be brought forth and read. That booke contained the wealth of the publick treasure; how many citizens and allies were in armes; what strength there was by sea; how many kingdomes, provinces, and countries yeelded obedience to the Empire, what tribute was levied; what customes; what necessary charges issued out; what gifts; and all written with *Augustus* own hand. Withall he gave a politick instruction (yet whether for feare or envie uncertain) how to retrain the Empire within boundes and limits.

limits. Whilest these things were a handling, and the Senators in most low and humble manner intreating, that he would accept the charge: *Tiberius* letting slip a word by chance, that as he was unable to take charge of the whole; so he would undertake the protection of any one part they should assigne him. *Asinius Gallus* asked him, What part, *Cæsar*, wouldst thou have committed to thy charge? Who being stroken in a maze with this unlooked for demand, stood mute a while: then gathering his spirits to him answered; That it ill befitted his modesty, to choose or refuse any one part of that, from all which he desired to be excused. *Gallus* replied (for by his countenance he conjectured he was offended) that he did not therefore demand that question, as though he would sever that, which was inseperable; but by his owne confession convict him, that the common-wealth was but one body, and therefore to be governed by ones onely wisdom. And continuing his speech added many things in commendation of *Augustus*: and called to remembrance *Tiberius* owne victories, and divers notable things done for many yeeres in time of peace. But all this could not appease the Princes inveterate hatred against him: as though by marrying *Vipsana* daughter to *M. Agrippa*, once wife to *Tiberius*, he had carried too lofty a courage, and higher aspiring mind, then the private calling of a citizen; and favouring of the heady and fierce humour of *Asinius Pollio* his father. After that *L. Aruntius* using speeches not unlike unto *Pollio*, offended alike: and although he bore *Aruntius* no old grudge, yet because he was wealthy, bold, learned, and in reputation with all men, he had him in jealousy. When *Augustus* drew towards his latter end, discourting who were likeliest to possess the place after his death; who would refuse it, although they should be chosen as meet: who being unmeet and unable, yet would desire it: who could discharge it, and would undertake it: said that *M. Lepidus* was for his sufficiency able, but would refuse: *Gallus Asinius* greedy to lay hold on it, but was insufficient: *L. Aruntius* was not unworthy, and if occasion were given would venture for it. All men agreed that the two first were so named, but for *Aruntius* some put *Ca. Piss*; and howsoever it was, all saving *Lepidus*, through *Tiberius* practise, for sundry pretended crimes were made away. *L. Haterius* likewise, and *M. Scaurus* troubled his jealous head: the one by saying, How long *Cæsar* wilt thou suffer the common-wealth to want a head? The other, because he hoped that the petitions of the Senators should take effect; seeing he did not as he might, withstand the relation of the Consuls by being Tribune. He inveied sharply, and that incontinently against *Haterius*, but let goe *Scaurus* without any word: although he were more implacably offended with him then the other. And being wearied with the clamors of all in generall, and importunity of some in particular, by little and little yeelded unto their requests: not so much because he would confesse, he tooke the charge of the Empire on him; as to make an end of refusing, or being any more entreated. Certaine it is, that as *Haterius* went to the palace to crave pardon of *Tiberius*; he narrowly escaped from being slaine of the souldiers: because that calling himselfe at his knees as he was walking; either by chance, or happily hindered by *Haterius*, the Emperour fell: yet that danger did nothing mitigate his wrath: untill *Haterius* making entreatie to *Augustus*, by her earnest suite was protected. Exceeding great flatterie was used towards her by the Senators, some being of opinion that shee would be called the foundres of the common-wealth, some the mother: and many that besides the name of *Cæsar*, the sonne of *Julia* should be added. But *Tiberius* answered, that titles of honour ought to be moderately given unto women: and that he would use the same moderation in such as should be bestowed on himselfe. This he did upon envy and jealousy.

jealousie: and therefore thinking her greatnes to be his owne abasement, would not suffer her to have a sergeant before her, or an altar to be dedicated in memory of her adoption, nor any such like honour. He entreated nevertheless that Proconsularie authority might be given *Germanicus Caesar*, which was sent him by Embassadors, with commandement to comfort him for the death of *Augustus*. The reason why the like was not demanded in favour of *Drusus*, was because he was there present and Consullelect. And as *Augustus* had ordained before, he did nominate twelve competitors, for the Pretorship, and bound it with an oath he would not passe that number, although the Senators exhorted that they might be increased. That was the first time that the election of Magistrates was taken from the people, and transferred to the Lords of the Senate. For although untill that day all matters were swaied as best liked the Prince: yet some things were left to the favour and voyces of the Tribes. Neither did the people but with a vaine rumour complaine, that their right was taken from them; and the Senators seeing themselves delivered of many bribes and unseemely suites, were well contented to accept the authority: *Tiberius* so moderating the matter, that he commended onely foure competitors, which should be elected without suit or feare of repulse. The Tribunes of the people made request that it might be lawfull for them to set forth playes at their owne costs, and record them in the Calender of the Citie, and call them *Augustales*, by the name of *Augustus*. The playes were granted: but the costs and expenses were to rise out of the publike Treasury: and that it should be lawfull for them to use the triumphal robe in the race, but not be carried in a Chariot. Not long after the annual celebration of these Plays, was cast upon the Pretor, which was judge between the citizen and the forrainger.

V. *A rebellion in Pannony, stirred up by Percennius.*

THIS was the estate of the citie affaires, when the legions of Pannony mutined: for no new occasions, but only because the change of the Prince gave licence of hurly burly, and hope of gaine by civill wars. These were three legions of the summer campes committed to *Junius Blesus* charge, who advertised of the death of *Augustus*, and *Tiberius* entring to the government (in regard of the vacation which then happned, or joy conceived) neglected the accustomed care of his dutie. Hereupon the souldiers began to grow licentious and quarrellsome, and gave care to the most dissolute and disordered: and in fine hunted after riot and ease; set nought by all militarie discipline, and refused travell and labour. There was one *Percennius* in the garrisons, who had beene sometimes a ringleader of factious companions on Stages, and Theaters; afterward a common souldier; an impudent and saucy prater; well practised in disturbing assemblies: to shew favour unto such actors as he favoured. This *Percennius* after the better sort were gone to their lodgings, by little and little in secret conventicles in the night, or in the shutting of the evening, gathered together, and stirred up the unexpect of the souldiers, and such as were most doubtfull what entertainment they should expect after the death of *Augustus*. And when he had gathered about him of the most licentious a sufficient rabble, and readiest instruments of sedition, in manner of an Oration he began to question with them thus. Why they would like bondslaves be subject to a small number of Centurions, and a smaller of Tribunes? when durst they seeke a redresse, if they would not now present themselves to the Prince with intreaty or the sword, whilest

whilest he is new, and not fully settled in the state? they had through cowardlinesse held their tongue many yeeres, some thirtie, some fourtie in pay, overgrowne with age, and many their limmes lost in service. And after they were licenced to depart, yet they were not at an end of service; but detained under ensignes, indure as great toiles as before under a new name. And if any escaped to many hazards alive, they were drawne into sundry countreys, where under a colour of some lands, either moorish bogs, or barren mountainous crags were allotted to their share. Besides, service was painefull in it selfe and unprofitable; their lives and bodies valued but at ten asses* a day: having no better allowance to furnish themselves with weapons, apparell, and tents; and redeeme themselves from the cruell usage of the Centurions; pay fees of vacations from servile ministeries: yet their stripes, wounds, hard winters, scorching summers, bloody battels, and fruitlesse peace had no end: and hope of redresse there was none, unlesse certaine lawes were set downe for such as enter into service; as that every ones pay should be bettered to a denier* a day; and none bound to serve above sixteene yeeres; and from that time forward, they should not be detained under ensignes, but receive in the same campe they served, their recompense in ready coyne. What? did the Pretorian bands, which received two deniers* a day, and at the end of sixteene yeeres were sent to their houses, oppose themselves to greater dangers then they? yet hee did not speake this to deprave or diminish the credit of the citie-guard, but because they should consider what a hard part they were offered; yet hee for his owne part being lodged among savage and barbarous people, did from his cabine see the enemy every houre. The bolder fort came murmuring about him, and stirred up others with divers encouragements: some reprochfully shewing the wales of their stripes; some their gray haire; some their ragged torne coates; and some their naked bodies. At last they grew into such a fury and rage, that they purposed of three legions shuffled together to make one: but they changed that devise very quickly, every one through emulation coveting that honour for his own legion; and pitched the three standards and ensignes together: withall they threw up mounds of turfes, and placed on it a Tribunall, to the end the seat might be more conspicuous. As they hastned to finish the worke, *Blesus* came in among them, rebuking some, and hindering now one, now another, and crying aloud, In my blood rather imbrue your hands; for it is a lesser offence to slay the Lieutenant, then fall from the obedience of the Emperour. I will either with my life keepe the legion in faithfull allegiance; or being flaine by you, hasten your repentance. Nevertheless they held on their worke untill they had brought it brest high; when at last being overcome with his importunacie, they gave over their enterprize: then *Blesus* did in good and eloquent manner shew unto them, that it was not convenient that Souldiers petitions should be carried to the Emperour by mutinie and rebellion. Neither did the old Souldiers under Emperours in times past, nor yet they themselves demand of *Augustus* such unlawfull and new requests: and that in an unseasonable time: the new Prince was burdened with cares in the beginning of his Empire. Notwithstanding, if their purpose was to obtaine that in a time of peace, which being conquerers in civill wars, they never attempted; yet why do they contrary to the duty of allegiance, and order of service, use force? they should rather depute some Embassadour to *Cesar*, with publike commission, to declare their requests. They all cried immediatly, that *Blesus* sonne a Tribune might undertake the Embassie, and intreate that all such as had served sixteene yeeres, should be dismissed and sent home: which being granted; then they would enjoyne him the rest of his charge. The young man being departed with this message

message, they surceased their rebellion. But the souldiers grew proud that the Lieutenantsonne undertooke to plead the common cause; as being an evident token that they had wrung out that by force, which by modest demeanour they should never have obtained.

VI. *The rebellion continueth: a praetise of Vibulenus against Blæsus.*

IN the meane season, certaine bands of souldiers sent to Nauportum before the rebellion began, to see the waies cleare, the bridges safe, and other conveniences for the warre: understanding of the mutinie grown in the campe, snatched up their ensignes, and facking villages adjoyning, and Nauport it selfe, which might have passed for a reasonable free-towne; injured & reviled the Centurions which went about to bridle them; first with scoffes & reprochfull termes; then with blowes and stripes. But they had an especiall hart-burning against *Ausidienus Rufus*, the campe-master; whom they pulled out of his chariot, and loaded with a sardle of stuffe, and made him march formost of all the company: now and then asking him in a mockery, whether he bare so great a burden willingly or not; or whether so long a journe seemed not tedious unto him? This *Rufus* had long beene a common souldier; then a Centurion; then the camp-master: and fought to renew the ancient rigour of service; and being himselfe hardened to beare any labor & travell, was so much the more cruell, because himselfe had endured the like. These companies joyning with the other legions, began to rebell a fresh; and fragling some one way, some another, destroy and waste all about them. *Blæsus* to terifie the rest, commanded some few, and especially such as had the greatest pillage, to be apprehended, whipt and cast into prison; for even then the Centurions, and the better sort of the souldiers were obedient to the Lieutenant. But the prisoners drew backe, and resisted such as led them, caught holde and embraced the knees of the standers by; calling every man by his name, or by the name of the band he served under, or cohort, or legion; crying that they should drinke all of the same cup: withall, they heaped injurie upon injurie against the Lieutenant: called to witnesse the heavens and the gods: and left nothing undone or unsaid, which might serve to stirre hatred, move compassion, breed feare, or provoke anger. The souldiers clustered all together, brake open the prisons, set at libertie the prisoners, and shuffled in among themselves, the fugitives and condemned of capitall crimes. This kindled the rage of the souldier: and more ringleaders joyned with them. Among whom one *Vibulenus* a common souldier, lifted on the shoulders of the standers by, before *Blæsus* Tribunall, began to speake unto the disordered and attentive souldiers in this manner. You have given light and life to these innocent and miserable wretches; but when will you restore life to my brother, and my brother to mee? who being sent unto you from the Germane campe, to entreat of the common profit and good, was this last night murdered by his Fencers, which he hath alwaies ready armed to cut the souldiers throates: answer, *Blæsus*, where hast thou throwne his body? for the enemies themselves envie not that I should burie him? And when I shall have filled my grieve with kissing, and weeping over him, command me to be murdered also: so as these our companions bury him & me; flaine for no other offence, but because he furthered the common good and profit of the Legions. He inflamed his words with teares, bearing himselfe on the face and breast: then thrusting them from him on whose shoulders he was carried, and throwing himselfe at every mans feet, drove them all into such amaze, and

and stirred such hatred, that part of the souldiers laid hands on *Blæsus* Fencers, and bound them; part on the residue of his family; and part ran hither and thither, to seeke for *Vibulenus* brothers body, And if it had not appeared incontinently, that there was no such body found; if his slaves by torture had not denied any such pretended murder to have been committed; and further, that *Vibulenus* never had any such brother: the souldiers would hardly have spared the Lieutenants life. Nevertheless, they thrust out the Tribune and Camp-master, spoiled and robbed such as fled, slew *Lucillus* a Centurion, whom the souldiers by a nickname called *Cedo alteram*, give mee another, because that when hee had broken upon a souldiers shoulders his vine-wand, his manner was to call aloude, give mee another; and when that was broken, another. The rest were saved by hiding themselves; only *Iulius Clemens* they kept alive, because that having a ready and quicke wit, they thought him a meete man to be employed as an Embassadour in the souldiers behalfe. Besides this, the eight and the fifteenth legions were now ready to goe together by the eares, because the eight legion demanded *Serpius* a Centurion to death, whom the fifteenth defended: if the ninth legion had not interposed her selfe, first by way of intreaty; then menacing such as made light of them.

VII. *Drusus is sent to appease the rebellion in Pannony: and the ringleaders punished.*

WHen *Tiberius* had intelligence of these mutinies: although he were close, and a great dissembler of bad tidings; resolved to send his sonne *Drusus* unto these legions with certaine of the principallest Gentlemen of the Citie, with two Pretorian bands, without any limited commission, but to determine there, as occasion best required. The bands were of extraordinarie choise men, and stronger then any other were used to be, and a greater part of his guard of horsemen, and the ablest Germans of his owne guard. *Aelius Sejanus* also Captaine of the guard, was sent with him, once an associate and companion to *Strabo* his father, and a man highly in credit with *Tiberius*; as well to be a guide to the young Prince, as to shew unto others the danger or reward of ill or well doing. When *Drusus* was come neere unto them, the legions met him as it were to doe their dutie; but not as the manner was, cheerefully with glittering ensignes, but in base and abject habit: and in countenance although pretending sadnesse, yet indeed were neerer wilfull obstinacie. After he was entred the trench of the campe, they set a strong guard at the gates, commanded some troupes to attend at certaine places of the campe, and the rest came, and environed the Tribunall in huge multitudes. *Drusus* stood up, and with his hand commanded silence to be made. When the souldiers beheld what a multitude they were, they made a dreadfull noise with hideous tunes; then anon turning their eyes towards *Cæsar* they quaked for feare: after that, they made a confuse murmuring and buzzing; then a cruell outcry; and on a sudden all was hushed againe; which bred, as men were diversly affected, either a feare in themselves, or in others. At last the tumult ceasing, he read his fathers letters, which contained what a speciall care hee had over those most valorous legions, with whom hee had sustained many battels; and that as soone as his mind could be at rest, and the mourning for his father past, he would deale with the Lords of the Senate concerning their demands: that in the meane space hee had sent his sonne which should graunt without delay, as much as for the present could conveniently be yeilded: and that the rest should be reserved to the consideration of the Senate, whom it was convenient

venient should Judge as well what deserved favour, as rigor and severity. They answered all in generall, that *Clemens* the Centurion had charge to propound their demands: he began with licence to depart after sixteen yeeres, with recompense after the end of their service: and that their wages might be a denarius a day; that the old Souldiers should not be constrained to continue under ensignes. But when *Drusus* began to pretend, that these were fit matters to be referred to the Lords of the Senate, and his fathers consideration; they cut of his speech with clamors, expostulating: "That seeing he had no authority to augment their pay; nor ease them of their labour; nor benefit them any way, to what purpose was he come thither?" "But to beat and put them to death, every man had authority. It was an old trick of *Tiberius* to frustrate the legions desires, with the name of *Augustus*: and *Drusus* doth now put the same in practise. Shall they never have any sent them, but such as are under the power of another? It was strange, that the Emperour should referre only that to the knowledg of the Senate, which concerned the souldiers commodity. It were as requisite the Senators advise should be known, when a souldier should be punished, or brought to fight in battell. Did it stand with reason, there should be masters appointed, to despoise of their rewards and recompense; and that without any judge their punishments should be arbitrary? At last they goe from the Tribunal, and threaten with their fists those they met, of the guard, or *Cæsars* friends and familiars, as desirous to pick quarels, and raise sedition. But they bare a speciall grudge unto *Cn. Lentulus*, because that he, for his yeeres, and experience in martiall feates, in greater reputation then the rest, was thought to animate *Drusus* against the souldiers, and first of all reject their licentious demands. Whom not long after (foreseeing the danger he was in) going with *Cæsar* to the standing campe, they environed him, asking whither he went? towards the Emperour, or towards the Senate? whether there he would bee also against the legions profit? And withall coming fiercely upon him, and throwing stones at him, all imbrued in blood, and certaine of present death, yet was succoured by such as came with *Cæsar*. That night which menaced great disorder, and outrageous behaviour, was quieted by a meere chance. For the Skie being cleere and bright, yet the Moone seemed to bee eclipsed on a sudden; which the souldiers, being ignorant of the cause, construed as a presage of present ill lucke: and comparing their attempts, to the eclipse; were of opinion that their successe should bee prosperous, if the goddesse should become cleere and bright againe. Whereupon they began with Trumpets, Cornets, and other brazen instruments, to make a loude noise, now joyfull, now sad, as the Moone appeared either cleere or darke. But when the blacke cloudes, rising, tooke from them the sight of the Moone, supposing she had been hidden in darkenesse, and utterly lost her light: as troubled minds fall easily into superstition, they began to complaine and lament, that that portended, their labour shall have no end; and that the gods turned their faces from their wickednesse. *Cæsar* thinking it expedient to make his profit of their feare; and governe that by wisdom, which fortune had offered: commanded the Pavillions to be viewed; *Clemens* the Centurion to bee called, and such others, as for their laudable vertues were best liked of the common sort: who thrusting themselves into the watch, the wards, and gate-keepers, increased sometimes their feare, and sometime promised hope, saying: "How long shall we besiege the Emperours sonne? what shall be the end of our revolt? Shall wee sweare allegiance to *Percennius* and *Vibulenus*? shall we looke for our pay at their hands? shall they reward the old Souldiers with lands? to be briefe, shall they take upon them the government of the Roman Empire, in *Nero's* and *Drusus* stead?"

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were it not better that as we were the last which offended; so we should be the first to repent? Demands in common are slowly granted: a private favour is no sooner deserved, then obtained. These speeches troubled their mindes, and bred a mistrust among themselves: the young souldiers forsooke the old: and one legion parted from another. By little and little they returned to their allegiance; went from the Gates which before they possessed: carried to their usuall places their ensignes, which in the beginning of their rebellion they had pitched together. *Drusus* the next morning calling an assembly, although he were no great Oratour; yet the worthinesse of his birth supplying that want, hee condemned their former, and commended their present behaviour. Assured them that he was not to be overcome with feare and threatening: but if he perceived in them a modest carriage, intreatie of pardon with submission; he would write unto his father, that forgetting that which was past, he would give eare to the legions suites. At their intreaty *Blasus*, and *L. Aprontus*, a Gentleman of Rome, and one of *Drusus* company, and *Iustus Catonius*, a chiefe Centurion, were sent againe to *Tiberius*. This done, *Drusus* counsellors disagreed in opinions: some holding it expedient, that expecting the Embassadors returne; the souldiers in the meane season should bee gently entreated: some that sharpe remedies ought to be used: affirming that there was no meane in the common people; and unlesse they were kept in awe, they would keepe other under. That they might easily be dealt withall, whilest they stood in feare; and therefore it was needfull that they should be bridled by their Generals authority: the ringleaders of the revolt executed, whilest yet the superstition held them in astonishment. Hereupon *Drusus* being naturally of a rough disposition, caused *Percennius* and *Vibulenus* to be put to death. Some say they were murdered in the Governours tent; others that their bodies were thrown out of the rampier to the terror of the rest. After this, a search was made for the principall Captaines of the conspiracie: whereof some roming about the campe, were slaine by the Guard, others the souldiers themselves delivered, as a testimony of their allegiance, into *Drusus* hands. But there did nothing more augment the souldiers distressed case, then an untimely winter, continuall and cruell raines; that they could neither put foote out of their tents; nor meet together: nor hardly keepe up their standards, through boisterous winds, and stormy showers, tossing them hither and thither. They were not yet rid of the feare, the heavens ire stroke them into; imagining that the starres grew not darke in vaine against their wickednesse; and that the tempests fell upon them for their lewde and villanous demeanour. There was no comfort left, but to abandon those unluckie, and disloyall camps; and being purged of their offence by some propitiatory sacrifice, each legion to repaire to his standing campe. The eight legion departed first, then the fifteenth. The ninth cryed that they ought to tarry for *Tiberius* answer: but being discomfited by the others departure, preventing imminent necessity, voluntarily went away. *Drusus* not expecting the Embassadors returne, seeing all quiet for the present, went backe to Rome.

VIII. A mutinie in Gallia, and many Centurions slaine.
Germanicus loyaltie to *Tiberius*.

Almost at the same time, and for the same causes, the legions of Germany rebelled: so much the more violently, by how much the more in number: with great hope that *Germanicus Cæsar* could never endure to be commanded by another: and that by following the humor of the legions, he would by maine strength

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be master of all. There lay by the River of *Rhene* two armies: the one called the higher, under the Lieutenant *C. Silius*; the other the lower, under *A. Cicina*. But the Lord General over them all, was *Germanicus*, then greatly busied in levying of subsidies and taxations in *Gallia*. Those which *Silius* commanded, wavering and irresolute, looked into the successe of others revolt: but the lower army grew into a rage and fury: the conspiracy beginning by the one and twentieth and fifth legions, which drew also to their side the first and the twelfth: all of them being in the same Summer Campes, in the confines of *Vbium*, idle, or in very easie service. Advertisements being come of *Augustus* death, a multitude of City-borne bondmen, and after made free, newly mustered to be souldiers, given to licentiousnesse, and impatient of labour: began to fill the mindes of the ruder sort, with these speeches. That the time was now come, that the old Souldier might demand a shorter time of service; the new greater pay; and all in generall an end of their miferies: and opportunity given to revenge the crueltie of the Centurions. This was not spoken by one alone, as when *Percennius* incited the legions of *Iannonie*, nor unto dastards looking that men of better courage then they should begin: but many seditious mouthes and voyces, were at once heard to say; that the whole *Roman* state was in their hands; that by their victories it was growne great; and that of them the Emperours took their surname. The Lieutenant, the rage of the multitude having taken away his constancy, durst not resist them: when on the sudden like frantike men, with their swords drawne (a very old subject of quarell and hatred in souldiers, and a beginning of cruelty) they fell on the Centurions; threw them along; laid them on with stripes; threescore to one, to make even number with the Centurions. And having thus mangled and torne them, and slaine some, they threw them out of the Trench, or into the River of *Rhene*. Among others *Septimius* fled to the Tribunall, and cast himselfe at *Cicinaes* feet: but was with such importunacie demanded, that he could not but deliver him to the butchery. *Cassius Charea* (famous afterward to posterity for murdering *C. Caesar*) then a young man, but of a stout and brave courage, made way with his sword, through such, as armed, went about to hinder his passage. After that neither Tribune, nor Campe-master was obeyed; the watch and ward, and whatsoever the present time required, was ordered, and distributed among themselves. Those which deeply looked into the disposition of souldiers; judged it a strong argument of a great and implacable revolt, that they were not scattered and divided; nor any attempt given by a few; but grew insolent altogether: were quiet at once: with such a moderation and constancie, that thou wouldest have thought they had beene governed by one head. In the meane season newes was brought to *Germanicus* (who as I have said, was levying of subsidies and tributes in *Gallia*) that *Augustus* was departed. *Germanicus* had married *Augustus* niece *Agrippina*, and had by her many children, and was *Drusus Tiberius* brothers sonne, and nephew to *Augusta*: but greatly perplexed, by reason of his Uncles and grandmothers secret hatred towards him; so much the more deepe and deadly, because unjust. This proceeded of the good will and remembrance which the people of *Rome* had of *Drusus*: all of them certainly beleeving, that if he had gotten the Sovereigntie, he would have set liberty on foot againe: and hoping the like of *Germanicus*, bare him the like affection. This young Prince was of a milde disposition, very courteous, nothing at all resembling *Tiberius* in countenance, or covert and arrogant speech. Besides this, womens quarels were mingled among: *Livia* (as is the manner of all stepdames) exasperating *Tiberius* against *Agrippina*: a woman indeed easily moved: but through her chastity, and love toward her husband, though other-

wife

wife of an invincible stomach, yet turned all to the best. But the neerer *Germanicus* was to the highest hope, the more he laboured to settle *Tiberius* in the state: compelling the Sequans adjoyning, and the cities of Belgia to swear their allegiance unto him. Then understanding of the hurlyburly of the legions, departing in all speed, met the souldiers out of their campe, hanging down the head; repenting them of that they had done. He was no sooner within the trench, but there was heard a confuse lamentation and complaint among them: some taking him by the hand as it were to kisse it, thrust his fingers into their mouthes, that he might feele they were toothlesse: others shewed their crooked bodies with age: Who perceiving them confusely shuffled together, commanded to separate themselves into companies, the easier to heare his answer: and beare their ensignes before them, the better to discern their bands: wherein they obeyed slowly enough. *Germanicus* beginning with the reverence of *Augustus*, fell by little and little into the praise of the victories and triumphes, and especially the famous exploits *Tiberius* had done in Germany with those legions. Then extolled the unitie of Italie; the loyalty of Gallia; and how all other parts of the Empire were quiet. The souldiers gave eare unto all this with silence, or with a small murmuring: but as soone as he began to touch their mutinies, expostulating; "What was become of the modest behaviour of souldiers? where was the honour of ancient discipline? whither they had driven their Tribunes and Centurions? they all uncloathed themselves, shewed him their wounds, scarres, and marks of their stripes: then with a confuse note, how deerely they bought their ease and vacations; found fault with their small pay; the intolerable paines they were put to in working: by name condemning the rampiers, trenches, seeking of flower, carrying of stones and timber, and all other provisions; either necessary in the campe, or to keep the souldiers from idlenesse. But the greatest clamours were heard to proceed from the old souldiers: whereof some having spent thirrie yeeres in service, some more; besought him to provide for such wearied poore souldiers, and not suffer them to end the rest of their dayes, in misery and pain: but delivered of such labour and toyles, that they might at length enjoy repose without penurie. Some demanded the legacie bequeathed by *Augustus* Will, and wished *Germanicus* all good fortune, offering themselves to his devotion if he would take upon him the Empire. Whereat, as though he had been distained with some villanie, he leapt from the Tribunall: and as he would have departed, the souldiers turned their weapons towards him in menacing wise, unlesse he would go back again. But crying that he would rather die, then falsifie his faith, drew his sword from his side, bent the point of it towards his breast, ready to have thrust it in; if some which were neere him by catching hold of his hand, had not withheld him by maine strength. That part of the throng which was farthest behinde, and which is scarce credible, some other getting neerer and neerer, encouraged him to strike boldly; and one called *Calpurnius* offered him his naked sword; saying that it was better pointed then his. But that even to the most furious, was thought a barbarous and savage part, and an evill president. *Cæsars* friends had time to conduct him to his pavilion: there they consulted what was best to be done; because news came, that the souldiers were in hand to dispatch Embassadours to the higher army, to draw them to the same attempt: and that they had determined to sacke Colen: and having imbrued their hands with that prey, run on to pill and waste Gallia.

IX. *Order is taken against the disorder, by yeelding to the souldiers requests: Germanicus sendeth away his wife and children.*

Germanicus feared so much the more, because he knew the enemy would not faile to invade, as soone as he understood of the discord of the Romanes, and that the rivers side was undefended. On the other side, if the allies and confederates should arme themselves against the legions, it was to begin a new civill warre. And that it was to the state dangerous alike, to use either severitie or liberalitie: and no lesse, to grant the souldier all things or nothing. The matter being thus debated on both sides, it was thought good, that letters should be written in the Princes name, containing; That such as had served twentie yeers should be fully dismissed, and such as fixteene, discharged also: with condition onely to remaine under ensignes, and repulse the enemy: That their legacies left them by *Augustus*, should be doubled and payed. The souldier perceived that those were sleights to win time, and therefore urged a present execution: licence of departure was presently yeelded by the Tribunes, but payment deferred. The fift, and one and twentieth legion, refused to go to any standing campe, untill they had their pay in the same camps they served in. Which they received of such provision, as *Cesar* could either make by his friends, or had to serve his own turn. *Cacina* the Lientenant brought back to *U-bium*, the first, and the twentieth legion, in base and disorderly aray: carrying between the ensignes and standards, masses of money, extorted from the Emperours treasure. *Germanicus* went to the upper armie, and there without delay, tooke the oath of allegiance, of the second, thirteen, and sixteenth legion; the fourteenth yet resting doubtfull what were best. But they had all their discharge and money offered them unasked. At the same time, certaine vexilliary, souldiers which continued under ensignes, and were placed for a guard to the Countrey, of two legions which before were at jarre began a tumult in the Countrey of the Chauceans: which was quickly suppressed by putting to death two of his souldiers. Which *Mennius* the Camp-master commanded rather for example, then right of his office. But the tumult growing hot, *Mennius* fled; and being found out, perceiving that there was no safety in lurking, tried what boldnesse could availe: saying, That they bent not their forces against the Camp-master, but against *Germanicus* their Generall, and *Tiberius* the Emperour: perceiving that those words danted such as would have hindered him, snatching up an ensigne, went to the River side, and denouncing him a fugitive and traytor which refused to follow; brought them to the Winter standing campe, astonied, and not daring to attempt any thing. In the meane season the Embassadors sent from the Senate to *Germanicus*, found him at *U-bium*, at the place called the Altar. Where two legions, the first and the twentieth wintered, with the old souldiers lately dismissed and kept under ensignes. The timorous and troubled in conscience, were surprised with a sudden feare, lest some were come by commandement of the Senate, to make frustrate all they had wrung out by rebellion. And as the manner of the people is, alwayes falsely to accuse some one or other whom they suspect: so now they laid all the blame, on *Munatius Plancus*, who had beene Consull and chiefe in the Embassie: affirming him to be the Author of that decree. And in the dead of the night, went to *Germanicus*, importunately demanding an ensigne which was in his house: and flocking together brake downe the gates: entred his house, drew *Germanicus* out of his bed; and threatning to kill him, forced him to

to deliver the ensigne. Then running up and downe, they met with the Embassadors ; hearing of the desperate tumult, going to *Germanicus* : the souldiers injuring them and ready to kill them : and above others *Plancus*, who in regard of his dignity could not flee : having no other refuge, left in distresse and danger, then to flye to the campe of the first legion : where embracing the standard and ensignes, found safety as in a religious place. And had not *Calphurnius*, the standard-bearer, guarded him from the fury of his souldiers (athing which seldome hapneth, even among the enemies) an Embassador of the people of Rome, in the Romans campe, had with his blood polluted the Altars of the gods. Assoone as it was day, that the L. Generall, the souldier, and the attempts might be knowne ; *Germanicus* entred the campe : and commanding *Plancus* to be brought to him, placed him in the Tribunall by him. Then sharply rebuking their fatall rage, stirred up by the wrath of the gods, and not the souldiers will: he openeth unto them the cause of the Embassadors coming : their priviledges, bewailing with great eloquence *Plancus* underserved hap ; and the discredit of the legions. And having rather ravished then quiered the assembly, sent away the Embassadors with a guard of auxiliary horsemen. During this feare, every man blamed *Germanicus*, that he went not to the upper army, where he should have both obedience, and ayde against the Rebels ; that his fault had beene great enough, in dismissing the souldiers with money in their purses, and using them so courteously. And if he made no greater reckoning of his owne person ; yet he had no reason to leave his youngsonne, and his wife great with child, as a pray to furious and mad men ; breakers of all humane lawes. And that he should preserve them, at the least wise, for their grandfather, and the Commonwealth. He then weighing long, what he were best to resolve : his wife refusing to forsake him : alleadging, that she was descended from *Augustus*, and protesting that she would never degenerate from her blood, whatsoever danger might be presented : at last embracing both her and the child, with many teares constrained her to depart. Away then part this lamentable company of women ; and the Generals wife, fleeing with his little sonne in her lap, with a heavy troupe of her friends wives about her, lead away with her for company : those which remained behind, no lesse sorrowfull then they. This resembled not a triumphing *Cæsar*, marching out of his campe : but the bewailing and lamentation of a City, conquered and sackt of the enemy. Which piercing the eares of the souldiers ; they went out of their cabbines, enquiring what that dolorous tune was ? and from whence proceeded that lamentable noise ? And perceiving those noble dames to goe without any Centurion or souldier, to guard them ; and their Emperours wife destitute of her accustomed traine, going towards Trevers, to commit her selfe to the mercy of strangers : were stricken into shame and compassion : when they called to minde *Agrippa* her father, *Augustus* her Grandfather, and *Drusus* her father in law : and now she her selfe was for her chastity and child-bearing, honoured of all : and how she had had a child borne and brought up in their campe : whom by a military name they called *Caligula* : because that to win the favour of the common souldier, he wore the same kind of stocking or buskin as he did. But nothing did move them more, then the hatred of those of Trevers : and therefore began to intreat, and hinder their going : praying her that she would returne and remaine with them. Some ran before *Agrippina* ; many turned backe to *Germanicus* : who through the late occasions, yet full of grieve and anger ; uttered to the multitudes about him, this speech, as followeth.

X. Germanicus Oration to the souldiers : the feare the Citie was in.

“**N**ot my wife, or sonne, are deerer unto me, then my father and the Commonwealth : but him, his owne Majesty ; the Empire, the other armies shall defend. I doe now remove my wife and children (which neverthelesse I would willingly offer unto death, were it to your glory and honor) from the sight of raging mad men : that all your lewd actions be purged with my bloud only ; left if you should murder *Augustus* nephewes sonne, and *Tiberius* daughter in law, you should become guilty of moe hainous crimes : for what have you not dared to attempt these dayes past ? or what have you left unviolated ? By what name shall I call this assembly ? Shall I call you souldiers, who have besieged your Emperors sonne even within the trench ? or shall I call you citizens, by whom the authority of the Senate is so little regarded ? You have broken that law which one enemy observeth to another : violated the sacred freedome of Embassadors, and the law of Nations. *Iulius* of famous memory, repressed a sedition in his army with one bare word : calling such Quirites, which drew backe contrary to the oath of allegiance. *Augustus* of sacred memory, daunted the legions at Actium, with his look. And as for us, although we be neither of them, yet being extract from them, we thinke it strange and unmeet, that the Spanish or Syrian souldier should contemne us. Thou the first legion, and thou the twentieth, the one having received the ensignes of *Tiberius*, and the other a companion in so many battels, and enriched with so many recompenses, doe you thus guerdon your Generall ? Is this the message I shall carry my father (who receiveth but good tidings from all other Provinces) that neither the young, nor old souldier, can be satisfied with licence to depart, nor money in their purse ? And that here only, the Centurions are murdered, the Tribunes driven away, the Embassadors shut up ? that the tents and rivers are stained with bloud ? and that I my selfe, hold my life but at the curtesie of such as hate me ? why did you snatch out of my hands, the sword which I meant to thrust through my breast, the first day of our meeting ? O unadvised friends ! yet he dealt better and more lovingly with me, which offered me his sword ; for by that meanes I should have ended my life, before I should have seen so many outrageous in my army. You should have made choise of a Generall, which would have left my death unpunished, yet have revenged the death of *Varus*, &c of the three legions. The gods forbid that the Belgians, though offering themselves, should carry away the credit and the honour of succouring the Romanes, and bridling the Germans. Let thy soule, *Augustus* of sacred memory, received into heaven, thy image father *Drusus*, and the remembrance of thee, together with these souldiers whom shame and glory do enter into, wipe away this blot, and convert this private rancor, to the destruction of the enemy. And you in whom I perceive another countenance and another will, if you purpose to restore the Embassadors to the Senate ; yeeld dutifull obedience to the Emperour ; and me, my wife and sonne : withdraw your selves from the contagion of the seditious, and goe from them which have been the authors of this rebellion : that shall be a sure token of your repentance, and a bond of fidelity. With these speeches the souldiers humbling themselves, confessed all to be true which was upbraided them : and besought him that he would punish the faulty, and pardon those which were seduced, and bring them against the enemy : recall his wife and the legions child ; and not deliver him to the Gaules for an hostage. *Germanicus* excused

excused the returne of his wife by the neereneffe of her time, and winter ; yet that his sonne should returne againe : and as for other things, that they themselves should see them performed. The souldiers then, being better perswaded, ran from place to place, laid hands on the most disordered persons, and brought them bound before *C. Cetrionius*, Colonell of the first legion : who gave judgement and punishment on every of them in this manner. The legions called together, stood with their swords drawne before the Tribunall : and the offender shewne by the Tribune out of a high seate : and if the souldiers did cry that he was guilty, he was immediatly throwne downe headlong, and cut in pieces : the souldiers rejoycing in these massacres, as though himselfe thereby had been acquitted. *Germanicus* did not hinder them at all, seeing, that being done without his commandement, as well the fact, as the envy of it, should light upon their owne neckes. The old souldiers following that president, were anon after sent to Rhætia, under colour of defending the province from the invasion of the Swevians : but indeed, to draw them from those garrisons ; yet breathing of cruelty, no lesse by that cruell means of redresse, then memory of their former outrages. This done, he tooke a survey of the Centurions ; who being called by the Captaine, told their names, degrees, and Countrey, what payes they had received, and how many yeeres : what exploits they had done in service, and with what donatives rewarded. If the Tribunes and legions approved their valour and integrity, they kept their roomes : if by common consent, covetousnesse, or cruelty were laid to their charge, they were cashiered. Things thus settled for the present, there arose immediately a matter of no lesser waight then the former, through the heady insolency of the fift, and one and twentieth legion, lodged in winter standings threescore miles off, at Vetera. For they first led the daunce, and with their owne hands committed the lewdest outrages : Nothing terrified with their fellowes punishment, continued impenitent, and still harboured anger in their breasts. Whereupon *Cæsar* gathereth forces, prepareth a Navy with confederates and allies, to send downe the Rhene : purposing if they were obstinate, to try it out in a maine battell. No tidings being all this while brought to Rome of the successe in Illyricum : and understanding of the rising of the Germane legions ; the City trembling with feare, began to blame *Tiberius*, that counterfeiting a doubtfulness of taking on him the Empire, mocked the Lords of the Senate, the wake and unfurnished common people, and suffered the seditious in the meane time to rebell, which by the weake authority of two young men could not be suppressed. That he should therefore have gone himselfe in person, and opposed his imperiall Majesty against them ; at whose sight they would presently have yeelded, being by long experience skilfull, and carrying with him power to punish, or reward. If *Augustus* stricken in yeares, could make often journeys into Germanie : should *Tiberius* being of a strong and able bodie, sit in the Senate, carping the Senators words ? He had taken good order how to keepe the City in servitude : and that it was now time to apply some medicine to the souldiers minde, to induce them to a disposition of peace. Notwithstanding *Tiberius* standing stiffe in his determination, resolved not to forsake the head of the Empire, and hazard himselfe and the whole state. Many things troubled his minde : as that the Germane army was the strongest : and the Pannonian neere at hand : the one leaning to the strength of the Gaules : the other, lying in the confines of Italy : doubtfull himselfe which first to goe to, lest the other being postponed should take it in disdain. But his sonnes might visit both, as a thing standing well with imperiall Majestie, bearing greatest state farthest off. The young men might be excused, if they referred some things to

to their father: and if they should resist *Germanicus* and *Drusus*, he should be able to appease or overthrow them. But if they should set light by the Emperour, what remedy could be then looked for? Neverthelesse as though he would depart out of hand, he made choise of his followers, provided his carriages in a readinesse, prepared shipping; then excusing himselfe, now with the hardnesse of the Winter; now with this, now with that: he deceived first the wise, then the vulgar sort; and the provinces a very long time.

XI. *The first and the ninth legion kill many of the rebels; Germanicus overcometh the Marseans, beateth downe the Temple of Tanfana. The death of Julia.*

BUT *Germanicus*, although he had an armie in readinesse to revenge upon the Rebels: thinking it convenient neverthelesse, to give them some respite; to see whether they would be reclaimed by the example of the other legions: sent letters before to advertise *Cecina*, that hee was coming with a power: and that if they would not punish the offenders before his coming, hee would without any respect make a generall slaughter of them all. These letters *Cecina* secretly imparted to the standard and ensigne-bearers, and the better sort: perswading them to deliver all in generall from infamy, and themselves from death. For in time of peace each mans cause and merit waighed; but in warre, the guilty and guiltlesse perished alike. They then founding the mindes of those they thought fittest, and finding the greater number of the legionary souldiers to continue durifull; following the Lieutenants advice, set downe a time when to cut off the lewest, and most seditious among them. Then the watch-word given, they brake into their Tents; slue them; none privy to the cause, but such as were of counsell in the enterprise: neither imagining the beginning, nor the end of this butchery. The strangest manner of civill warre that ever happened was this: for without order of battell, not fallying out of divers standings; but out of the same beds, in which they had eaten by day, and slept by night: they banded into factions; lanced their darts: outcries were heard; wounds given; blood shed; but the cause unknowne: fortune ruled the rest, and some honest men were slaine among. But it was no sooner knowne against whom this watch was intended, but the worst persons snatched their weapons likewise: no Lieutenant, nor Tribune present to bridle them: but every man licenced to revenge his fill. *Germanicus* anon after entring the campe, with many teares calling that a butchery, and not a medicine, commanded the bodies to be burnt. The bloody souldiers thirsted after the enemy, as a satisfaction of his fury; supposing that the ghosts of their companions could by no other meanes be appeased, then by receiving honourable wounds in their wicked breasts. *Cæsar* followed the souldiers heate, and building a bridge over the River, past over twelve thousand, drawne out of the legions; fixe and twenty cohorts of allies: and eight wings of such horsemen, as during the mutiny, were of good and modest carriage. The Germans not farre off were jocund: whilest we for the death of *Augustus*, and by civill discords, kept holy-day. The Romane army marching with speed, past the Wood *Cæsia*; and the bound begun by *Tiberius*; and encamped upon it; fortifying the front and the backe with a trench, and the sides with loppings of trees. From thence they marched through darke forrests, and consulted of two wayes, which was best: the short and usuall: or the unbeaten and hardest; and therefore least doubted of the enemy. And having made choise of the longest, they
hastned

hastned other things the more. For the scouts had brought word, that the Germans would spend that night in solemne feasting and banquetting. *Cacina* had charge to lead the way with a Cohort lightly armed, and make plaine the passage of the wood, whom the legions immediately followed. The starre-light helped them, till they came to the villages of the *Marsies*, whom they beset round: being yet either a bed, or at table, without feare, and no watch set. So farre had they left all things at randon, nothing misdoubting warre, nor, being drunke, greatly caring for peace. *Cæsar* divided the legions greedy of pillage to waste the more ground, into foure pointed battels; and destroyed with fire and sword, fifty miles; neither age nor sexe, moving him to pity; prophane and secret places, and the Temple called *Tanfana*, a place of great fame among those people, he battered to the ground: the Romans receiving no wound, but slaying the enemy halfe a sleepe, or unarmed, and stragling without order or aray. That slaughter stirred up the *Bructeri*, *Tubants*, and the *Usipetes*, who beset the wood, that way the army should returne. Whereof the Captaine being advertised, he marshalled his men in order at once, both to march and fight. Part of the horsemen with auxiliary Cohorts led the way: after them followed the first legion: the carriages inclosed in the midst, had on the left side the twenty one legion: on the right side, the fift: in the rereward, the twentieth: and after them the rest of the confederates. But the enemy stirred not whilest the Roman campe marched through the wood: then lightly skirmishing with the flanks and foremen, set amaine on the hindmost: who being but slenderly appointed, and amazed with the thicke troopes of Germans, were ready to shrink: had not *Cæsar* stepped to the twentieth legion; crying alowd, that now was the time to blot out the infamies of their former conspiracies, and shew valour; and make haste to turne their former fault into glory and honour. This speech so inflamed their courages, that breaking in suddenly upon the enemies, drove them to an open place, and hewed them in pieces: and the vantgard getting out of the wood, began incontinently to fortifie and intrench. After that, they marched without disturbance: emboldened with their late successe, and forgetting what was past, were brought to their standing campes. These newes made *Tiberius* both glad and sorry: glad, that the sedition was suppressed: sorry, that *Germanicus* had purchased the souldiers favour by largenesse, and timely dismissing them: not a little grieved also with the glory that *Germanicus* got in that warre. Yet he imparted these newes to the Senate, highly commending his exploits: rather in colour and shew of words, then beleaved that he spake from the heart. *Drusus* he commended also, and the successe of the Illyrian rebellions, in fewer words, but more unfainedly, and with better affection; yet confirmed all that *Germanicus* had granted; and gave the like to the enemies in Pannonie. The same yeere *Iulia* dyed: confined first by *Augustus* her father for her unchaste life, in the Iland *Pandateria*: then in *Rhegium*, a Towne seated upon the Sicilian sea. She had beene *Tiberius* wife, whom she contemned as an unfit match for her, whilest *Caius* and *Lucius* flourished, which was the very inward and secret cause, why *Tiberius* withdrew himselfe to *Rhodes*. But having gotten to be Emperour, and that by the death of *Agrippa Posthumus*, her hopes were cut off; banished and infamous, with great want hunger-starved her: perswading himselfe that her long banishment, would have smothered the speech of her death. The like occasion egged him to the like cruelty against *Semp. Gracchus*: who nobly descended, quick witted, and eloquent to perswade to naughtinesse; seduced the same *Iulia* to lewdnesse when she was *M. Agrippa*'s wife. Neither was that the end of their licentiousnesse; but the wilfull adulterer abused her company, when she was *Tiberius* wife:

wife: incensing her to disobedience and dislike. Divers supposing that the bitter letters, which she sent to *Augustus* her Father against *Tiberius*, were of his inditing. Whereupon being banished to *Cercina*, an Iland in the *African* Sea: after fourteene yeeres exile, the souldiers sent to put him to death, found him on the shore as one expecting bad tidings. Of whom he requested some short time, to write his last will to *Alliaria* his wife; which being done, he offered his necke to the executioners: in the constancy of his death, not unworthy the *Sempronian* name, though in his life he had degenerated. Some gave out, that those Souldiers were not sent from Rome, but from *L. Asprenus*, Proconsull of *Africke*, by *Tiberius* appointment; hoping, though in vaine, that the infamy of the murder should redound to *Asprenus* discredit. This yeere were instituted new ceremonies, by founding a society of Priests, called *Augustales*: as in times past *T. Tatius*, desirous to continue certaine Religious solemnities of the *Sabins*, ordained a company of Priests called *Titians*. One and twenty of the chiefe of the City were drawne by lot, and *Tiberius*, *Dru-sus*, *Claudius* and *Germanicus* added to the number. These players at their first beginning, were disturbed by a contention rising betwixt stage players: *Augustus* himselfe favouring the sport, to please *Mecenas*; who was exceedingly carried away with affection towards *Bathillus*; and himselfe not disliking them, thought it no uncivill matter to shew himselfe at those disports, amongst the common people. But *Tiberius* was of another humour; yet durst not on the sudden reduce the people to a straighter course, which so many yeeres before had beene nuzled in pleasure and easie usage.

XII. *Germanicus invadeth the Chatti. A strife betweene two noble men of Germany, Arminius and Segestes. Arminius wife is taken.*

D. *Casar* and *Narbo* being Consuls, a triumph was ordained in honour of *Germanicus*, the warre yet continuing: for which although great preparation was made for the Summer following; yet hee by a sudden incursion made on the *Chatti*, did anticipate it in the beginning of the spring. For a rumour bred a hope that the enemies were banded into factions, some favouring *Arminius*; and others *Segestes*: the one most loyall, and the other most disloyall unto us. *Arminius* disquieted Germany: *Segestes* discovered often to *Varus*, but especially in the last banquet, after which armes were taken, a rebellion intended: and counselled him to cast himselfe, *Arminius*, and the chiefe of the conspirators into prison; the people not daring any attempt, the ringleaders being taken away: and that he should have time thereby to sift out the offenders from the innocent. But *Varus* by destiny, and *Arminius* violence died. And although *Segestes* was by common consent drawne to the warre, yet he shewed himselfe very backward by his private grudge against *Arminius* increasing more and more; because he had taken away by force his daughter betrothed to another. Thus then the sonne in law being odious to the father; the fathers in law at utter defiance betwixt themselves; that which should serve for a bond of friendship among friends, served here for a provocation of wrath and malice. Whereupon *Germanicus* committed foure legions to *Cacinaes* charge, five thousand auxiliaries, and certaine German bands levyed in haste, inhabiting the hither side of *Rhene*. Himselfe conducted the like number of legions, with twice as many confederates; and having builded a fort on the Hill *Tannus*, where his father before him had appointed a garrison, led his armie without encombrance against the

the Chatti; leaving *L. Apronius* behinde him, to mend and make sure the passages by land and rivers: for by reason of a drought, and lowness of the waters (a thing seldom seen in that countrey) they had marched a good way without danger; but feared rain and rising of the water at his return. But his coming was so sudden upon the Chatti, that the weaker sort by age, or sexe, were presently either taken or slain: the young men swam over the river *Adrana*, and drave back the Romanes, which began a bridge: But at last driven away themselves with shot of arrowes and other engines, entreating in vain of conditions of peace: some fled to *Germanicus*: the rest abandoning their villages and houses, dispersed themselves in the woods: *Germanicus* having burned *Mattium* the capitall citie of the countrey, returned toward the *Rhene*, the enemy not daring to set on him as he retired; as his manner is, when he gave ground, rather upon policy then feare. The *Cherusci* would willingly have succoured the Chatti; but *Cacinaes* armie fleeing from place to place, kept them in awe, and overthrew the *Marfi* which ventured to joyn battell with him. Shortly after Embassadors came from *Segestes*, to crave aide against the violence of his countrymen, which had besieged him: *Arminius* bearing greater sway, because he incited them to warre. For among barbarous people, the more audacious a man sheweth himself, the more loyall he is reputed; and the fittest instrument in troubled times. *Segestes* joyned his sonne *Sigismond* to these Embassadors: but being touched in conscience, was unwillingly drawn to it: because that when the Germanes rebelled, being priested at the altar of the *Ubians*, he brake his head-band, which was the marke of his calling, and fled to the rebels. Yet trusting in the Romanes clemency, fulfilled his fathers commandment; and being courteously received, was conveyed with a guard, to the shores of *Gallia*. After this *Germanicus* thought it convenient, to convert his power against those which besieged *Segestes*, whom he delivered, with a great number of his kindred, and followers. Among whom there were many noble dames, and *Segestes* daughter, *Arminius* wife: affecting rather her husband then father: and being taken, not once falling a teare, nor craving favour, joyning her hands on her breast, looked down upon her great belly. The spoiles of *Varus* overthrow were at the same time brought in and distributed, as a bootie to the greatest part of such, as had yeelded themselves with *Segestes*. Who with a comely majestie, and bold courage, and loyaltie to the Romanes, began a speech in this manner. "This is not the first day that the people of Rome, hath had experience of my constancy and loyaltie: for since *Augustus* of famous memory, gave me the privileges of a Citizen of Rome: I made choise of such friends or enemies, as might stand you in stead: not for any hatred to my countrey, (for traitors are odious even to those whose instruments they be) but because I judged it profitable alike to the Romanes and Germanes: and preferred peace before warre: for this cause I accused *Arminius*, ravisher of my daughter, and infringer of the league concluded with you, before *Varus* the Generall. But when I was by the slacknesse of the Generall deferred to a farther day of hearing, having small hope of support in lawes: I besought him earnestly, that he would commit me, *Arminius*, and the rest of the conspirators, to straight custody. I call to witnesse that night, (which if it had pleased the gods I would it had been my last) in which those things ensued, which deserve rather to be bewailed then maintained. In fine, I laid irons on *Arminius*, and suffered the same in my self, by his faction. But seeing you have vouchsafed me your presence; I preferre old quietnesse before new garboiles: not hoping for any reward thereby: but only to excuse my self from disloyaltie, and to serve for a convenient meanes of reconciliation for the Germane nation, if they will rather

rather repent than perish. For my sonnes youth and errour I crave pardon: my daughter I confesse, was drawne thither by force. It resteth in you to determine, whether it ought to be of greater force, to be with child by *Arminius*; or be begotten by me. *Cæsar* with a milde answer, promised his children and his kindred safetie: and himselfe his ancient seat in the province. This done, he bringeth backe his armie, and with *Tiberius* liking, tooke upon him the name of Emperour. *Arminius* wife was delivered of a sonne, which was brought up at *Ravenna*; of whom we will speake more hereafter, and how he served for fortunes score.

XIII. *Arminius stirreth the Germans to warre, seeketh revenge: What danger Cæcina was in. Germanicus burieth the legions which were slaine with Varus.*

THe newes being spred of *Segestes* yeelding, and gentle usage, as mens mindes were affected to peace or warre; so they were mooved with hope or griefe. *Arminius* being fierce of his owne disposition, understanding that his wife was taken prisoner, and the fruit of her wombe, a bondslave; became as it were mad: and raunging the Cheruscians countrey; craved for succour against *Segestes*, and *Cæsar*; not being able to containe for outrageous speeches, saying, "That, that must needs be a brave father, a mighty Emperour, a worthy army, that could with so much helpe carry away one silly woman. He had defeated three legions, and so many Lieutenants: not by treason, nor against women great with childe, but in the face of the enemy, and against armed men, atchived his enterprises. And that the ensignes, which he had taken from the Romanes, were to be seene in the woods of *Germany*, offered up in honour of their Countrey gods. Let *Segestes* inhabit the conquered bankes; and restore his sonne to his Priestly dignity: that the *Germans* could never excuse it: that the *Romanes* have beene seene to beare their rodde, their axes, and gownes betweene *Albia* and *Rhene*. Other Nations being strangers to the *Roman* Government, could speake nothing of their cruell punishments and grievous Tributes: and seeing they had shaken off those burdens; and that, that *Augustus* whom they placed among the gods, and *Tiberius* chosen after him, lost their labour; they should not feare an unexperienced young man, nor his mutinous company. If they preferred their Countrey; their Kindred; their ancient life, before new Lords, and new Colonies; they should rather follow *Arminius*, protector of their glory and libertie, then *Segestes* the Author of reproachfull servitude. These speeches incensed not only the Cheruscian, but the neighbours adjoyning also, and drew *Inguimerus*, a man once in credit with the *Romanes*, and Uncle to *Arminius* by the fathers side, to their party, which increased *Cæsar*'s feare the more. And therefore left the whole waight of the warre should at once fall upon him: hee sent *Cæcina* with fourty cohorts of *Romans*, to sever the power of the enemy through the *Bructer*ies countrey, to the River of *Amisia*. *Pedo* the Camp-master had the conducting of the horsemen, by *Frisia*: himselfe embarked foure legions, and lead them through the lakes: all the horsemen, footmen, and the whole Navy meeting together at the said River; and received the *Chauceans* among them who had promised them ayde. The *Bructeri* burning their owne Countrey, *Stertinius* overthrew with a company of light harnessed souldiers, sent against them by *Germanicus*: and found betweene the slaughter and the bootie, the banner of the nineteenth legion which was lost with *Varus*. From thence

thence the army marched to the utmost confines of the *Bructeri*, all the countrey wasted betwixt the river *Amisia*, and *Lappia*: not farre from the Forrest *Teutoburgh*: where the reliques of the legions which *Varus* led, were reported to lie unburied. Whereupon *Cæsar* had a great desire to celebrate the captaines, and souldiers funerals; all the armie moved to compassion, some calling to minde their kinsfolkes; some their friends: and some in consideration of the hazards of warre, and the slipperie estate of man subject unto fortunes change. And having sent *Cæcina* before, to search out the secret places of the Forrest, and cast bridges and causeys over the moist and deceitfull passages of the bogs, they marched those dolefull wayes, irksome to behold, and dreadfull to remember. *Varus* first encamping feat, by the large circuit of ground it contained, and dimensions of the * *Principia*, did shew that the inclosure was capable of three legions: then by a rampire halfe broken downe, and a shallow trench, they perceived where the overtoiled remnant was retired. In the middle of the field lay white bones, either scattered, or on a heape, as they had either resisted or fled: hard by, trouncheons of weapons, and horses ribs; and before them mens heads, fastened upon the bodies of trees. In the woods were their barbarous altars, on which they sacrificed the Tribunes and chiefe Centurions. Those which escaped alive, or broke prison after the butchery, told that here the Lieutenants were slain; there the standards taken: where *Varus* received his first wound, where with his own unluckie hand he slew himselfe. On what Tribunal *Arminius* made his oration. How many gibbets he had set up for captives, and what ditches: and with what proud disdain he scoffed at the ensignes and standards. The *Romanes* then that were present, six yeeres after the slaughter, oppressed with griefe, yet more then ever kindled with rage against the enemy; covered with earth the bones of the three legions: as if they had been all their friends or kindred; howbeit it was uncertaine whether they buried the stranger or friend. *Cæsar* to shew a gratefull memory of the dead, and himselfe to be partaker of their griefe, with his owne hands put the first turfe on their tombes; which *Tiberius* miliked: either as construing all *Germanicus* actions to the worst; or because the fight of the dead, unburied, would make the Souldiers more fearfull of the enemy, and lesse forward to fight: and because a Generall honoured with the Augurall dignitie, and devoted to most ancient ceremonies, ought not to meddle in mortuaries. But *Germanicus* pursuing *Arminius*, already crept into accessible places, as soon as he found conveniencie, thrust his horsemen on him, and recovered the field which the enemy occupied. *Arminius* gathered his men together; and commanding them to draw neare the wood, turned short on the sudden, and gave them the watchword which he had hidden there before, to break out. Whereat the horsemen amazed, and the cohorts sent for a supply, borne back with those which fled; augmenting their feare, were almost thrust into the bogges, well known to the Conquerours, and dangerous to the *Romanes*; had not *Cæsar* come on with the legions in battell array. Which stroke a terrour into the enemy, and assured the courage of the souldier: both the armies in the end parting on even hand. Anon after the army being brought to the river *Amisia*, he conducted the fleet and the legions backe againe, in the same manner they came thither. Some of the horsemen were commanded to returne to the river of *Rhene*, still coasting the Ocean shore. *Cæcina* who conducted another companie, although he was skilfull in the wayes, yet was charged to returne with all diligence by the long bridges; which was a narrow caufey betwixt wide marshes, thrown up in times past by *L. Domitius*. The rest of the countrey was mirie, and full of fast binding clay, with some doubtfull brookes.

Round about were woods, ascending little and little, which *Arminius* had filled, by a neerer way, and light armie, preventing the Romanes, loaden with armour and carriages. *Cacina* doubting how he should at once repaire those bridges, already decayed with age, and drive back the enemy; thought it best to encampe in the same place, that while some were fortifying, others might skirmish with the enemy. The Barbarians used all force to breake the wardes, and make way to the trench-makers: set on them, and compassed them in; ran from place to place, leaving nothing undone, to disturb them. The labourers and the fighters made one confuse cry: nothing prospering on the Romanes side. The place was nothing but a deep mire, not firme to tread on, and slipperie to march: the weight of their corselets an hinderance, and they unable to launce their javelins in the waters. Contrarily the Cheruscians being a great limmed people, and accustomed to fight in bogs, were with huge speares able to hurt as farre off. To be brieft, the night delivered the legions from an unluckie battell. The Germanes through prosperous successe, nothing wearied, but forbearing from rest, turned all the waters which rose in the mountaines, into the under grounds: whereupon the plaine being drowned, and so much of the work overthrown as they had cast up, the Roman souldier was put to a double labour.

XIIII. *The Romanes escape a great danger through the good conduct of Cacina.*

C*Acina* had then in qualitie of a souldier of commander fortie yeere received pay: and therefore being acquainted as well with the changeable events of fortune, as prosperous successes, tell nothing at all in courage: but pondering in his minde what might follow, found nothing more expedient, then to enclose the enemy in the wood, untill the wounded, and the carriages were gotten before. For betwixt the hills and the marshes, there stretched out a plaine, capable of a small armie. The legions were so placed, that the fifth should be in the right flank; the one and twentieth in the left; the first to leade; and the twentieth to defend, if they were pursued. The night was unquiet for divers respects; the barbarous enemy, in feasting and banquetting, songs of joy, and hideous outcries filled the valleys and woods, which redoubled the sound againe. The Romanes had small fires, broken voices, lay neare the trenches, went from tent to tent, rather disquieted, and not able to sleep, then watchfull. The Generall had that night a heavie dreame, which drove him into a feare: for he thought that he had seen *Quinctilius Varus*, rising out of those bogs, embrued all in blood, calling him by name, and stretching out his hand towards him; which he thrust back refusing to follow. At day breaking, the legions appointed for the flankes, either for feare, or contempt, abandoned their standings; and seased on the field adjoining beyond the marshes. *Arminius* although he might safely have assaulted them, yet forbore a time. But he no sooner perceived their bag and baggage to stick in the mire, and ditches, and the souldiers troubled about it, disbanded and out of order, and the ensignes confusedly disordered; as it falleth out in such times, every man busie to help himselfe, and deafe to hearken what was commanded; but he encharged the Germanes to break in, crying aloud, Behold *Varus*, and the legions once again vanquished by the same destiny! Having thus said, accompanied with a choice band of horsemen, breaketh the ranks of the Romanes, and especially woundeth their horses; which slipping, by reason of their own blood, and moisture of the bogs; overthrowing their masters, either

either trode under feet, or scattered all they met. Much adoe they had about the ensignes, which they could neither beare up, the shot came so thick: nor pitch on the ground, it was so miry. Whilest *Cacina* maintaineth battell, his horse was killed under him; from which being fallen, he had been taken by the enemy, if the first legion had not opposed her selfe. The greedines of the enemy was some help unto them; being more thirsty of pillage then blood: whereby the legions had leisure towards the evening, to win the open firme land. And yet their miseries did not thus end: They had defences to make, and stufte wherewithall to seek: their tooles to cast up earth, or cut turfes, were almost lost: tents they had none to cover them: nor medicaments to heale the wounded: and dividing their meat partly stained with blood, or beraied with dirt, they bewailed that unfortunate darknesse; and that onely day left for so many thousands to live. By meere chance a horse brake loose in the campe, and prauising up and downe, affrighted with noise, overthrow all he met in his way: which stroake such a feare and terror in the souldiers hearts, that thinking the Germanes had broken upon them, ran all to the gates of the campe, and especially to the Decumana, which was farthest from the enemy, and safest to flee away. *Cacina* being assured that it was but a vain feare, yet not being able either by his authoritie, entreaty, or forcible meanes to stay their fleeing; cast himselfe acrosse the gate, and so moved them to pity, stopping the passage; because they would not tread on their captaines body. The Tribunes and Centurions shewed them withall, that their feare was false, and without cause. Then assembling them in the Principia, and commanding silence, admonished them of the time and "necessitie they stood in. That their safety onely consisted in their weapons; which "yet they were to moderate by discretion: keeping still within their trench, untill "the enemy with hope to break upon them, should draw neare: and that then they "should rush out on every side, and so get to the river of Rhene. Whereas if they "should flie, they should passe through more woods, finde deeper bogs, and the enemy more cruell then ever: but by conquering they should purchase glory and renown: putting them in minde of those things which were esteemed deere at home, and of credit in campe: not once mentioning their disgraces and adversities. This done, he assigned to the most couragious a horse: beginning with his owne; then with the Tribunes and Centurions, not respecting calling or quality to the end that they should first invade the enemy, and the footmen follow. The Germanes, what with hope, what with greedinesse of pray, what with disagreeing opinions of captaines; were as much disquieted as the Romanes. *Arminius* thought it best to suffer them to come out of their fort, and set on them in the bogs and marshes: but *Inguomerus* advice, though more cruell, was most pleasing to the Barbarians: which was, that they should besiege the campe, perswading that by that meanes, the assault would be easier; more captives taken; and the bootie entire and untouched. As soon then as it was day, they beat down the trenches, filled them up with hurdles, grappled up to the toppe of the trench, few souldiers resisting them, and those all stock still in a maze. The cohorts within had the allarum given; the corners and trumpets sounded; and with a great clamour sallied out couragiously, and hemmed the enemy in, casting in their teeth, that here there were neither woods nor quagmires, but the places and the gods indifferent to both. The enemies imagining it but an easie conquest, and that there were but a few to resist, and those but halfe armed; hearing the sound of the trumpets, and seeing the glittering of the armour; which seemed so much the greater, by how much the lesse they were esteemed, on a sudden were beaten down and slain, as men in prosperitie greedy, and in adversi-

tie uncircumspect. *Arminius* and *Inguimerus* fled, the one not hurt, and the other grievously wounded. The common fort were slain as long as the day and anger lasted: the legions returned at night to the fort. And although there were more wounded then the day before, and no lesse want of victuals: yet with the victory they thought they had recovered strength, courage, health, and all other necessities.

XV. *The danger the legions were in under Vitellius. Tiberius reneweth the law of treason.*

IT was noised abroad in the meane season, that the legions were besieged; and that the Germane hoste was entring Gallia. And if *Agrippina* had not hindered the pulling downe of the bridge over Rhene; some through feare would have ventured so lewde an action. Who being a woman of great courage, took upon her for some daies the office of a captain; relieved the souldiers, as they had most need, with apparell and medicine. *C. Plinius* a writer of the Germane warres, recounteth; that she went to the end of the bridge and there staied, praising and thanking the legions as they returned. A matter which entred deeply into *Tiberius* minde: imagining with himselfe that it was not for nought, that she used such care & courtesie: that she sought not the favour of the souldier against the stranger. That there was nothing left for the Emperours to do, if a woman took once upon her to visit the bands, go to the ensignes; and seek meanes to corrupt the souldier: As though it had been but a small point of ambition, to carry her sonne about the campe in the attire of a common souldier, and call him *Cesar Caligula*. That *Agrippina* was now of greater credit with the army, then the Lieutenants and Captaines; and that a woman suppressed a sedition, which *Casars* name and power could not doe. All this was aggravated by *Sejanus*, well acquainted with *Tiberius* humour; and who had long before sowne seeds of hatred: which for the time he smothered, because they should burst out the greater in the end. But *Germanicus* gave *P. Vitellius* charge of the second and foureteenth legion, which he had brought by sea, to conduct by land: to the end the shippes might in the low waters faile more easily, or in the ebbing lie a ground more lightly. *Vitellius* had a quiet beginning of his journey, a dry shore, and small flore: but by and by through a gale of northern winde, the equinoxe falling out the same time, and the sea swelling extraordinarily; his army was tossed hither and thither: the face of the earth was covered with waters, the sea, the shore, the fields, were all but one. The uncertaine sands could not be discerned from firme land: nor the shelves from the deepe seas: their horses and carriages were drawne under water, and swallowed in the gulfs: dead bodies floted and met one another: the souldiers disorderly mingled, now breast, now chin high in water; and sometimes losing footing, either drowned or scattered. Encouragements tooke no place: and being thus tossed with waves, the valiant man was not distinguished from the coward: the wise not knowne from the foole; nor no difference betwixt counsell and chance; but all wrapped up in like violence. In the end *Vitellius* having gotten the higher ground, brought the rest of his company thither, where they passed all that night without utensils, or fire: the greatest part either naked, or moiled, in no lesse miserable a taking, then the besieged by the enemy: for the end of those is glorious, and the death of these without honour. The day shewed them land, and they passed to the river *Visurgis*, where *Cesar* was arrived with the whole fleet: into which he received the legions, reported

red to have beene drowned, and never beleevd to be alive, untill they saw *Cesar* and the army returned. Now *Sertinius* sent before to receive *Segestes* brother *Segimerus*, who had yeelded himselfe, brought him and his sonne to Coleyn, and both pardoned; though *Segimerus* eallier then his sonne: because it was layde to his charge, that he had scoffed at *Quintilius Varus* body. But to supply these losses which the armie had sustayned; Gallia, Spaine, and Italy, strove who should furnish most; offering armour, horses, gold, and such things as they had most in a readinesse. *Germanicus* commending their love and affection, accepted onely their armour and horses, and furnished the rest with his owne charges. And to comfort and mitigate the remembrance of their overthrow, with some courteous usage, hee went about to visit the wounded: praysing in particular every ones valiantnesse, and looking on their wounds; fed one with hope, and another with praise: wun all by good words, and care, and made them constant to himselfe, and resolute to fight. The same yeere by decree of Senate, the markes of triumph were ordained for *A. Caelina*, *L. Apronius*, *C. Silius*, for their noble exploits atchieved under *Germanicus*. And *Tiberius* refused the Title of father of his countrey, which the people had often cast upon him. Nor would not suffer any to sweare to the observation of his ordinances, although the Senate were thereto consenting: affirming, that all mortall things were mutable and uncertaine, and the higher hee should clime, the slipperer his estate should be. Notwithstanding all this, they could not be perswaded that he meant well to the citizens, because hee had put on foote againe the law of treason, knowne to the ancients by the same name. But by vertue of that law other things were brought into question: as if any had betrayed the army: stirred the people to sedition: badly managed the affaires of the commonwealth: impayred and weakened the majesty of the people of Rome. But then deeds onely were punished, words went scotfree. *Augustus* was the first, who under colour of this law, comprehended the examination of infamous libels: moved thereto by the insolent behaviour of *Cassius Severus*, who had defamed honourable persons, both men and women, with scandalous writings. *Tiberius* also, when *Pompeius Macro* the Pretor asked whether judgement should bee given, touching the sayd crime, made answer; that the lawes were to be observed. *Tiberius* was the more exasperated, through certaine verses cast abroad by an uncertaine author, against his cruelty, pride, and disagreeing with his mother. It shall not be amisse, if I rehearse, with what pretended crimes, *Falanus* and *Rubrius*, both meane Gentlemen of Rome were charged: to make it knowne by what beginnings, what sleights of *Tiberius*, an utter ruine of the Common-wealth was intended, then suppressed, afterward revived again, and in the end, overmastered all. *Falanus* accused against him, that amongst other worshippers of *Augustus* (for such fellowships there were almost in every house as it had been Colledges) he had received one *Cassius*: a stage-player, and infamous of his body: and that with his gardens he had sold *Augustus* image. *Rubrius* was accused to have violated an oath made in *Augustus* name. When these things were brought to *Tiberius* notice, he answered: "That his father had not a place assigned him in heaven by decree of Senate, because that honour should be converted to the overthrow of the Citizens. "That *Cassius* the stage-player, was wont to be admitted with others of the same trade, to the playes which his mother had consecrated to *Augustus* memory. That there was nothing done against religion, if his image was sold, as the counterfeits of other gods were, in the sale of their gardens and houses. And as for *Rubrius* oath, it was to be held in the same accompt, as if he had deceived *Jupiter* himself,

"felse: and that the injuries done unto the gods, ought to bee referred to the care
"of the gods.

XVI. An accusation against Granius Marcellus. Orders against
suing for dignities.

Not long after, *Granius Marcellus* Pretor of Bythinia, was accused of treason by *Capto Crispinus* his Quæstor: *Romanus Hispo* subscribed thereto: who entered into a course of life, which the calamities of times, and mens boldnesse made famous. For being needy, obscure, and a busie companion, by secret information he so crept into the cruell humor of the Prince, that hee was able in short time to endanger the estate of the best in the citie; thereby getting credit and authority with one, and hatred of many. He gave an example; which many following, of beggers became rich, of base and contemptible persons, feared; procuring destruction to others, and in the end to themselves. Hee accused *Marcellus* to have uttered bad speeches against *Tiberius*: which was an accusation inevitable, because that having chosen out the greatest blemishes of *Tiberius* life and manners, because they were true, were beleevied. *Hispo* added, that *Marcellus* image was placed higher then those of the *Cæsars*; and that the head of another of *Augustus* being cut off, *Tiberius* image was put upon it: which so incensed him, that breaking silence, hee cried out that hee would himselfe, and that sworne, give open sentence in that cause: to the end the rest should be enforced to doe as he had done: for as yet there were some markes of dying libertie left in the Senate. Then said *C. Piso*. What place wilt thou take *Cæsar* to deliver thy censure? If thou wilt speake first, I shall have a president to follow: if last, I feare I shall swarve from thee uncircumspectly. Abashed with this, the hotter unadvisedly he had growne, the more repenting, hee suffered the arraigned of treason to bee quit. As concerning the extorsions, the cause was put over to the delegates. And not contented with the judgements of the Senators, hee assisted in the hearing of causes himselfe, and sate in the end of the Tribunall, lest he should put the Pretor out of his chaire. Many orders were given in his presence against canvassing for offices, and noble mens suites; but whilest hee laboured for justice, liberty went to wracke. Whilest these things were a doing, *Pius Aurelius* a Senator, complained that his house was decayed and growne to ruine, by the raising up of a publike way, and conveyance of water, and craved ayd of the Lords of the Senate in that behalfe. And where the Treasurers opposed themselves against it, hee was releevied by *Cæsar*, who payed him the valew of his house: desirous to imploy his money in honest actions: which vertue hee long rejoyced after he had shaken of all others. He bestowed * ten hundred thousand sesterces upon *Propertius Celer* once Pretor, & now craving licence to give up his room, by reason of the poverty his father left him in; and commanded others which made the same suite, to make it known to the Senate, that their petition was true: desirous to be accounted severe in things well done: which caused others rather to indure their poverty with silence, then by acknowledging it, receive a benefit at his hands. The same yeere, through continuall raines the river *Tiber* rose so high, that it covered all the flat places of the city; and in falling, there ensued a great ruine of men and buildings. Whereupon a remedy being consulted of in Senate, *Asinius Gallus* was of opinion, that the bookes of the Sibyls should be searched: which *Tiberius* hindred, as one who would hide from them, as well things divine as humane. But he committed that charge unto *Atius Capito*, and *L. Aruntius*: *Achaia* and *Macedonia*

* About 7.
thousand eight
hundred and
twelve pounds
ten shillings.

donia complaining of their heavy taxations: it was agreed in Senate, that they should no longer bee governed by a proconsull, but by *Cæsar*. *Drusus* being made overseer of a play of fencers, set forth in in his owne and his brother *Germanicus* name; because he seemed to take over great pleasure in shedding of blood; stroake a feare into the peoples mindes, and as it is reported, was disliked of his father. Why *Tiberius* forbore to see this spectacle, it was diversly construed: some thought because he lothed to be in great assemblies: some because he was of a melancholy sad disposition: and also misdoubting lest some should fall into comparison, betwixt him and *Augustus*, who was wont to be present at such playes with courteous and milde carriage. I cannot thinke that his meaning was, to give his sonne occasion to shew his cruelty, and move the people to offence; although some have so reported. The licentiousnesse begun in the Theater the last yeere, grew now to a farther outrage: many not onely of the common people slaine, but souldiers and Centurions and a Captaine of the guard, whilest they went about to bridle the insolency of the people, and hinder them from using lavishng speeches against magistrates. That sedition was debated in Senate, many being of opinion that it was convenient, that the pretor should have authority to whip the stage-players. But *Hattarius Agrippa* Tribune of the people contradicted him: whom *Asinius Gallus* rebuked in an oration: *Tiberius* holding his peace, suffering the Senate to use that shadow of liberty. Yet *Hattarius* prevayled, because *Augustus* had once declared the stage-players to be free from stripes: and therefore not lawfull for *Tiberius* to infringe it. Many orders were layd downe touching the moderation and charges bestowed upon playes, and against the insolent behaviour of their favourers; whereof the cheifest are these. That no Senator should enter into a players house: that the Gentlemen of Rome should not accompany them in publike places: that it was not lawfull to see their playes but on the Theater: And that the Pretor should have authority to banish such lookers on, as behaved themselves disorderly. The Spaniards had licence granted them, at their request, to erect a temple in honour of *Augustus* in the freetowne of *Tarracon*; which was a president for all the other provinces to follow. The people making supplication, that they might bee unburdened of the imposition of one in the hundred of all things bought and sold, which began after the wars were begun: *Tiberius* answered by an edict that it was the onely stay of souldiers wages: and that the state would bee overcharged if the olde souldiers should not be dismissed after twenty yeeres service: and by this meanes the order wrung out to appease the souldiers, that the souldiers should be dismissed after sixteene yeeres service, was abrogated. After this it was propounded in Senate by *Aruntius* and *Ateius*, whether for the repressing of the inundations of *Tiber*, it were convenient to divert the course of the rivers and lakes, which were cause of his rising. Upon this occasion, the Embassadors of other free townes and colonies were heard: and especially the deputies from the city of *Florence*; requesting that *Clanis* might not be turned out of his owne channell into *Arne*, as a matter greatly to their hurt. The like speech the *Interamnates* used, shewing that the fertilest tract of *Italy* should be lost, if (as it was intended) the River *Nar* should be cut into many branches; and so all become a standing poole, if the new channels were not capable of so much water. The *Reatins* did not in this case hold their peace, no way yeelding that the mouth of the lake *Velinus* should be dammed up, where it dischargeth it selfe into *Nar*: for so it would overflow all about it. And that nature had well provided for the necessity of mans use: having given all rivers their course and mouth, and as well their bounds, as beginnings. That the religion of their allies was to bee considered,

dered, who consecrated unto the rivers of their countrey, woods and altars. Yea that Tiber would not be deprived of his neighbour-rivers, and so run his course with lesser glory. In the end either through the intreaty of the Colonies, or difficultie of the worke, or superstition, *Piso's* opinion was approved, which was, that there should be nothing changed. *Poppaeus Sabinus* was continued in the government of *Mesſia*, and Achaia and Macedonia added to his charge. For it was *Tiberius* manner, to continue men in their office and charge, either of warre, or jurisdiction, sometimes during their life, whereof there were divers reasons given. Some sayde he did it, to avoyd the tedious care of often providing; and that hee would have that to continue which he had thought once well done: some did interpret it to bee done of envie, because many should not enjoy them: some, that as he was of a subtil wit, so of no resolute judgement; as not choosing men of excellent vertue: and on the other side, hating vices. Hee feared lest the best would attempt somewhat against him, and the worst dishonour the state. Which doubtfulness brought him to that passe at last, that he gave the government of provinces to some, which he would not suffer to depart the City. Concerning the election of Consuls, which was first observed under this Prince, and afterward by others, I dare assure nothing: not only the authors, but the Prince himselfe doth so much differ in his orations. For sometimes not naming the suters, he described every mans beginning, life, and what pay he had received; that a man might easily guesse who they were. At another time not touching any of those particulars, he perswaded the suters, not to disturbe the elections, by bribing and canvassing: promising that himselfe would be a meane for them. And oftentimes he sayd, there were no more which pretended to be suters, but such onely, whose names he had presented unto the Consuls: and that others might bring in their names likewise, if they would trust either to their merit or favour. But all was but faire words, and indeed deceitfull and without effect: and by how much the more they were masked with a colour of liberty, by so much the heavier and greevouſer a servitude they were like to bring after them.

THE



THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. *The cause of the Parthians warres. Vonones driven out of his kingdome.*

Senna Statilius Taurus, and L. Libo being Consuls, the kingdome of the East, and the Romane provinces rebelled: the beginning thereof proceeding from the Parthians; who having demanded and received a King from Rome, yet contemned him as a forreiner, although he were descended of the Arsacides. Vonones was this King, who had been before given in hostage to Augustus, by Phrabates. For although Phrabates had repulsed the army and the Romane Captains, yet he shewed all duties and reverence to Augustus; and the better to confirme friendship, sent some of his children to him: not so much for feare of us, as distrust of disloyaltie in his own subjects. After the death of Phrabates, and other succeeding Kings, through murders committed among themselves: Embassadors came to the City, from the chief noble men of Parthia, to demand Vonones the eldest sonne of Phrabates. Caesar thinking that to be an honour to himself, enduing him with great riches delivered him; and the Barbarians, as their manner is at the change of a new Prince, received him with great joy. Not long after the Parthian grew to be ashamed, that he had so much degenerated, as to demand a Prince from another countrey, trained up in the sleights of their enemies. That now the royall seat of the Arsacides was given and accounted among the Romane Provinces. Where is the glory of those which murdered Crassus, and chased away Antonie; if Caesars bondslave after kindled their disdainfull windes, by swerving from his predecessors manner of life; as going seldome a hunting; being carelesse of horses; carried in a chariot in the streets; and loathing their countrey fare: his Grecian followers were scorned, and himselfe laughed at, for keeping under his seal his basest utensils. But the free access unto him, his curtelie towards all men; unknown vertues to the Parthians; were accounted new vices: and because they were not used of their ancestors, was odious alike to the good and bad. Whereupon Artabanus, one of the Arsacides blood, brought up with the Dahes, was raised against him: who in the first encounter overthrown, recovered new forces, & enjoyed the kingdome. When Vonones was overcome he fled to Armenia, then without a King; and betwixt the Parthian and Romane wealth wavering, through Antonies treacherie: who having under colour of friendship tolled unto him their King Artavasdes, loaded him with chains, and in the end deprived him of his life. Artaxias his son, hating us for the injurie done to his father, with the power of the Arsacides, defended himselfe and the kingdome against us. But when Artaxias was slain by the treason of his nearest friends, Tigranes was made King of the Armenians, and brought by Tiberius Nero into the kingdome. Yet Tigranes reigne dured but a short time, nor his childrens: although they were, as the manner of strangers is, linked in marriage with the Armenians. Then by commandment of Augustus, Artavasdes was

was appointed their King, afterward driven out: not without a great slaughter of our men. After that, *Cæsar* was chosen to settle the affaires of Armenia; who with the good liking of the Armenians, appointed *Ariobarzanes* descended from the *Medes*, to be their King: a man greatly reckoned of for the comeliness of his personage, and valiant courage. *Ariobarzanes* dying by misfortune, the Armenians would endure none of his race: but tried the regiment of a woman called *Eratus*, whom they expelled in a short time: and led an uncertain and loose kinde of life, rather without a Lord then in Libertie: and in the end received the fugitive *Vonones* againe. But when *Artabanus* began to use threatening; and that small aid was to be expected of the Armenians: and yet if he should be defended by our forces; it were to enter into war against the Parthians: *Creticus Silanus* governour of Syria sent for *Vonones*: and appointed him a guard: and suffered him to enjoy all pompe and sumptuousnesse, and name of a King: from which mockery how he purposed to deliver himself, we will set down in his place.

II. Germanicus maketh warre in Germanie.

BUt it displeased *Tiberius* nothing at all, that the East parts were in an uproare; because that under that pretext he might draw *Germanicus* from his accustomed legions, and by giving him charge over new provinces, expose him to treachery and hazard. But he, by how much the more affectionate the souldiers were towards him, and his uncle backward; by so much the more earnest he was to hasten the victory; and laid all the plots he could to give the enemy battell: Discouraging with himselfe, what fortunate or unfortunate successes had happened unto him those three yeeres past, which he had spent in war amongst them: that the Germanes in a pitched field and indifferent places would easily be vanquished: that they took advantage of woods, bogs, short summers, and timely winters: that his souldiers received not so great hurt by wounds, as by long journeys and weight of their armour: that Gallia was wearied with furnishing horses, the long traine of carriage was subject to ambushes; and not easily defended. But if he should take sea, the possession was open for him, and unknown to the enemy. Withall, that so the war might be sooner begun: the legions and victualls brought together: the horses and horsemen conveyed by channels and mouthes of rivers into the heart of Germanie. Having thus resolved, he sent *P. Vitellius*, and *Seantius* to levie the subsidies of Gallia: *Silius Annius*, and *Cæcina* had care of all preparation by sea. A thousand ships were thought to suffice: which were made ready with speed. Some were short and narrow at the fore and hinder part, & broad in the middle, as stronger against the waves. Some were flat bottommed, to land without danger. Many had rudders at both ends, that the rowers altering their stroak on a sudden; might drive to land at either end. Many of them had bridges over, to carry both their engines, horses, and provision, swift of saile, and nimble with oares; in shew gallant and fearfull to the enemy, by reason of the souldiers cheerefulness. The place appointed to meet at, was the Iland of the Batavians, as a place of easie arrivall; and fit to receive the army; and from thence to transport them to the house of battell. For the river of Rhene keeping one channell, or else environing but few Ilands, at the entring of Batavia, is divided into two rivers, and keepeth his name and swiftnesse through Germanie untill he fall into the Ocean. But by the coast of Gallia it waxeth broader, and runneth not so swiftly; and changing his name, the inhabitants call it *Vahales*; which name, it afterward changeth again into *Mosa*: so continuing untill it fall into the same

same Ocean with a great breadth. Whilest the ships were a putting from shore, *Cæsar* commandeth the Lieutenant *Silius*, with a band of men lightly appointed, suddenly to invade the Chatti. And himselfe understanding that the fort of *Luppin* upon the rivers side, was besieged, conducteth thither six legions. *Silius* by reason of sudden raines, did little else then bring away some small bootie, and the wife and daughter of *Arpas*, prince of the Chatti. Neither did those which had besieged the fort, stay to fight; but slipt away, when *Cæsars* coming was noysed. Yet they had throwne downe the tombe, lately built in honour of *Varus* legions, and the old altar erected for *Drusus*. The altar, the Prince reedified, and in memory of his father, hee and the legion ran a horse race; but thought it not convenient to set up the tombe againe, but fortified all passages betwixt the fort, *Aliso*, and *Rhene* with new mounds and bulwarkes. By this time the Fleet was come: and having sent before all provision, and assigned the legions and confederates their shipping, himselfe entred the ditch, called the *Drusian* ditch: where he made a prayer to *Drusus* his father, that having undertaken the same enterprize, that he had done; he would willingly and benignly further him, with the example and memory of his counsels and exploits. From thence he sayled prosperously, by the lakes and Ocean, untill he came to the river *Amisia*, where the navy was least, leaving the river on the left side of it. Wherein there was an oversight, that they brought the shipping on higher, the souldiers being afterward constrained to land on the other side: whereby many daies were spent in making of bridges to passe them over. The horsemen and legions passed the first arme of the sea, the waters being yet but small, without feare: but the auxiliarie souldiers which followed, and Batavians, whilest they sported themselves, and shewed their skill in swimming, were some hindered and troubled, and some drowned.

III. Arminius deborteth his brother Flavius from the Romans service.

AS *Cæsar* was planting his campe, word was brought, that the *Angrivarians* were revolted behinde him. And *Stertinius* was incontinently dispatched away with a company of light horsemen, which revenged their treason with fire and sword. Betwixt the Romanes and the *Cheruscians* ran the river *Visurgis*, and on the banke side was *Arminius*, with the rest of the nobility: who enquiring whether *Cæsar* were come, and answer given him that hee was; intreated that hee might have licence to speake with his brother *Flavius*, who was in the campe, faithfull and trustie to the Romanes; and who not many yeeres before, had lost one of his eyes, under *Tiberius*. His request was granted him: and as *Flavius* came neere, *Arminius* saluted him. And causing his followers to withdraw themselves, requested that our archers which were placed in order on the banke side, should stand farther off; who being gone away, hee asked his brother how hee came to that blemish in his face. Hee named both the place and the battle. He asked him further, what rewards he had received? *Flavius* telleth him that his pay was augmented, sheweth his chaine, his crowne, and other military gifts: which *Arminius* scorned as base rewards of servitude. After that, they grew to farther communication, the one extolling the greatnesse of the Romanes: *Cæsars* wealth: the grievous punishments inflicted on the conquered, and the clemency used to such as yielded: that neither his wife nor sonne were intreated as enemies. *Arminius* alleadged the duty of his countrey: their ancient liberty: the gods of the inward parts of Germany: that

that his mother and himselfe besought him; that hee would not rather chuse to be a traitour and forsaker of his cuntry, then a captaine of his kindred, allies and nation. Growing from thence by little and little to hard words, although the river was betwixt them, they had coped; if *Sertinius* had not runne in, and held backe *Flavius*, full of anger, calling for his armour and horse. *Arminius* was heard to threaten on the other side, and denounce battell: intermingling some Latine words: for once hee commanded his countrey men; and received pay in the Romane camps. The next day, Germane armie presented it selfe in battell aray beyond *Visurgis*. *Germanicus* not thinking it the part of a Commander, to hazard the legions, not having first made bridges, and appointed guards to defend them, passed over the horsemen at the foord. *Sertinius* and *Aemilius*, sometime captaine of the principall ensignes, were the leaders: who separated themselves farre one from the other, to divide the enemies forces. *Cariovalda*, Captaine of the Batavians, where the river was swiftest, sallied out: the Cherusci making as though they fled, tolled them to a plaine, environed with woods: and there turning againe, and spreading abroad, drove back those which made head; hotly pursued those which shrunke: then being gathered round in a ring, overthrew them some neere, frome farre off. *Cariovalda* having long sustained the brunt of the enemy, exhorted his souldiers closely together, to breake into the enemies troopes: himselfe venturing amongst the thickest, was beaten downe with darts: and his horse killed under him, and many noble men about him. The rest either through their owne valour, or ayd of the horsemen, with *Sertinius* and *Aemilius*, escaped danger. When *Cæsar* had passed the river *Visurgis*, he understood by a fugitive from the enemies campe, what place *Arminius* had chosen to give battell: and that other nations were assembled in a wood consecrated to *Hercules*, with intention to assaile the campe by night. The runnagate was beleevied: lights were seene: and the espials getting neerer, reported they heard a great confuse noise of men and horses. Being therefore at a jumpe to hazard all, thinking it convenient to found the souldiers minde, hee bethought himselfe what was the fittest expedient to trie the truth. The Tribunes and Centurions brought him oftener pleasing, then true newes: the freemen were of a servile disposition, in friends there was flattery: if he should call an assembly, that which a few should begin, the rest would applaud. That their mindes would bee best known when they were by themselves; not overlooked: in eating and drinking they would utter their feare or hope. As soone as it was night, going out the Augurall gate, accompanied with one alone, in secret and unknown places to the watch: casting a savage beafts skin on his backe, he went from one place to another: stood listning at the tents, and joyeth in the praise of himselfe: some extolling the nobility of their Captaine; others his comely personage: many his patience, and courtesie: that in sports and serious matters, he was still one man: confesse therefore that they thought it their parts, to make him some requitall in this battell, and sacrifice the traitors and peace-breakers, to revenge and glory.

IIII. Arminius and the Germans overthrow.

Amidst these things, one of the enemies campe, skilfull in the Latine tongue, riding close to the trench: promifeth aloud in *Arminius* name, wives, and lands, & a hundred * sesterces a day, as long as the war continued, if any would flee from the Romans, and come to his side. That bravado did greatly exasperate the legions, wishing among themselves: O that the day were come, that wee might

* About sixteen shillings seven pence.

once

once come to joyne battell with them, saying, that they would take possession of the Germans lands, and bring away their Wives by force. They accepted of their words as a presage, and vowed they would have their Wives and money for a boottie. About the third watch the enemy assailed the campe, but threw no dart: because he perceived many in readinesse to defend their forts: and no man remisse in his charge. The same night *Germanicus* in a pleasant dreame, thought he had beene offering of sacrifice, and that his pretext or robes of his infancy, had beene sprinkled with holy bloud, and that he received another at the hands of *Augusta* his grandmother. Emboldned with that dreame, and the Augurs foretelling luckie successe, concurring with it: he called the souldiers to an assembly, and declared unto them what things by wisdom he had foreseene: and what he thought expedient for the eminent danger of the battell. "That not only the open fields were commodious for the Romans to fight in, but the woods also and Forrests; if they proceeded by discretion. Neither were the barborous huge Targets, and long Pikes so hand some, among trees and low shrubs; as darts and swords; and armour close to the body. They should therefore lay on thicke load; and strike at their faces with their swords. That the Germans had neither coat of fence nor helmet: and their bucklers were not ribbed with iron, or sinews, but with osiers, or painted thin board. Their first rancke was in some sort appointed with Pikes: but the rest had but short weapons burnt at the point. And although they were grim in countenance, and of some courage for a short fit: yet being once wounded they would flee and be gone without shame of discredit, or care of their Captaine: in adversity faint hearted and timorous; but in prosperity, unmindfull both of divine and humane lawes. If they desired an end of their wearisome journeys, and sea; in this battell they might ease themselves. *Albis* was now neerer then *Rhene*: neither was there any further warre to be made, if in that place treading the steps of his father, and uncle, they would make him Conqueror. The heat of the souldier being inflamed with this speech of the captaine, the signe of battell was given. Neither did *Arminius* nor the rest of the German nobility omit to encourage theirs on the other side, saying: "These are the Romans which fled from *Varus* campe: who for feare of joyning battell, had raised a rebellion. Whereof some their backs laden with wounds; and others their sides tired and broken with waves and tempests of the sea; once more offered themselves to the enemy full of ire, without hope of good; the gods being against them. They tooke sea, and chose out the by-ways of the Ocean; lest they should have beene encountred as they came, or pursued after they were repulsed. But when they shall come to handy strokes, they shall finde small refuge in the winde, and oares. That now they should call to minde their covetousnesse, cruelty, and pride: was there any thing else to be done, then to maintaine their liberty; or dye rather then be brought to servitude? Thus encouraged, and demanding battell, they were brought into a place called *Idistavium*, betwixt *Visurgis* and the hils: not of one breadth, but now wide, now straight, as the River or jutting out of the hils did suffer. Behind them was a wood of high trees: and betweene those trees a plaine and even ground; which the Barbarians had possessed with the entrance of the wood: the Cherusci put themselves on the top of the hils, to fall furiously upon the Romans in the heat of the fight. The order of our battell was this. The aydes of Gallia, and the Germans were placed in the front: followed with the foot archers: after them foure legions; and *Cæsar* himself with two Pretorian cohorts, and a choise troupe of horsemen. After them so many legions more, with light horsemen, and bowmen on horsebacke: and the rest of the

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confederates;

confederates; all of them most carefull to keepe their order and aray. *Germanicus* perceiving the Cheruscians troupes to come fiercely toward them; commanded the ablest horsemen, to charge them on the flanke, and *Stertinius* with the other squadrons of horsemen, to environ him, and set on him behind, promising to be himselfe at hand if need required. In the meane season, eight Eagles (a very lucky signe) were seene to flee towards the entrance of the wood. Which the Emperour perceiving; cryed that they should march on, and follow the Romane birds; the peculiar gods of the legions. Whereupon the footmen brake in, and the horsemen sent before charged them on the flanke and on the backe. And which is strange to report, two companies of the enemy tooke a contrary flight: those which kept the wood, ran to the plaine: and those which held the plaine, hastened to the wood. The Cherusci being betwene both, were thrust downe from the hills: amongst whom with great valour, *Arminius* maintained the battell, with his hands, voyce and wounds. All his might he bent against the archers, to have burst out that way, if the cohorts of Gallia, of Rhætia, & the Vindelicians, had not opposed themselves with their ensignes. Neverthelesse, by strength of body, and courage of his horse, he escaped; having first dyed his face with blood, lest he should be knowne. Some report that he was knowne to the Cherusci, which were among the auxiliary bands of the Romanes, and let passe by them. The same either valour or guile, gave *Inguiomerus* meanes to escape; the rest were slaine on every side. And most of them endeavouring to swim over *Visurgis*, were either with the darts throwne after them, or force of the river, or waight of such as leapt after, or with the bankes which fell, killed or overwhelmed. Some cowardly fleeing away, sought to clamber the tops of trees, and there hiding themselves in the boughes, were shot through by the archers in a mockery: and others bruised by the overturning of the trees. The victory was great, and unto us not bloody. From five of the clocke, untill night, the enemies were slaine, which filled ten miles of ground with dead carcasses, and armour. Some chaines were found among their spoiles; brought to imprison the Romanes, as not doubting a prosperous successe. The souldiers saluted *Tiberius* by the name of Emperour, in the same place where the battell was fought: and erected a mount of earth, as a token of victory: and put on it the armour of the enemy: and underneath the names of the nations which they had conquered.

V. A second battell wonne by the Romanes against the Germanes.

THE wounds which the Germanes received, and their overthrow, did not so much fret and grieve them as this spectacle: in so much that those which were on the point to abandon their dwellings, and make preparation to passe the river *Albis*, catch up their weapons, and demand battell. The common fort, the chiefe Gentlemen, young and old, assaile and endanger the Romanes. At last they chose a place, environed with woods and a River, which had a narrow waterish plaine within it. The woods were invironed likewise with a deepe marsh: saving on one side, where the Angrivarians had raised up a broad causey, by which their territories were separated from the Cherusci. The footmen stayed there: the horsemen hid themselves in the woods adjoining; that when the legions should enter the wood, they might charge them on the backe. *Cesar* was informed of all their plots: he knew their designements, their places, their open and secret devices, and turned the enemies fraud to his owne destruction. The charge of the horsemen and the plaine he committed to *Sejus Tubero* Lieutenant: part of the footmen marched

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in order of battell to the wood: and part went about to win the causey; the hardest he undertooke himselfe; and the rest he committed to the Lieutenants. They unto whom the plaine fell, did easily enter it: but those which were to assault the causey were sore gaulded, & put back, with blowes from above, as if they had scaled a wall. The Captaine perceiving that the enemy had the advantage by fighting so neere, caused the legions to retire a little: and commanded the sling-casters and stone-casters to let freely at them, and drive them from their fence. Many darts and speares were shot out of engines; and the more the enemies were in fight, the more wounds they received. The causey being taken, *Cesar* himselfe with his guard, courageously entred the woods, and fought with the enemy hand to hand: who had behinde him a marsh, and the Romanes a river or mountaines: the place brought a necessity of fighting to both parts: their hope consisted in their manhood: and their safety in the victory. The Germanes were no lesse courageous: but they were overcome by the advantage of weapons, & manner of fight. For being a great multitude, and the place narrow, they could neither thrust out, nor draw backe those long pikes; nor use any nimbleness of body in running in, and stepping backe: but were forced to fight, and not move a foot. Contrarily the Romane souldier, his shield close to his brest; his sword in his hand: gored the wide sided, and open faced Barbarian: and by their slaughter opened a way through them. *Arminius* being now couragelesse, by reason of continuall danger, or fresh bleeding wound lately received; but *Inguiomerus* flew up and downe the army, wanted rather fortune then courage. And *Germanicus* to be the better knowne, unlaced his helmer, and be-fought them to continue the slaughter: captives there was no need of: only the generall butchery of the nation would make an end of the warre. And in the evening he draweth out one legion from the army; to make ready the campes: the rest filled themselves untill night with the blood of the enemy. And for the horsemen, it is hard to ghesse which had the better. Then *Cesar* having praised the valor of the Conquerours in an assembly, made a great heape of armour with his proude title. The people betwixt Rhene and *Albis* being vanquished, *Tiberius* *Cesar*'s army doth dedicate those monuments to *Mars*, *Jupiter*, and *Augustus*. Of himselfe he added no word for feare of envy, or because the memory of the fact was sufficient testimony for him. Immediately after he commanded *Stertinius* to make warre against the Angrivarians, unlesse they would presently yeeld: who humbly intreating and yeelding to all that was demanded, received generall pardon. But the Summer being now farre spent, some of the legions were sent backe to the standing camps; and *Germanicus* embarking many, conveyed them to the Ocean, by the river *Amisia*. At the first they had a quiet and calme sea: no noise heard, but the noise of the oares of a thousand vessels; which sometimes likewise were driven with sailes; by and by haile powing downe out of blacke and thicke clouds, and sundry stormes and tempests arising from all parts; and uncertaine raging surges deprived them of all foresight, and skill in governing their shipping. And the souldier fearefull & unacquainted with the dangerous adventures by sea, whilst he troubled the mariners, or unreasonably goeth about to helpe; hindered the office of the more skilfull. In the end the heaven, and all the sea gave place to the southwind: which more and more prevailing, through the mountaines of Germany, deepe rivers, and huge clouds; and growing more violent and boisterous through the cold of the north, neere which it is, tossed and scattered the shipping into the wilde Ocean, or rocky Ilands, or dangerous and unknowne quicksands. Which being a little, but with much adoe escaped, by the changing of the sea, they went whither the winde drove them. They could

could neither cast anchor; nor pumpe out the water which came in on them. Horses of service and carriage; bag and baggage; yea their armour, they threw into the sea; that the ships might be lightned, which leaked at the sides; the billowes swelling more and more. By how much the Ocean is more violent, then any other sea; and Germany exceedeth other countries in roughnesse and sharpenesse of ayre: by so much that misfortune exceeded others, in strangenesse and greatnesse: happening at the shores of the enemies land, or in so deepe and wide a sea; that it hath beene beleevd to be the last, and beyond which there is no land. Some of their ships were drowned; many cast upon Ilands farre off: the souldiers, the countrey being uninhabited, perished by famine, unlesse it were such as releevd themselves with the horses as were cast a land. *Germanicus* galley only arrived at the *Chauceans* country: who seeing himselfe all those dayes and nights upon rockes, and points; crying that he only was guilty of the casting away of so many persons: could hardly be kept and stayed by his friends, from casting himselfe into the same Sea. At length the sea growing lower, and the winde more favourable; the lame and untackled ships, with a few oares, or their garments spread in stead of sailes, or drawne at the taile of stronger, returned. Which *Germanicus* mending in haste, sent to search the Ilands: by which care many of the souldiers were gathered together and recovered. The *Angrivarians* lately received into protection, delivered some, which they had redeemed of such as dwelt further in the land: some were cast into Britanny, and sent backe by the petty Kings. As every man returned from farre countreys, he reported strange wonders; tempestuous stormes; birds never before heard of; sea-monsters; doubtfull shapes, whether of men or beasts: which they had either seene, or imagined through feare.

VI. *Germanicus being returned, wasteth the countrey of the Chatti: and recovereth an ensigne, lost with Varus.*

BUt the fame of the navy lost; as it did put the Germans in a hope of beginning a new warre: so did it give *Germanicus* stomach to curbe them. Whereupon he commanded *C. Silius* to goe against the *Chatti*, with thirty thousand footmen, and three thousand horsemen; and himselfe invaded the *Marsi* with stronger forces. Their Captaine called *Malovendus*; who not long before had yeelded himselfe, gave notice how, that not farre off, an ensigne of *Varus* legion was buried, and kept but with a slender guard. A band of men was sent thither out of hand: with direction, that some should toll them out, and assaile them in the front; and others by invironing them behind, to open the earth and take out the ensigne: fortune shewing herselfe favourable to both the companies. This made *Caesar* more forward, and entered further into the land: wasteth, forrageth, riseth the countrey; the enemy not daring to encounter them: or if at any time he did resist, he was straight driven back: never (as they understood by certain captives) fearing more in their lives. For they gave out, that the Romanes were invincible, and not to be danted with any misfortune; seeing that having lost their navy, and armour; and after that the shores were covered, with the carcasses of their men and horses; they invaded them afresh, with the same courage, & like fiercenesse: yea as if they had increased their number. From thence the souldiers were brought back to their winter-standing camps: glad that they had recompensed their misfortune by sea, with so prosperous a victory. *Caesar* used great largenes, recompensing every man, to the value of the losse he had sustained.

sustained. Little doubt, but the enemy grew faint hearted, and began to consult how he might intreat a peace: and that if the next summer the warres should have been continued, there should be an end of all. But *Germanicus* was solicited by often letters from *Tiberius*, to return and receive the triumph which was ordained for him: that he had passed through many chances and accidents: that he had had prosperous successe in many battels: that he should remember what grievous and cruell losses he had sustained, not by any oversight of the Captain, but by the winds and waves of the sea: that he had been sent nine times into Germany by *Augustus* of famous memory: where he had atchieved more noble exploits by counsell then force. So he had received the submission of the *Sigambri*: so the *Suevians* and the King of the *Maroboduans* were enforced to make peace: that the *Cherusci* and other rebellious nations, seeing the Romanes had had a sufficient revenge on them, might be left to war one against another. But *Germanicus* intreating for one yeere longer, to finish the enterprises he had begun; *Tiberius* assaulted his modesty more earnestly; offering him the Consulship once more: which he should execute in person. He added further, that if there were any more wars to be enterprised, he should reserve that subject, for the glory of his brother *Drusus*: who no other enemy being left, could not but by warring against the Germans, get the title of Emperour, or win the crown of laurell. *Germanicus* made no longer stay: although he knew well that those were but colours, sought through envy, to draw him from the glory he had already purchased.

VII. *Libo accused of treason, killeth himself.*

ABout the same time *Libo Drusus*, one of the *Scribonian* family, was accused for practising against the state. The beginning, the order, and the end of that businesse, I will set down: because those things came then first to light, which for so many yeers had consumed and eaten the Common-wealth. *Firminus Cato* a Senator, and one of *Libos* inward friends, induced this uncircumspect young man, and easily led to vanities, to give credit to the Chaldeans promises, Magicians ceremonies, and interpreters of dreames: vainly and boasting putting him in minde, that *Pompey* was his great grandfather; *Scribonia*, who had been *Augustus* wife, his Aunt, the *Cæsars* his cosen germanes: and that his house was full of images and monuments of his predecessors. He incited him further to licentious riot: to take up and borrow money, making him a companion of his wanton lusts and familiarities, the better to wrap and convince him with many evidences. When he had found witnesses sufficient, and such also of his servants which were privy to the whole matter, he desired he might be admitted to the speech of the Prince: and by means of *Flaccus Vespularius*, a Gentleman of Rome, and one of *Tiberius* familiars, discovered the matter, and the man. *Caesar* was content with the accusation, yet denied conference with *Firminus* the accuser: saying, that by the same messenger, *Flaccus*, their speech might passe from one to another. In the mean season he honoureth *Libo* with the Pretorship, inviteth him to his table, never changed his countenance towards him, nothing passionate in words (so skilfull he was in concealing his anger) and although he could have pretended both his words and enterprises; yet he desired rather to know the manner of his proceedings: untill one *Iulius* solicited to convince and raise infernall spirits by enchantments, uttered the matter to *Fulcinus Trio*, one amongst the promoters, compted quicke and ready witted, and carelesse of discredit. This *Trio*, accused immediatly the party: went to the Con-

fuls: and required that the Senators would heare the matter. The Senators were assembled, and given to understand that they were to deliberate of an important and waightry affaire. *Libo* in the meane time changing his attire, went with certaine noble women from one house to another, intreated his Cousins, and craveth their good word in his extremity: but all of them refused; some pretending one excuse, some another; fearing lest they should be thought partakers of the same crime. The day come that the Senate sate; being through feare, or as some report, faining himselfe sicke, weake and weary, was brought to the court gates in a chariot, leaning on his brother, and holding up his hands, craved pardon of *Tiberius*; who received him, never once changing countenance. Then *Cæsar* read the libels aloud, and their Authors, so moderating himselfe, that he was not thought either to mitigate, or aggravate any way the crimes. Besides *Trio* and *Caius*, there stepped forth two other accusers, *Fonteius Agrippa*, and *C. Livius*, striving which had best right to plead against him; untill *Livius* (because they would not yeeld the one to the other, and *Libo* came without any advocate) promised that he himselfe would set downe severally every crime by him committed. Then he produced such sortish declarations, that among other things, they contained, how *Libo* had consulted with the Magicians, whether he should ever have money enough, to be able to cover the Appian way, from Rome to Brundisium; with many such simple and frivolous matters, and more mildly to terme them, pitifull. Yet the accuser enforced one thing more: that in one writing of *Libos* owne hand, there were added certaine dangerous and unknowne characters, to the names of the *Cæsars* and Senators. And the party arraigned denying it; it was thought good, that his bondmen which knew his hand, should be examined upon the racke. And because that by an ancient decree of Senate, it was not lawfull to torture a bondman against the life of his Lord: *Tiberius* a subtiler deviser of new lawes, commandeth them all to be sold to a publicke Actor, that without prejudice of the decree, they might be tortured, as not being *Libos* bondmen. Whereupon *Libo* desired that the matter might be deferred to the next day. And being at his house, intreated his neere Kinsman *P. Quirinius*, to make the last intercession for him to the Prince: who had answer given him that he should intreat the Lords of the Senate. In the meane season his house was beset with a guard of souldiers, who in the entry made such a noise, that they might easily be both heard and seene. When as *Libo* loathing the very sight of the dainties ministred for his last comfort, began to call for some one to murder him: and taking his bondmens right hands, and putting a sword in them; whilst they trembling with feare, and refusing to doe it, ran from one place to another: overthrew the light on the table: in that mortall and deadly darknesse, he thrust himselfe twice in the guts. At the grone when he fell, his freed men came running about him: but the souldiers seeing the murder, stood aloofe. Notwithstanding, the accusation was prosecuted with like asseveration, and *Tiberius* swore, that if he had not voluntarily hastened his owne death, he would have begged his life, although he had beene guilty. His goods were distributed among the accusers, and Pretors roomes were extraordinarily given to such as were of the Senate. Then *Cotta* *Massalinus*, gave his opinion, that *Libos* funerals should not be carried the funerals of his posterity. *C. Lentulus*, that none of the Scribonian family should take upon him the surname of *Drusus*. By the advice of *Pompey Flaccus*, certaine daies of general procession were ordained. *L. P.* and *Gallus Asinius*, and *Papius Mutilus*, and *L. Apronius*, were of opinion, that gifts should be offered to *Iupiter*, *Mars*, and the goddess of Concord; and that the Ides of September when *Libo* killed himselfe should be kept holy day. The dignities and

and flatteries of these men, I have thought good to register, that it might be knowne that that was alwayes an old disease in the Common-wealth.

VIII. An expulsion of Mathematicians. A reformation of abuses.

DEcrees of Senate were ordained, for the expulping of Astrologers, and Magicians out of Italy: among whom *L. Pituanus* was throwne headlong, from the Tarpeian rocke: and the Consuls punished *P. Martius* without the Esquiline gate, with the sound of Trumpets, according to the ancient custome. At the next meeting of the Senate, *L. Haterius* once Consul, and *Octavius Fronto*, who had beene Pretor, spake much against the superfluous excesse of the City. Where it was decreed, that they should not serve at their tables vessels of beaten gold, nor men weare silke above their degree. *Fronto* went further, and demanded that there might be an order set downe touching their plate, household stufte, and number of servants: for it was a thing in use, for the Senators to lay downe that for a decree, which they thought expedient for the Common-wealth. "*Gallus Asinius* spake to the contrary, saying: that with the greatnesse of the Empire, private mens wealth was increased: which was no new matter, but of old times received likewise: that the wealth in *Fabritius* time differed from that in *Scipioes*, and yet all referred to the Common-wealth: which being but in meane estate, the Citizens houses were thereafter. But now that it is growne to that magnificence, the estate of particular men is better also. Neither is there anything too much or too little, either in plate, number of servants, or other furniture of household, but in respect of the quality of the owner. The revenewes of a Senator were distinguished from a Gentlemans: not because they differed in nature, but as they were preferred in place, degrees, and dignities, the one before the other. These things are procured for the recreation of the minde, or health of body. Unless peradventure they would that the most noble should take most cares upon them, & hazard their persons in most dangers; and yet want those pleasures and comforts, which best served to lenifie and make them more easie. The acknowledging of vices under honest termes, and the likenesse of affections in the hearers minds, caused *Gallus* to have an easie assent. *Tiberius* added, that that was no time for reformation: & if there were any dissolution in manners, there should not want one to redresse it. Among these things, *L. Piso* reprehending the ambition used in places of judgment, corruption of justice, cruelty of advocates, the threats of accusers; protested he would be gone and forsake the City, and lead his life far off in some retired and solitary place in the countrey: and in so saying went out of the Senate house. *Tiberius* was moved at this; and did what he could to pacifie him with faire words: and withall was earnest with his neere Kinsmen to stay him, either by intreaty or authority. Not long after the same *Piso* gave no lesse free testimony of his griele, by summoning *Vrgulania* to appear in judgment; whom the favour of *Augusta* had priviledged above the course of lawes: but *Vrgulania* disobeying the summonce being conveyed into *Cæsars* house, made small reckoning of *Piso*; yet he desisted not, although *Augusta* complained her credit was touched therein, and her calling embased. *Tiberius* making it a part of curtesie, so farre to yeeld unto his mothers request, as to promise he would goe to the Pretors Tribunall to defend *Vrgulania*: went out of the Palace, the souldiers being commanded to follow a far off. The people which met him in the face, marked with what a settled countenance he went forward, protracting the time & the way, with divers discourses,

discourses, untill that (*Piso's* friends labouring in vaine to dissuade him from the suite) *Augusta* had commanded the money which was demanded to be brought to the Tribunall. That matter was so ended, not without some glory to *Piso*, and greater fame to *Cesar*. But *Vrgulianus* credit and authority was so overgreat in the city, that she disdained to come, and give witness in a matter which was handled before the Lords of the Senate. And therefore the Pretor was sent to examine her in her house: when as the ancient custome was, that even the Vestall virgins were examined as witnesses, in the common place of pleading and judgement. I would not recite the matters propounded thar yeere, but that the diversity of opinions, betwixt. *Cn. Piso*, and *Alinius Gallus* in that point is worthy the knowing. For *Piso* was of opinion, that although *Cesar* had promised he would be present, that so much the rather he would prosecute his cause against *Vrgulania*: and that in the absence of the Prince, the Senators and Gentlemen might execute their charge, as a thing well befitting the dignity of the Common-wealth. *Gallus*, because *Piso* had first taken upon him the colour of liberty, held that there was nothing done with majesty, and answerable to the dignity of the people of Rome; but what was done in *Cesar's* presence: and therefore, the assemblies of Italy, and meetings of Provinces were to be reserved untill he would be present. These things were debated very hotly on both sides, *Tiberius* giving them the hearing, and holding his peace, and in the end they were deferred. There arose another controversie betwixt *Gallus* and *Cesar*. For *Gallus* was of opinion, that the assemblies for creation of Magistrates, should be from five to five yeeres: and that the Lieutenant of the Legions, who had executed that charge before they had bene Pretors, should then be chosen Pretors elect: and that the Prince should every yeere nominate twelve. "Little doubt but this advice went deep, and reached to a secret of state. *Cesar* nevertheless, as though his authority should thereby be made greater, said, that it stood not with his modesty to choose so many, and deferre so many. And if the election should be every yeer, hardly could it be chosen, but some would be offended, although such as had the repulse, might be comforted with hope to be chosen the next yeere. And how would they hate me, which should be deferred above five yeeres? how could it be knowne in so long a time, what every mans minde is, what his house, and fortune? if men grow too proud in one yeere, what would they be if they should be continued for five yeeres? Magistrates should to be multiplied five for one: and lawes subverted: which have prescribed a time for suiters to exercise their industry, and to procure and enjoy dignities. With this speech, in few plausible, he confirmed the state to himselfe: he bettered the revenewes of certain of the Senators: & therefore it was the more to be marvelled that he accepted no better of the request of *M. Hortalus*, a noble young man, false into manifest poverty. This *Hortalus* was nephew to *Hortensius* the Orator, and by the liberality of tenne hundred thousand sesterces given him by *Augustus*, perswaded to marry, and have children, lest so worthy a family should be extinguished. Standing therefore with foure of his sonnes, before the entry of the Senate house, in stead of his opinion, in a full assembly of the Senate in the palace, casting his eyes sometimes on the image of *Hortensius*, played among the Orators, and sometimes on that of *Augustus*, began as followeth. "These children, Lords of the Senate, whose number and tender yeeres ye see, I have not begotten of mine owne accord; but because the Prince did so exhort me: and because my predecessors had deserved to have issue to succeed them. As for my owne part, seeing I could neither attaine to wealth, nor winne the peoples favour through the alteration of times; nor yet eloquence, which is the proper ornament of

* *Ann. 17812.*
H. 10. 5.

"of our house: I contented my self, if my small ability were neither a reproch to my selfe, nor a burden unto others. By the Emperours commandment I took a wife; behold the off-spring and progeny of so many Consuls and Dictators: which I speake not for envy to any, but to move pity. They shall enjoy, O *Cesar*, whilst thou dost flourish, such honors as thou wilt bestow upon them. In the mean space defend from poverty *L. Hortensius* nephewes sonnes, brought up by *Augustus*. *Tiberius* perceiving that the Senators were inclined to his speeches, was the more ready to gainsay him almost in these words. If all such as are needy begin to come hither, and crave for money for their children, they shall never be satisfied, and the Common-wealth unable to supply their necessities. Neither have our predecessors permitted us to digresse from the matter put in deliberation, and when we should intreat of somewhat to the benefit of the Common-wealth, debate how to better our private estates: & increase our substance with the hatred of the Senate, and Princes, whether they grant or deny our requests. These are not petitions, but unseasonable, importunate, unlooked for craving: to rise up in this place and with the number and age of children, when the Lords are assembled to handle other matters, to assaile the modesty of the Senate, and use the like violence unto me, and as it were forcible to breake open the publicke treasury: which if we waste by ambition, must be supplied by unlawfull meanes. *Augustus* of famous memory, hath given thee money *Hortalus*, unasked: yet not upon condition that it should alwayes be given thee: for in so doing, industry would decay, and idleness increase: if men had not a feare and hope in them. And if all men should carelesly expect reliefe from others, they would be to themselves unprofitable, and to us burdensome. These and the like speeches, although they were heard with the approbation of such, whose custome is to applaud all the Princes actions, be they honest or dishonest: yet many held their tongue, or secretly muttered, which *Tiberius* perceived; and having paused a little, said that he had answered *Hortalus*: Nevertheless if it so seemed good unto the Lords of the Senate, he would give every one of his male children * two hundred thousand sesterces. The rest gave him thanks: *Hortalus* held his tongue, either for feare, or as retaining somewhat of the nobility of his Ancestors, even in extremity of Fortune. Yet *Tiberius* had no compassion afterward on him, although the *Hortensian* family fell into shamefull poverty.

I X. *Clemens a bondslave, counterfeiteth himselfe to bee Agrippa: and his bold answer.*

THE same yeere, an audacious part of a bondslave had shaken the whole state with civill warres and discord; had it not bene prevented in good time. A bondman of *Agrippas* called *Clemens*, understanding of *Augustus* death: with a courage more then servile, purposed to goe to the Iland Planasia, and by fraud or force bring away *Agrippa* to the German campe. But his enterprize was hindered by the slownesse of a ship of burden: and in the meane season *Agrippa* being murdered, bending his minde to greater and dangerons attempts, stealeth away his ashes: and being come to Coram, a promontory of Ethruria, in unknowne places hideth himselfe, untill his beard and haire were growne out: being in favour and yeeres not unlike his Lord. This done, he whispereth it abroad, by fit companions of his secrets, first (as in things forbidden commonly it is wont to be) by privy rumours, that *Agrippa* was yet alive; then openly in the credulous eares of the weaker

weaker sort, or busie headed and turbulent: and therefore most desirous of novelties. His manner was towards night to goe to small Townes; shewing himselfe a-broad, but seldome: nor stay long in a place. And because time, and the eye try out truth; and falshood winneth credit on a sudden, and by uncertainties, he either left some speech of him where he had beene; or prevented it, before any was begun. In the mean time it was commonly reported throughout Italy, and beleevd at Rome, that *Agrippa* by the goodnesse of the gods was preserved alive. Insomuch that be- that *Agrippa* arrived at Hostia, there great multitudes, and in the City secret assemblies shewed signes of joy: *Tiberius* being doubtfull and perplexed, whether he should make away his bondman by souldiers; or suffer that vaine credulousnesse to vanish away with time. Thus wavering betwixt shame and feare: sometimes thinking it no policy to make light of any thing; and sometime lesse to feare all things: in the end committed the matter to *Sallustius Crispus*. He chuseth two of his followers (or as some say souldiers) and perswadeth them, as though they had fled for some offence to goe to him; offer him money; promise him loyalty; and that they would stand to him in all dangers. They fulfilling his commandement, espying a night when he had no guard: with ayde sufficient, bound him, stopped his mouth, and drew him to the palace. And when *Cesar* asked him, how he was made *Agrippa*: it is reported he answered, as thou wast made *Cesar*. He could not be brought by any meanes to disclose his confederates. Neither durst *Tiberius* punish him onely but in a secret part of the palace commanded him to be murdered; and his body privily to be conveyed away. And although many of the Princes owne house, Senators, and Gentlemen, were reported to have sustained him with their goods, and ayded him with their counsell; yet there was no further enquiry made. In the end of this yeere a triumphall arch was erected neere to *Saturnus* Temple, for the recovery of the ensignes lost with *Varus*, under the conduct of *Germanicus*, and *Cesar*s good fortune. And a Temple built also of strong Fortune, neere Tiber in the Gardens which *Cesar* the Dictator had bequeathed to the people of Rome; and a Chappell dedicated to the Julian family; and an image to *Augustus* at Bovilles.

IX. *Germanicus triumpheth: is sent to the East: The death of Archelaus King of Cappadocia.*

C *Coelius*, and *L. Pomponius* being Consuls, the seventh Kalends of June, *Germanicus Caesar* triumphed for the victories gotten against the Cherusci, Chatti, and Angrivari, and all other nations inhabiting to the River of *Albis*. In which triumph were carried the spoiles, and captives, and counterfeit of the mountaines, rivers, and battels; and so the warre was taken as ended, because he was forbidden to prosecute it any further. The comelinesse of his person, and triumphall chariot, loaden with five of his children, made the shew more gallant. But when they thought with themselves how unlucky the peoples favour was in his father *Drusus*: that his unckle *Marcellus* was taken from them in the flowre of his youth, & heat of the peoples love: that the affection of the people of Rome was unfortunate, and of small continuance, they were all secretly stricken into a feare. And although *Tiberius* gave in *Germanicus* name, to every one of the people * three hundred sesterces a man, and made him his Copartner in the Consulship; yet could never be accepted a sincere friend, but that he went about to remove the young man, under colour of honour, and forged pretenfes; or greedily taking hold of such

* About 46. s.
15. d. 09.

as were offered by chance. King *Archelaus* had now fiftie yeeres enjoyed *Cappadocia*, greatly disliked of *Tiberius*, because that during his being at *Rhodes*, he had used no shew of dutie towards him: which *Archelaus* did not omit through pride, but because he was so admonished by *Augustus* familiarest friends. For whilest *C. Caesar* yet flourished and managed the affaires of the East, *Tiberius* friendship was suspected as dangerous. The house of the *Cesars* was no sooner extinguished, and that himselfe was in possession of the Empire, but he tolleth *Archelaus* by his mothers letters to Rome: who not dissembling her sonnes displeasure, offered him all gentle intreatie, if he would come to him with submission. He then ignorant of the treachery, or misdoubting violence if he seemed to perceive it, maketh haste to the citie: where being churlishly received, and anon after accused in Senate, not for the crimes which were pretended, but by anguish of mind, or feebleness of age, and because not onely base, but also things indifferent are strange and unusuall to kings; he either willingly or naturally ended his life. The kingdom was afterward reduced into a province: and *Cesar* declaring that with the renewes thereof, the tribute of one in the hundred might be eased, made a decree, that from thence forward one should be levied in two hundred. At the same time *Antiochus*, king of the *Comageni*, and *Philopater*, king of the *Cilicians* being dead, those nations were divided among themselves, some desiring to be governed by the Romans, and others by Kings. And the provinces of *Syria* and *Judaea*, overcharged with taxes, made supplication that their tributes might be deminished. These things therefore, with those which I have rehearsed of *Armenia*, *Tiberius* sheweth to the Lords of the Senate: and that the tumults of the Orient, could no way be pacified but by *Germanicus* wisdom. As for himselfe, he was stricken in age, and *Drusus* was not yet of ripe yeeres. And thereupon by decree of Senate, *Germanicus* had the charge given him over all the provinces, divided by sea, and a greater command whither soever he went, then any, which either by lot or Princes sending received government. Now *Tiberius* had before removed from *Syria* *Creticus Silanus*, who was by marriage allyed to *Germanicus*, his daughter being promised in marriage to *Nero Germanicus* eldest son; and in his roome had appointed *Cn. Piso* to be Lieutenant, a man both rash and headstrong: not knowing what it was to obey, as having that fiercenesse of courage naturally from *Piso* his father: who during the civill warres, ayded in most eager manner, the sides which rose in *Afrika* against *Cesar*: then following *Brutus* and *Cassius* faction, and licence granted him to returne, forbare all dignities, untill he was wooed to accept the Consulship, offered him by *Augustus* *Cesar*s owne motion. But besides the hereditary courage of his fathers, the nobility and wealth of *Plancia* his wife made him grow so insolent, that he would scarce yeeld to *Tiberius*, and contemned his children as far inferiour to himselfe: not doubting at all, but that he was chosen Governour of *Syria*; to bridle and keep under *Germanicus* hopes. And some beleevd that he had had secret commandement by *Tiberius* so to doe: and without all peradventure *Augustus* had put it into *Plancia*s head, (emulation being a usuall matter amongst women) to contend and quarell with *Agrippina*. The court was divided, some secretly favouring *Drusus*, some *Germanicus*. *Tiberius* did leane to *Drusus*, as his owne, and of his blood: but the small affection *Germanicus* unckle carried him, was cause that others loved him the more: and because that by the mothers side he was more nobly descended, having *M. Antonius* for his Grandfather, and *Augustus* for his unckle: whereas *Pomponius Atticus*, a Gentleman of Rome, great Grandfather to *Drusus*, did not answer the honorable memories of the *Claudians*. And *Germanicus* wife *Agrippina*, did go beyond *Livia*

Drusus

Drusus wife, in fruitfulness, fame, and name. Nevertheless the brothers did exceedingly well agree, nothing at all moved with the emulation and contentions of their kindred.

X. The Germanes are at variance between themselves.

An act: -quake in Asia.

NOT long after, *Drusus* was sent to Illyrium to be trained up in feats of war, and to winne the souldiers hearts. And *Tiberius* thought it better, that the young man lustly given, by the wanton lasciviousnesse of the Citie, should be better fashioned in the camp, and himself in more securitie, both his sonnes being commanders over the legions. But the colour was, that the Swevians did crave aide against the Cherusci: for being rid of the Romanes, and voide of forrein feare, through emulation of glory, a thing usuall in that countrey, they turned their armes against themselves. Oddes there was none in the strength of the nations, or valour of Captains, but that the name of a King, which *Maroboduus* took upon him, was odious to the common people: and *Arminius* favoured because he fought for libertie. And therefore not onely the Cherusci, and their confederates: *Arminius* old souldiers took armes: but the Swevian nations also of *Maroboduus* kingdome. The Semnones and the Longobards took part: and joyning with *Arminius* had prevailed; if *Inguomerus* with a strong company of his vassalls, had not fled to *Maroboduus* for no other cause, but onely being old and unkle to *Arminius*, disdained to obey him being but young and his brothers sonne. They pitcht their battell with like hope on both sides: not using roving incursions, or skirmishing in scattered troupes, as the manner of the Germanes in times past had been: but by long warring against us, they had accustomed themselves to follow their ensignes, strengthen and ayde one another, and obey their Captains. "Then *Arminius* viewing his armie on horseback vaunted to all he met, that their libertie was recovered, the legions slain: and shewed in the hands of many of the souldiers, the spoils and armour which by force they had taken from the Romanes. Contrarily he called *Maroboduus* a runnagate, unskilfull in warres; that he had saved himself in the lurking holes of *Hercynia*: and then by gifts and embassies, entreated an agreement: that he was a traitour to his countrey, and one of *Cæsars* followers: therefore that they should thrust him out, with no lesse hatred then they had slain *Varus Quintilius*: that they should now call to minde so many battels, by successe of which, having in the end driven out the Romanes, it is easily seen who should have the upper hand. Neither did *Maroboduus* on his side forget to vaunt himself, or inveigh against his enemy; but taking hold of *Inguomerus*, told them that all the honours of the Cherusci consisted in that body: and that all that fell out luckily, was achieved by his counsell. "That *Arminius* a for, unexpert in matter of warre, attributed others glory to himself: because he had entrapped by guile, three unfurnished legions with their Captain, nothing misdoubting their fraud; to the great losse of Germanie, and his own ignominie, seeing his wife, and his sonne do yet endure servitude. But as for him, he had maintained the honor of Germany unstained, being assailed by twelve legions, under the conduct of *Tiberius*; and in the end parted with reasonable conditions. Neither did it repent him that it was yet in their choise, either to make war against the Romanes, or accept of peace without bloodshed. Both parts being incited with these speeches; yet other peculiar causes did more inflame them. Considering that the Cherusci, and the Longobardi, did fight for their an-

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cient honours, or fresh libertie: and contrarily the others to enlarge their dominions. A fiercer encounter then this there was never seene: nor a more doubtfull issue; the right wings on both sides being slain. And a new fight was hoped for, if *Maroboduus* (an evident token of a faint heart) had not retired to the hills: and being somewhat weakened, by the backsliding of traitors, withdrew himselfe to the Marcomans, and sent Embassadors to *Tiberius* to crave aid. Unto whom it was answered, that he had no reason to crave the Romanes aid against the Cherusci, seeing he aided the Romanes nothing at all, when they fought against the same enemy. Yet as we have said, *Drusus* was sent to make a peace. The same yeare twelve famous cities of Asia were destroyed by an earthquake in the night: a calamity so much the greater, by how much the lesse looked for. The usuall meanes of saving themselves in like cases, by fleeing to the open fields, doing them no good at all; because they were swallowed up by the opening of the earth. It is reported that huge mountains were laid flat, and plaines raised up into high hills: and fire flashed out among those ruines. And the dysaster being more grievous among the Sardians, then elsewhere; greater compassion was had on them: for *Cæsar* promised them* an hundredth hundred thousand sesterces: and released them for 5. yeeres space of all that they were to pay to the common Treasurie. Next unto them endamaged and relieved, were the Magnetians, neare unto Sipylus. It was thought expedient for the same space, to discharge of all tributes, the Temnians, Philadelphians, Aegietians, Appolonienses, and such as are called Moscenians, or Macedonians, of Hyrcania, and Hierocæsarea, Myrina, Cymen, Tmolus, & to send some of the Senators, to view and relieve their present estate. This charge was committed to *M. Aletus* once Pretor, lest if one who had been once Consul over Asia, should have been deputed; there might some emulation have risen between equals; and thereby the busines hindered. *Cæsar* did with no lesse gratefull bountie, shew his liberalitie when he bestowed the goods of *Aemilia Musa*, a rich woman, fallen to the fisque; upon *Aemilius Lepidus*, of whose house he seemed to have been. And the like when he gave the inheritance of *Patuleius*, a rich gentleman of Rome (albeit he was instituted heir in part) to *M. Servilius*, whom he found to have been written in the first nor suspected testament: having declared before, that both their nobilities were to be holpen with money. Neither did he at any time take any inheritance, unles he had deserved it by friendship. He did reject all such, as being unknown to him; and for hatred unto others, declared the Prince to be their heires. And as he did relieve the honest povertie of the innocent: so the prodigall and needy through their own behaviour, he put from the Senate, or gave licence to depart: as to *Vibidius Varro*, *Marius Nepos*, *Appianus*, *Cornelius Sulla*, *Q. Vitellius*. At the same time, the Temples of the gods, begun by *Augustus*, and fallen to ruine by age or fire: he dedicated to *Bacchus*, *Proserpina* and *Ceres*, neare to the great Circus; which *A. Posthumus* had vowed. And in the same place the Temple of *Flora*, built by *Lucius* and *Marcus*, *Publicius*, *Aediles*: And also *Ianus* Temple, which *C. Duilius* had built neere the hearb market; who first of all others, had a prosperous fight by Sea for the Romanes: and deserved a triumph by Sea over those of Carthage. The Temple of Hope, which in the same warre *Attilius* had vowed, was dedicated by *Germanicus*.

* Above 78125. pound.

XII. The accusation of Apuleia. Tacfarinas maketh warre in Africa.

IN the meane season, the law against treason grew strong: and a pickthank accused *Apuleia Varilia*, *Augustus* sisters neece, that she had reproachfully scoffed at *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, and his mother: and that nothing regarding that she was by marriage allied to *Cesar*, she had abused her body. But as for the adultery there was sufficient order taken by the law *Iulia*: yet *Cesar* requested that the treason might be distinguished from the other crime; and that she might be punished, if she had spoken irreligiously against *Augustus*. As for that which she had spoken against himselfe, he would not have it brought into examination. And being asked by a Consull, what he thought of those things she was accused of, against his mother; he held his peace. But the next time the Senate met, he intreated in his mothers name, that such words as she had uttered against her, might not be construed for a fault. Of treason also he acquitted her: and intreated that the punishment of adultery, might not be severely enforced against her: perswading her friends, that according to the example of their ancestours, they would remove her from her kindred above two hundred miles: and *Manlius* the adulterer was banished Italy and Africk. When *Vipsanius Gallus* was dead, there arose a strife in subrogating a Pretor in his roome: *Germanicus* and *Drusus* both then being at Rome, favouring *Haterius Agrippa*, neare kinsman to *Germanicus*: and some labouring to the contrary, desired that according to the lawes, among suters such should prevaile as had the greatest number of children: *Tiberius* rejoicing, that the Senate debated the matter betwixt his children and the lawes. Without doubt the law was overcome: but neither by and by; nor with a few suffrages; but after the same manner, as when the lawes were in greatest force. The same yeare the warre began in Africk, *Tacfarinas* being the captain of the enemies. This *Tacfarinas* was a Numidian born; and being an aide souldier, received pay under the Romanes: then a forsaker of them gathered together certain wandering companions, inured to robberies, thefts, and pillage: whom he marshalled into companies, and divided into ensignes, according to the manner of service: and at the last was reckoned a leader not of a disorderly multitude, but captain of the Mufulanians: which being a strong nation neere unto the desert of Africk, having no dwelling in townes, took armes, and drew their neighbours the Moores with them, under their captain *Mazippa*. Their army was so divided, that *Tacfarinas* should encampe himselfe with chosen men, armed after the Romane manner, and train them up in discipline and obedience. *Mazippa* with a company lightly armed should rove up and down, burn, slay, and terrifie. They had also perswaded the Cinithians, a nation not to be despised, to the like. When as *Furius Camillus* Proconsul of Africk, having gathered a legion, and the confederates which were under ensignes (a small power if you respect the multitude of Moores and Numidians) and led them against the enemy: and doubting nothing more then lest they should shift off the battell with feare, with a hope of victory tolled them on, and in their hope overthrew them. *Furius* placed a legion in the middle, the cohorts lightly appointed, and two companies of horsemen in the wings. *Tacfarinas* refused not to joyne battell: but the Numidians were vanquished; and the Furian name, after so many yeares recovered the reputation of warriors: For ever since that *Furius*, which recovered the citie from the *Galli*, and his son *Camillus*; the glory of being captains hath remained in other families. And this

man whom we have spoken of, not being a man of action, his exploits were the more willingly set forth by *Tiberius* to the Lords of the Senate: who decreed, that he should be honoured with triumphall ornaments; which to *Camillus*, by reason he was of a modest behaviour, could no way be a cause of envie.

XIII. Germanicus Peregrination.

THE yeere following, *Tiberius* was the third time made Consull, and *Germanicus* the second. But *Germanicus* took that dignitie at Nicopolis, a citie in Achaia, whither he came by the coast of Illyrium; having first visited his brother *Drusus*, then making his abode in Dalmatia: and having had an unprosperous voyage by the Adriaticall and Ionian Sea. By reason whereof he spent some dayes in repairing his Navie; and visiting the coasts, which by the victorie of *Actium* were made famous; and the spoils dedicated by *Augustus*: with the place where *Antonie* had camped; by those meanes renewing the memory of his ancestours; for as I have said before, *Augustus* was his uncle, and *Antonie* his grandfather: and therefore in that place he saw represented, things both joyfull, and dolorous. from thence he went to Athens; which being an ancient citie, and a confederate with the Romanes: he would have but one Lictor before him. The Grecians received him with most exquisite honours, and represented the ancient exploits, and sayings of his predecessors: that their flatterie might be so much the more gratefull and acceptable. And going from thence to Euboea, he passed by Lesbos: where *Agrippina* in her last delivery, had *Iulia*. Then desirous to visit places of antiquitie and fame, he went to the confines of Asia, Perinthum, and Byzans, cities of Thrace: then he entred the straits of Propontis, and the mouth of the Pontian sea. With all he relieved the Provinces, which were wearied with civill discords, and oppressions of Magistrates. In his returne desirous to visit the sacrifices of the Samothracians, and sundry other things; for change of fortune, and our beginning from thence worthy of honour. The northren windes drove him back again. Then he coasted Asia, and came to Colophona, to consult with the oracle of *Clarius Apollo*. There is no woman, as at Delphos; but a Priest usually chosen out of certain families, and for the most part from Miletum, doth heare only the number and names of such as come to consult: then going down to a den, and drinking a draught of the secret fountaine, giveth answer (being commonly ignorant in learning and verses) in verses touching those things, which a man hath fore-thought in his minde. It is reported, that by circumstances of dark speeches, as the manner of the oracles is, he prophesied that *Germanicus* death was not farre off. But *C. Piso*, to the end he might more speedily begin to effectuate his determination, sharply rebuked the citie of Athens, already amazed with his turbulent behaviour, indirectly carping at *Germanicus*, that contrary to the dignitie of the Romane name, he had used too great curtesie: not toward the Athenians which had been waisted by so many miseries; but towards a raffie of other nations: and those which were *Mithridates* confederates against *Sulla*: and *Antonies* against *Augustus* of famous memorie. Other stale matters he objected also against them; as that they had not prosperous successe against the Macedonians; & used violence against their own citizens: bearing them also a special grudge, because that at his request they would not deliver one *Theophilus* condemned of forgery, by the counsel of the Areopagites. From thence sayling with all celeritie by the Cyclades, and seeking out the shortest cuts, at the Island of Rhodes, he overtook *Germanicus*: nothing ignorant how he

had backbitten him: yet neverthelesse such was his milde disposition, that when *Piso* was driven through tempest against the rocks, and that his miscarrying might have been imputed to chance, he sent gallies to succour him, and so delivered him from danger. But all this did not mollifie *Piso's* heart, but scarce enduring one dayes stay, forsaketh and preventeth *Germanicus*. For being come to the legions in Syria, winning the basest of the common souldiers with gifts: he began to displace the old Centurions, and severe Tribunes: and bestow their roomes on his followers, or to the most lewdest: suffered idlenes in the camps: licentiousnes in the citie; vagrant and riotous souldiers to range the countrey: whereby they grew to such corruption, that among the common sort, he was called the father of the legions. Neither did *Plancina* contain her self within the bonds of womanly modesty: but would be present at the horfmens exercise, as the running of the cohorts: and use reprochfull speeches against *Agrippina*, and *Germanicus*: some of the better sort of souldiers, ready to follow her humor, in bad actions, because there was a secret rumour spread all that those things were not done with dislike of the Emperour. *Germanicus* knew all this: but his greatest care was to prevent the Armenians. That nation was in times past doubtfull and uncertain to the Romanes, not onely through their disposition and affection; but also through the situation of their countrey: which stretching into our provinces, reacheth even to the Medes. And being seated betwixt great kingdoms, are often in wars, through hatred to the Romans, and envie to the Parthians. King at that time they had none, *Vonones* being expelled. But the nation favoured *Zeno*, *Polemon* King of Pontus son, because that from his infancie, he had imitated the customes and attire of the Armenians; their hunting and banquetting and other exercises of the Barbarians greatly esteemed: thereby winning the favour as well of the nobilitie, as common people. *Germanicus* then in the city Artaxata, the noble men approving it, in the presence of a multitude, crowned him King: and the rest doing him honour as their King, saluted him after the name of the city by the name of Artaxias. The Cappadocians being reduced to the forme of a Province, received *Q. Veranius* for their lieutenant: and to give them a good hope of the Romane government, some of the tributes usually before paid to the Kings, diminished: and over the Comagini, then first reduced under the regiment of a Pretor, *Q. Servanus* was made governour.

XIIII. Germanicus, and *Piso's* jarring.

Albeit, all the affaires of the allies were settled in good order: yet *Germanicus* was nothing the more at his ease; by reason of *Piso's* pride: who being commanded either by himself, or by her sonne, to conduct part of the legions to Armenia, neglected both. At length they both met at Cirrum, where the tenth legion wintered: *Piso* with a resolute countenance against feare: and *Germanicus*, as I have said, the milder of the two, lest he should be thought to threaten. But his friends their crafts master in provoking hatred, made the most of that which was true, and suggested much which was false, laying divers things to his own charge, *Plancina* and his children. In the end, *Cæsar* in the presence of a few of her familiars, uttered some such speech to *Piso*, as anger and dissimulation doth suggest, and *Piso* answered with a proud submission, and so they departed open enemies. After that time *Piso* was seldome seen at *Cæsar's* tribunall, and if he did assist at any time, he shewed himselfe froward, and alwayes dissented openly from him. In a banquet made by the King of the Nabateans, when there were presented crownes of great

weight

weight to *Cæsar* and *Agrippina*; and light ones to *Piso* and the rest: He was heard to say, that that banket was made to the son of a Roman Prince, and not to the son of a king of Parthia: and withall threw away his crown, uttering many speeches against the superfluity of the banker: which although *Germanicus* could hardly digest, yet indured all patiently. Whilest these things were a doing, Embassadors came from *Artabanus*, king of the Parthians, calling to minde their friendship and alliance with the Romans, and desiring that they might renew right hands: and that in honour of *Germanicus*, he would come to the bank of Euphrates. And requested in the meantime, that *Vonones* might not remain in Syria, lest he should by messengers draw the noble men of the countrey round about to civill dissensions. Touching the alliance, *Germanicus* answered magnificently: but concerning the kings coming, and the honour done to himself, he answered civilly, and with great modestie. *Vonones* was removed to Pompeiopolis, a sea town in Cilicia; not so much as at *Artabanus* request, as to spite *Piso*, unto whom he was most acceptable, for many benefits and gifts bestowed upon *Plancina*.

XV. Germanicus voyage to Egypt and Thebes. Maroboduus and Catualda, both expelled, flee to the Romanes.

Vhen *M. Silanus*, and *L. Norbanus* were Consuls, *Germanicus* went to Egypt to see the antiquities of the countrey, but pretended a care of the province: where he opened their storehouses, and brought down the price of corne: and did other things to winne the favour of the people: as to goe without souldiers; weare open shooes: apparell himself like the Grecians: imitating *P. Scipio*, whom we have heard to have done the like in Sicily, when the warre was hottest against the Africans. *Tiberius* having lightly blamed him for his behaviour and apparell, did most sharply rebuke him, that contrary to *Augustus* order, and without the Princes licence, he had entered Alexandria. For *Augustus* amongst other secrets of state, had reserved Egypt; and forbidden all Senators, Noblemen, and Gentlemen, to enter into it, but with permission, lest Italy should be oppressed with famine: whosoever should be master of that province: being the key of the sea and land: and easily defended with a small power, against a strong hoste. But *Germanicus*, not knowing that his voyage was disliked, went up Nilus, beginning at the towne Canopus, which the Lacedemonians built: because *Canopus* the Governour of their ship was buried there, when *Menelaus* going back to Greece, was carried to a contrary sea, and land of Libya. The next mouth of the river from thence, is dedicated to *Hercules*; the first of which name was borne there, as the inhabitants do report; and of whom all which come after him, of like valour and vertue, took their surname. After that, he visited the great monuments of ancient Thebes: where yet were to be seen Egyptian letters in old buildings, which contained their ancient wealth. And one of their ancientest Priests, being commanded to interpret those letters in the countrey language; related, that in times past there had dwelt in that citie, seven hundred thousand persons, of age fit to bear armes: and that with that army king *Rhamses* had conquered Libya, Æthiopia, Media, and Persia, Bactria, and Scythia, and the countreys which the Syrians, and the Armenians, and the Cappadocians, their next neighbours inhabited: and that their dominion reached from the Bithynian to the Lycian Sea. There were also read the tributes imposed over nations, the weight of silver and gold, the num-

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ber and furniture of horses and armour: the gifts given to the Temples, the Ivory, sweet favours: and what plenty of corne; what utensils every nation was charged to furnish; which were no lesse magnificall, then are now commanded by the forces of the Parthi: or power of the Romanes. But *Germanicus* was yet tied to other miracles: whereof the chiefeft was, the image of *Mennon* made of stone; when it was stricken with the sun-beames yeelding a sound like a mans voice: and the Pyramides as great as mountaines, on the not passable sands; built a vie by Kings in times past to shew their riches: and the ditches wrought by handie work to receive the overflowing of Nilus; so narrow in some places, and so deepe in others, that the bottome cannot be found by any search. From thence he came to Elephantines, and Syenes, in times past the bounds of the Romane Empire, which now openeth to the red sea. Whilest *Germanicus* spent that summer, in visiting many Provinces, *Drusus* got no small honour, by sowing sedition in Germanie: and incensing them to pursue *Maroboduus* already weakened, even to his utter ruine. Among the Gtones, there was a noble young man called *Catualda*, who through *Maroboduus* violence having before fled his countrey; things standing now in doubtfull termes, ventured a revenge. And with a strong power, entered the frontiers of the Marcomans: and having corrupted the chief noble men to his confederacie, forceth the kings palace, and a castle hard by. Where he found the old spoils of the Suevians and the base rascals of our Province: and certaine Merchants; whom intercourse of merchandize, and a desire of increasing their wealth; or last of all a forgetfulnesse of their countrey; had drawn from their own dwellings to the enemies countrey. *Maroboduus* being forsaken of all hands, had no other refuge left, but the mercy of the Romanes. And having passed the river of Danub, where it coasteth the Province of Norica, wrote unto *Tiberius*, not as a fugitive and suppliant, but putting him in minde of his former fortune and estate: alleading that when sundry nations invited him to their alliance, being sometimes a renowned king, he preferred the amitie of the Romanes before them all. *Cesar* answered him, that he should have a sure and honourable dwelling in Italy, if he list to remaine there: but if any thing of greater advancement should happen unto him, that he should depart with the same safe conduct he came thither. Afterward he declared in Senate that the Athenians had no such cause to feare *Philip*, nor the people of Rome, *Pyrrhus*, and *Antiochus*, as this man. An oration of his is yet extant, wherein he extolleth his power; the strength of the nations he had under him; and how neere an enemy he was to Italy; and what plots he had devised to roote him out. *Maroboduus* was received at Ravenna; that if at any time the Suevian should wax insolent, he was in sight as it were alwayes ready to return. But he departed not Italie the space of eighteen yeares, and grew old with losse of reputation, through over great desire of living. The like hope had *Catualda*, and no other refuge: for not long after being driven out by the Hermunduri, under the conduct of *Fiblius*, he was received and sent to Forum Julii, a Colonie of Gallia Narbonensis. The barbarous people which followed both these, left being mingled among others, should disturb the quiet Provinces: were placed beyond Danubium, betwixt the rivers Marus, and Cusus; and a King given them of the Quadian nation.

XVI. Warres betwixt Rhescuporis and Cotys. Rhescuporis is sent to Rome.

NEwes being come that *Artaxias* was by *Germanicus* made King of Armenia: the Lords of the Senate ordained that *Germanicus* and *Drusus* should enter into the citie ovant, or with a small triumph; and that arches should be erected about the sides of the Temple of Mars the Revenger, with the images of the two *Cesars*: *Tiberius* being more glad that he had established a peace by wisdom; then if he should have ended the war by a maine battell. Now he determined by some subtiltie to set upon *Rhescuporis* King of Thrace. That countrey once having beene under *Rhemetalces*: after his death, *Augustus* gave part of it to his brother *Rhescuporis*, and part to his sonne *Cotys*. In that partition, the arable grounds, the cities and places adjoining to Greece fell to *Cotys* share. That which was uninhabited, wilde, & lying neere the enemy to *Rhescuporis*. The dispositions also of those Kings were such, that the one was tractable and of a milde condition; this stout, covetous, and impatient of a companion: and both at the first living in cunning and dissembled concord. Then *Rhescuporis* began to exceed his bounds; and draw that to himself, which was given *Cotys*, and use violence if he resisted: but not so hotly in *Augustus* time; whom he feared being the author of both kingdomes, would revenge if he were despised. But understanding of a change of the Prince, he sent in troupes of thieves, beat down his castles, and sought occasions of warre. Nothing did more trouble *Tiberius*, then that those things which were once settled, should now be disturbed: and therefore making choise of a Centurion dispatcheth him away to signifie to the Kings, that they should not in any case enter into armes: and thereupon *Cotys* dismissed presently the aide he had prepared. *Rhescuporis* with a fained modestie, requested a place of meeting, to end their controversie by conference: neither did they long doubt of the time, place, and conditions; the one yeelding to all with a facilitie of nature; the other accepting all with a fraudulent meaning. *Rhescuporis* as he pretended to conclude this agreement; maketh a banquet: and when the night was farre spent with great mirth, much eating and quaffing of wine: he loaded uncircumspect *Cotys* with chaines: who perceiving the treason, besought him by the sacred ceremonies of the kingdome, the gods of the same family, and by the entertainment of his table, he would use no such violence. Having thus made himself master of all Thrace, he wrote to *Tiberius*, that there were conspiracies wrought against him, and the contriver of them prevented. And withall, pretending warre against the Bastarnians, and the Scythians, making himself strong with a new power of footmen and horsemen. *Tiberius* wrote to him coldly again, that if there were no fraud in his doing, he might trust to his innocencie: but neither he nor the Senate could discern the right from wrong, unlesse they knew the cause: and therefore that he should deliver up *Cotys*, and come to them, and purge himself of the envy of the crime. Those letters *Latinus Pandus* Proprator of Moesia sent with the souldiers, unto whom *Cotys* should be delivered. But *Rhescuporis* balancing between anger and feare, and desirous to be guiltie rather of the fact committed, then only attempted, commandeth *Cotys* to be slain: and untruely gave it out, that he had killed himself. Yet for all this, *Cesar* altered not his intended course, but after *Pandus* decease, whom *Rhescuporis* accused to have been his back-friend, made *Pomponius Flaccus* an old souldier, and with whom the King was very inward, and therefore a more fit instrument to deceive, for the same cause especially governour

of Moesia, *Flaccus* being gone to Thrace, by way of great promises, perswaded him, although doubtfull, and calling to minde his owne wickednesse: to enter into the Romane garrison, where he was guarded with a strong company, under colour of honour. He had Tribunes and Centurions at hand to counsell and perswade him: and the further he went, the greater gaurd: and at last knowing in what termes of necessitie he stood, they brought him to the citie: where being accused in Senate by *Cotys* wife, he was condemned to be kept far from his countrey. Thrace was afterward divided betwixt *Rhamatalces* his sonne, who was knowne to be an enemy to his fathers proceedings, and *Cotys* children: which not being of full age, *Trebellienus Rufus*, who had been Pretor in the meane season, was made governour of the kingdome: following the examples of our predecessours, who sent *M. Lepidus* into Egypt to be guardian to *Ptolemæus* children. *Rhescuporis* was carried to Alexandria, and there a going about to escape, or because it was so fathered on him, was killed. At the same time *Vonones*, who (as we have said) was confined in Cilicia, having corrupted his keepers, vnder colour of going a hunting, attempted all meanes to escape to the Armenians; from thence to the Albanians, and Heniochians, and to his Cousen the king of Scythia. And forsaking the sea coastes, got into by-waies and Forrests, and by the swiftnes of his horse, posted with all speed to the river Pyramus. The borders vnderstanding the kings escape, having broken down the bridges, & he not able to passe at any foord, was taken by the rivers side, and bound by *Vibius Fronto*, Captain of the horsemen. Anon after *Remmius Evocatus*, unto whose charge the King was first committed, as it had been in an anger, thrust him through with his sword. Whereupon it was the easier beleaved that he had so slain *Vonones*, as one guiltie and consenting to his escape, and therefore fearing he should be bewrayed and accused.

XVII. Germanicus sicknesse and death. The variance betwixt him and Piso.

BUT *Germanicus* returning from Egypt: and perceiving that all which he had commanded, either in the legions or townes, left undone, or changed cleane contrary; began to use grievous and contumelious speech, against *Piso*: and he to requite *Cæsar* with no lesse dangerous attempts. Whereupon *Piso* determined to depart Syria: but staying a time by reason of *Germanicus* sicknesse, when he heard of his amendment, and that the vowes were accomplished for his health: he drove away by his sergeants the beast brought to the Altar, and disturbed the preparation made for the sacrifice, and the solemne meeting of the people of Antioch. Then he went to Seleucia, expecting the event of his sicknesse which he fell again into: the rage thereof so much the more grievous, through an opinion that *Piso* had poysoned him: for there were found pulled out of the ground and walls, charmes, verses, and enchantments: and *Germanicus* name engraven in sheets of lead: ashes half burned, and tempered with corrupt blood, and other sorceries, by which it is thought, that soules are dedicated to the infernall powers. Some also were accused to have been sent from *Piso*, to espie in what state he was in. That drove *Germanicus* both into anger and feare, considering with himselfe: if his house should be besieged: if he should lose his life in the sight of his enemies: what should happen after to his wofull wife, and his young children? he saw that the poyson seemed flow in working: but *Piso* hastened, that he might alone have the government of the legions and the province. But *Germanicus* was not so destitute of friends, that

that the murderer should enjoy the rewards of the murder. And hereupon enditeth a letter to him, in which he renounceth his friendship. Some adde, that hee commanded him to depart the province. *Piso* made no longer delay, but looseth anchor and moderated his course to returne the sooner, if *Germanicus* death should open him away to Syria. *Germanicus* being a little amended, and in some hope: then growing feeble againe; when his end was at hand, hee spake to his friends about him in this manner. If I should die a naturall death, yet should I have just cause of griefe against the gods: that by an untimely death, they should take me in my youth from my kinsfolke, children and countrey. But now being brought to this passe by the lewd practice of *Piso* and *Plancina*, I leave in your breasts for my last prayers; that you signifie unto my Father and my Brother, with what crueltie torne, with what fraud circumvented, I have ended my miserable life, with a most naughtie death. If the hopes conceived of me have moved any; if neerenesse in blood any: yea, if envie towards me when I lived: they will weep, that he who hath sometimes flourished, and escaped so many battels, should now end his life by the guile and treachery of a woman: you shall have occasion to complaine to the Senate, and demand the execution of lawes. This is not the chiefeft dutie of friends, to shew their affection towards the dead, by a slow and dull complaint; but remember and execute that which they commanded. Yea, such as knew not *Germanicus*, will weepe for him: If you did rather love me then my fortune, you will revenge my death. Shew the people of Rome *Augustus* neece, and and the same my wife, and my children which are fixe in number: the accusers themselves will have compassion; and those which pretend wicked commandements, shall either not bee beleaved, or not pardoned. His friends taking him by the right hand, swore they would rather lose their life, then omit revenge. Then turning to his wife entreated her by the memory of him, and by the children common betwene them, that shee would lay aside all haughtinesse, and submit her courage to raging fortune: lest returning to the citie, shee stirred not with emulation of greatnesse more powerable then herselfe against her. Thus much he uttered openly, and other things in secret, whereby it was conjectured he stood in feare of *Tiberius*. Not long after he yeelded up the ghost, with great lamentation of the Province and countries about; forreign nations and Kings lamented also; so great was his courtesie to his allies, and mildnesse to his enemies. He was no lesse venerable to those which saw him, then those which heard of him; and did so well temper the greatnesse of high estate and gravity that he avoided both envie and arrogancy. His funerals although he had neither images nor pompe: yet by the commendation and memory of his vertues, were honoured of all men. Some there were which compared his favour, his age and manner of death, by reason of the vicinitie of the places wherein they died, unto *Alexander* the Great. For being both of a comely stature, noble parentage, not much above thirty yeeres of age they died in strange countries, by the treacherie of their owne people. But this man was courteous towards his friends, moderate in pleasures, & his children certain, begotten in marriage by one woman. Neither was he to be counted a lesse warrior then the other, although he were not rash, & hindered to reduce under the yoke of servitude the Germans daunted with so many victories. And if he alone had had the supreme managing of affaires, and power, & a name of King; so much the sooner he would have carried away the prize and renown of warfare, by how much he did excel him in clemency, temperancy, & other good vertues. His body before it should be burned, was laid naked in the market place of Antioch, which was the place appointed for his buriall. Whether he shewed

shewed any tokens of being poisoned or not, it is unknowne: for divers did diversly interpret it; either as they were inclined to pitie *Germanicus*, or suspected to favour *Piso*. This being done, the lieutenants and the Senators which were present, consulted among themselves, whom they should make governour of Syria; and the rest not greatly contending: it was long debated betwixt *Marsus* and *Cn. Sentius*; and in the end *Marsus* yeilded to *Sentius* being his elder, & prosecuting the suit more eagerly. He sent to Rome one *Martina*, a woman infamous in that Province for empoisoning, but deerely beloved to *Plancia*, at the suit of *Vitellius* and *Veranius*, & others, which framed their accusations, as against one already guiltie of the fact. But *Agrippina* waisted with sorrow and feeble of body, yet impatient of delaying revenge; tooke shipping with *Germanicus* ashes with her; and her children: all men taking compassion, that a woman so noblie descended, and who not long since in regard of her stately marriage, was honoured and revered by all men, should now carrie in her lap, those lamentable reliques of her husband: incertaine of revenge, doubtful of her person; so oft exposed to fortunes mercy by her unlucky fruitfulness.

XVIII. *Piso is doubtful whether he should returne to Syria or not. And prepareth an armie against Sentius.*

IN the mean season a messenger overtaketh and advertiseth *Piso*, at the Iland Cous, that *Germanicus* was departed. Which tidings he received intemperately, offered sacrifices, visited the temples, nothing moderating his joy; and *Plancia* growing more insolent then first, changed the mourning weede she ware for the death of her sister into a joyfull attire. The Centurions flocking about him, told him that he had the good will of the legions at his devotion; that it was his best to returne to the province wrongfully taken from him, and now void of a governour. Whereupon taking advise what was best to be done; his sonne *M. Piso* was of opinion that he should make all haste to the citie: that there was nothing yet done which might not be answered: and that weake suspitions, and vaine reports were not to be feared. The variance betweene him and *Germanicus*, was worthie perhaps of some rebuke, but not punishment: and by taking the province from him, his enemies were satisfied. But if he should returne, *Sentius* being against him, a new civill war would begin. Neither would the centurions and souldiers continue on his side; with whom the fresh memorie of their captaine, and the love deeply printed in their hearts towards the *Cæsars* would prevaile. *Domitius Celer*, one of his inward friends, perswaded the contrary. That he ought to take the time when it was offered: that *Piso*, and not *Sentius* was made governor of Syria: unto him were the fasces, and dignitie of Pretor given, to him the legions committed. If any violence should be uttered by the enemy, who should more justly oppose his armies against them, then he who hath received the authoritie of a Lieutenant, and speciall commission? Rumors grow stale and vanish away with time: and often the innocent are borne downe with fresh envie: but if hee had a power at hand, and his forces encreased, many things which could not be foreseene, by meere chaunce might turne to the better. Doe we hasten to come to Rome, with *Germanicus* ashes: that *Agrippinaes* lamentation, and the unskillfull multitude, at the rumour, should lay hands on thee, unheard and undefended? Thou hast for thee *Augustaes* conscience, and *Cæsars* favour, though in secret. And none bewaile more braggingly *Germanicus* death in outward shew, then such as in their hearts are most glad. *Piso* being

ing forward enough of himself to haughty attempts, was with small adoe drawn to this opinion. And sending letters to *Tiberius* accuseth *Germanicus* of riot and pride: and that himselfe was driven out of the province, because there might be a way made open to innovation: that he had again taken charge of the armie, with the same fidelity, as he had already governed it. Withall, he commanded *Domitius* with a galley to saile into Syria, and avoiding the coasting of the shoare, and letting passe the Ilands, take wide and open sea. Then marshalling and arming runnagates, and rascall base companions, & sailing over to the continent, he intercepted an ensigne of young and raw souldiers, which were going to Syria. And writeth also to the Lords of Cilicia, to send him aid: the young man *Piso* being nothing slack in the service, although he was against the undertaking of the warre. Wherefore passing by the coast of Lycia, and Pamphylia, meeting with the ships which had conveyed *Agrippina* to Rome, each side hating one another, made themselves ready to fight: yet both sides fearing the one the other, they proceeded no further then to hard words. *Marsus Vibius* summoned *Piso* to come to Rome to answer for himselfe: who scoffingly answered him again, that he would come and appeare, when the Pretor which was to inquire of poysonings, would appoint a day aswell for the plantife, as defendant. In the mean time *Domitius* being arrived at Laodicea, a city in Syria, and going to the standing campe of the sixt legion, as most fit for new enterprises, was prevented by the Lieutenant *Pacuvius Sentius* openeth that by letters to *Piso*, warning him not to go about to tempt the army with corrupters, nor raise any war in the Province. And such as he knew to have *Germanicus* in minde, or were adversaries to the enemies, he assembled together: putting them often in minde of the greatnes of the Emperor, and how the common-wealth was assailed; and thereupon gathereth a stronger power ready to fight. Yet neither *Piso*, nor his side, although his enterprises fell out otherwise, then he expected, did let slip that which was of most safetie for the present; but putteth himselfe in a very strong castle in Cilicia, called Celenderis. For by sorting and medling together the runnagates, the new and raw souldier lately taken, his own and *Planciaes* slaves, and the aids which the Lords of Cilicia sent, he marshalled them in form of a legion. And then affirmed that he was *Cæsars* Lieutenant: but driven out of the Province committed to him: not by the legions, for they called him thither; but by *Sentius*, which cloaked his private malice with false crimes: therefore that they should stand stoutly to the battel, because the souldiers would not fight, when they should see *Piso* whom heretofore they called their father. If they would proceed by order of justice the right was on his side: if by arms he wanted not strength. Then he displayed his companies in order of battel, before the castle on a steep craggy hils side: the rest being inviron'd with sea. On the contrary side the old souldiers, with their supplies were marshalled into ranks. On this side was the strength of souldiers: on that of place. In courage and hope there was great ods also: and on their side no weapons, but rude and clownish, prepared for a present shift. And when they came to handy stroakes, there was no longer doubt who should have the upper hand, but till the Romane Cohorts could win the plain ground: which done, the Cilicians shewed their backs, and shut themselves in their fort. In the mean space *Piso* went about, but in vain, to assail the navie which waited not farre off. Then returned to the castle again, now tormenting himself upon the walls, now calling to every souldier by his name, and offering rewards: assaied to raise a mutinie, and did so much prevaile, that the standard-bearer of the sixt legion, went with his ensigne to his side. Then *Sentius* commanded the cornets and trumpets to sound; gave an assault to the rampiers; caused ladders to

to be put up; and the ablest men to follow; and the others out of engines to shoot darts, stones, and firebrands. In the end *Piso*es obstinacie being overcome, entreatheth that having yeelded up his weapons, he might remaine in the castle, untill *Cæsar* were consulted, who should be governour of Syria. The conditions were not accepted, nor any thing granted him: but onely, that he should have shipping and safe conduct to the citie.

XIX. Great bewailing for Germanicus death: stranger religion suppressed: loose life restrained in women of account.

BUT when *Germanicus* sicknesse was noised at Rome, and as in newes it falleth out, the farther it goeth, augmented to the worser: all men burst out into anger, grieve, and complaints: saying, that therefore he was sent to forrein countries: that was the reason why *Piso* had the Province committed to him: this was the effect of *Augustus*es secret conference with *Plancia*: that the ancient men said most truly of *Drusus*, that the courteous and modest disposition of children doth dislike such as reigne. Neither were they made away for any other reason, but because, libertie restored; they had a meaning to reduce the people of Rome to a certain equalitie. These speeches of the common people, the news of his death did so much kindle, that before any edict of Magistrates, before any decree of Senate was made, vacation being taken of themselves, the places of judgement were abandoned; houses shut up; silence and mourning every where: nothing of all this counterfeited or done for ostentation. And although they did not abstain from outward tokens of mourning, yet in their hearts they mourned much more. Certain Merchants returning by chance out of Syria, *Germanicus* yet living, bringing joyfull tidings of his health, were presently beleevd, and spread abroad, and as they met one another (although they had scarce heard the tale to the end) yet they reported it again, and they again to others, still making it more, and increasing their joy. They ran up and downe the citie, went about to wrest open the gates of the temples: the night furthered their credulousnesse, and in the dark every man more ready to affirm. Neither did *Tiberius* gainesay these false reports, but let them vanish away with time. But then the people, as though he had been a second time taken from them, grieved more bitterly. Such was his funerall pompe done in memorie of him, as either mens love, or pregnancie of conceit could invent: as that his name should be sung in a Salarian verse, which *Mars* Priests were wont to sing: that in the roomes of the Augustall Priests, chaires of estate should be placed, with garlands of oak: that his image graven in Ivorie, should be carried before the Circensian plaies: and that none should be created Flamen or Augur in *Germanicus* place, unlesse he were of the Julian family. At Rome and at the banke of Rhene, and on the hill Amanus in Syria, were erected arches, with an inscription of his exploits: and that he died for the common-wealth: a sepulchre at Antioch where his bodie was burnt: a Tribunal at Epidaphna, where he ended his life. It would be hard to number the images and places in which he was honoured. And when some thought it convenient that he should have a shield of exquisite gold and greatnesse, dedicated him among the authors of Eloquence; *Tiberius* said he should have none but such as was usuall, and equall to the rest: for neither was eloquence to be judged of by fortune: and that it was a sufficient honor for him, if he were put in the number of ancient writers. That which before was called the band of young men,

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the Gentlemen called *Germanicus-cuneum*, or appointed battell: and ordained that the squadrons of horsemen should follow his image the Ides of July. Many of these ceremonies yet remaine; some were presently left off; and some, time wore out. But whilest this grieve was yet fresh in every mans memory; *Livia Germanicus* sister, and *Drusus* wife, was at once delivered of two sonnes: which being a thing rare, and welcome, even to meane families, did so rejoyce the Prince, that he could not containe (for even casuall things hee attributed to his glory) but must needs brag before the Lords of the Senate, that no other of the Romanes of his greatnesse, had ever before had two male children at a birth. But in such a time even that also brought grieve unto the people; as though that *Drusus* increase of children, would the rather depresse *Germanicus* house. The same yeere womens lascivious life, was punished by severe degrees of Senate; and ordained that none should put their bodies to sale, whose grandfather, father, or husband had beene a Gentleman of Rome. For *Vestilia* descended of a Pretorian family, had made her loose licentious life knowne to the *Ædiles*, according to a received custome among the ancients; who thought it a sufficient punishment for unchaste women, if publickely they confessed their lewdnesse. And *Tullius Labeo*, *Vestilia* husband, was called into question, because he had inflicted the punishment of the law, on his wife manifestly taken in the offence. But he for his excuse, alledged that the threescore dayes given to deliberate, were not yet past; and therefore thinking it enough to punish *Vestilia*; she was confined in the Island Seriphon. It was debated in Senate touching the rooting out of the *Ægyptian* and *Judaicall* ceremonies: and a decree made for foure thousand libertines of competent age, infected with that superstition, should be conveyed into the Island Sardinia, to suppress robberies committed there: and if they should dye through the unwholesomenesse of the ayre, the losse were but vile and small: and that the rest should depart Italy, if before a certain day they would not forsake those prophane rites. When those things were done, *Cæsar* propounded, that another Virgin should be received in the roome of *Oceia*; who with very great integrity, seven and fifty yeeres, had beene governess of the ceremonies of the Vestall virgins: and gave thanks to *Fonteius Agrippa*, and *Domitius Pollio*; who offering their daughters, strove in duty to the Common-wealth. But *Pollios* daughter was preferred for no other reason, but because her mother had continued wife to her first husband: *Agrippa* having diminished the reputation of his house with divorcement. Yet *Cæsar* in regard the other was preferred, did comfort her with * renne hundred thousand sesterces for her dowry. The people complaining of a dearth of corne, he put downe a price for the buyer; promising to pay of his owne in every bushell * two nummos. Yet for all this he would not take upon him, the title of Father of his countrey, before offered him: but did sharply rebuke them, who had called his affaires divine, and him Lord. And therefore under a Prince which feared liberty, and hated flattery; all speeches ought to be brieve; and yet cannot hardly escape captious construction. I find in ancient writers of that time, that *Adgandestius* Prince of the Chatti letters were read in Senate, promising *Arminius* death, if poyson were sent him to commit the deed. And that it was answered him, that the people of Rome used not to revenge on their enemies by treachery and privy meanes; but openly and armed. Wherein *Tiberius* equalled himselfe to the old Roman Captaines, which did forbid king *Pyrhus* to be poysoned, but disclosed it unto him. Now *Arminius*, the Romans being departed, and *Maroboduus* expelled, earnestly covering the kingdome, had the people as defending their liberty against him: and being assailed, and fighting with doubtfull fortune,

* About 73125 p. 10. 1.

* Twice pence 10. 9.

was

was slain by the fraud of his own neereft familiars. Doubtlesse the deliverer of Germanie; and who provoked, not as other Kings and Captains had done, the first springing up of the people of Rome; but when they flourished most in rule and Empire. In his battels, he had doubtfull fortune, sometimes lucky; sometimes unlucky; but never was overcome in warre. He lived full seven and thirtie yeers, and was Prince twelve. To this day he is famous amongst barbarous nations; but in the Annales of the Greeks, which admire nothing but their own doings unknown; and not greatly spoken of among the Romanes. Who whilest we extoll ancient things, are carelesse of our own time.

THE



THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. Agrippina cometh to Rome: Germanicus funerals.



Agrippina although it were winter, yet still continuing her voyage by sea, arrived at last at the Iland *Corcyra*, over against the coast of *Calabria*: where as one without mean in mourning, and unable to endure, she rested a few daies to settle her minde. In the mean time, her arrivall known, her deereft friends, and especially souldiers which had served under *Germanicus*; and many also which she knew not, from the towns round about: some thinking it to be their dutie towards their Prince; and many following them flocked to *Brundisium*, being the neereft and safest place of landing. And as soon as her ships were discerned a far off; not only the haven and places, neer the sea side; but the walls and house tops, and other places, from whence a man might farthest ken, were filled with a mourning and heavy multitude of people: asking (as not knowing what was fittest for the time) one another, whether they should receive her with life, or acclamation, when she came out of her ship. But when by little and little the ships drew neere, they saw no cheerefull rowing, as the manner was wont to be: but all of them composed to sadnesse. But being come to land with her two children; holding the funerall pot with her husbands ashes in her hand, and her eyes fixed on the ground: all men began to bewaile and lament alike: Neither couldest thou have discerned the lamentation of kinsfolks from the stranger; nor the women from the men: saying, that the fresh griefe of such as went to meet her, exceeded the lamentation of her train, already wearied with long continuance of sorrow. *Cesar* had sent two companies of his guard to meet them: and gave further charge, that the Magistrates of *Calabria*, the *Apuleians* and *Campanians*, should solemnize the last obsequies in memory of his sonne. The ashes were carried on the *Tribunes* and *Centurions* shoulders; the ensignes untrimmed; and the fasces or knitch of rods, turned downwards, went before: and when they passed by any colonies, the common people in mourning weed, and Gentlemen in their attire called *Trabea*, according to the wealth of the place, burnt garments, sweet odours, with other accustomed funerall solemnities. Yea such whose towns were farre off, yet met them; erected altars; offered sacrifice to the inferuall gods, witnessing their dolour with teares and cries. *Drusus* went to *Terracina* with his brother *Claudius* and *Germanicus* children, which had remained in the citie. The Consuls *M. Valerius* and *M. Aurelius* (who began then to enter into office) the Senate and a great part of the people filled up the way, scattered hither and thither, weeping, as every mans affection was. Flattery there was none: all men knowing that the death of *Germanicus*, joyfull to *Tiberius*; could badly be dissembled, howsoever he counterfeited the contrary. *Tiberius* and *Augusta*, abstained from mourning

ing in publike: judging it a thing under their majesty, if they should be seen openly to lament; or lest the eyes of all men observing their countenance, should espie they did but counterfeit. I finde not in any authour, or diurnall register, that his mother *Antonia* did any thing worthy memory in that solemnitie: when as besides *Agrippina*, *Drusus*, and *Claudius*, the rest of his blood, are by name written of: either hindred by sicknesse, or in minde overcome with sorrow, could not endure the sight of so heavy a griefe. I should easier have beleevd, that *Tiberius* and *Augusta*, which kept within doores, made her do the like: that the griefe might be judged equall: and that the grandmother and uncle should seeme to have kept in, by the example of the mother. The day that the ashes were put in *Augustus* tombe, was sometimes with silence desolate and still; and on the sudden unquiet with weeping: all passages of the citie were full; *Campus Martius* shined with burning torches. There the souldier with his weapons: the magistrates without the marks of their dignitie and calling; and the people gathered into tribes and companies cryed: that the common-wealth was fallen to ground; and no hope left: and that so openly, and boldly, that thou wouldest have beleevd, they did not remember by whom they were governed. Yet nothing went so neere *Tiberius* heart, as the ardent affection men bare *Agrippina*: calling her the honour of their countrey; the only blood of *Augustus*; the pattern of antiquitie: and turning towards the heaven, and the gods, prayed that her issue might long continue, and overlive the wicked. Some desired that the funerals might be celebrated with publike pompe: comparing the magnificence and honours that *Augustus* had used for *Drusus*, *Germanicus* father. And that he in the hardest time of winter, went as farre as *Ticinum*: and how never once departing from the body, accompanied to the citie. That about the coffin were the images of the Claudians and Julians: that he was bewailed in the place of publike assemblies: praised with an oration before the people: and all honours done him, which either our ancestors or latter times could invent. But *Germanicus* had not so much as the usuall solemnities done for him; his body through distance of place, was in some sort burnt, in strange lands: but by so much the more, honours should now have been bestowed upon him, because fortune had denied him the first. His brother went to meet him but one dayes journey: his uncle not so farre as to the gate. Where are the ancient customes become? why was not his image put before the Beere; and verses sung in memory of his vertues? why was he not praised, and bewailed, with the usuall representation of mourning? All this was well known to *Tiberius*; and to suppress the speech of the common people, he admonished them by edict. "That although many notable Romanes had died for the Common-wealth: yet none had ever been bewailed with such an ardent affection. Which was to him and unto others also honourable, so as there were a mean used. For the self same things are not seemly for noble men, the Emperour and the common people. It was convenient that small houses, or cities should mourne and lament, in fresh griefe; and after their griefe take comfort again: but now it was time to confirme the minde, as *Julius Caesar*, having lost his only daughter, and *Augustus* his nephews did cast off all sorrow. It was needlesse to alleadge ancient examples, to shew how oft the people of Rome had suffered constantly the losse of armies; death of captains; and the utter overthrow of noble families. That princes are mortall, and the Common-wealth everlasting. Therefore that they should take their solemnities again; and because the shew of the Megalensian playes was at hand, return to their pleasures.

II. Piso

II. *Piso cometh to Rome, where he is accused: and killeth himselfe.*

THE vacation ended, every man returned to his busines: and *Drusus* went to the army of Illyrium: the people bent to demand a revenge of *Piso*; complained that he in the meane time now here, now there, in the pleasant countrey of Asia and Africke, with a proud and subtrill delay, did shift off the proofes brought against his lewdnesse. For it was commonly rumored, that *Martina*, as I have before said, a woman infamous for poisoning, was sent to Rome by *C. Sentius* and being suddenly dead at Brundisium, had no token upon her that shee had taken her owne bane; and that the poyson was found hidden in a knarle of her haire. But *Piso* having sent his sonne before him to the citie, with lessons how to pacifie the Prince, went toward *Drusus*, not hoping to find him cruell in his behalfe, for the death of his brother, but rather favourable, as being rid of such a concurrent. *Tiberius* to make a shew of upright dealing, having entertained the young man courteously, used the like liberality towards him as he was accustomed to doe the noble mens children of such as he was familiar with. *Drusus* answered him, that if the accusations laid against him were true, the greatest griefe should be his: and for his own part he could wish they should be false and vain; and that *Germanicus* death might be prejudiciall to none. These words were openly uttered, and not in secret; neither was it doubtfull at all, but that *Tiberius* had before hand taught him his lesson; when as being plain, simple, and young, yet shewed the cunning of the old man. *Piso* having past over the Dalmatian sea, and left his ships at Ancona, went by Pice-nium, and after by the Flaminian way, overtook the legion which was brought from Pannonny to Rome, to lye in garrison in Africk: being common in every mans mouth, how in the camp and in the way he did often shew himself to the souldiers. From Narnia (whether it were to avoide suspition, or because such as stand in feare are irresolute in their determinations) being conveyed by Nare, and anon after by Tiber, he increased the evill will of the people towards him, because he landed neer the *Caesars* tombe: on a day when the shore was full of people: many followers after him: and *Plautina* accompanied with a train of women, both pleasant and cheerefull in countenance. Among other causes of envy and heart-burning, *Piso*'s house was one, looking on the market place, trimmed to feast and banquet in, where nothing could be hidden. The next day *Fulcinius Trio* accused *Piso* before the Consuls. *Titellius* and *Viranius*, and the rest which had followed *Germanicus*, alleadged that that was their office, and that *Trio* had no part therein; and that as witnesses and openers of the cause, and not as accusers, they were to report that which *Germanicus* had given them in charge, *Trio* relinquishing the accusation, obtained licence to accuse his former life: and the Prince intreated to receive the hearing of the cause to himself: which the defendant refused not, as misdoubting the Senators, and peoples good will: and contrary, being well assured that *Tiberius* regarded not rumors, but would leane to his mothers conscience: and that the truth, or things beleevd and wrested to the worst, might easily be discerned by one Judge: whereas hatred and envie beare the sway where there are many. *Tiberius* was not ignorant, how weighty a cause he undertooke, and how diversly he was censured: and therefore calling some of his familiar friends about him, hearing the menaces of the accusers, then the request of the party arraigned, referred the whole cause to the Senate. In the meane season, *Drusus* returning from Illyrium, although the Senators had decreed, that for receiving of *Maroboduus*, and exploits done the sommer past, he should

enter the citie orant, or with a small triumph: yet deferring that honour for the time, he entred privately. After that *Piso* had demanded *T. Arruntius*, *Fulcinus*, *Asinius Gallus*, *Aesernius*, *Marcellus*, *Sext. Pompeius* for his advocates; and all of them alleading divers excuses, *M. Lepidus*, *L. Piso*, and *Liveneius Regulus* undertooke his defence: the whole citie being attentive to know how *Germanicus* friends would sticke unto him; what hope the party arraigned had; whether *Tiberius* were able to master his affections, or would shew himselfe. All these things were greedily expected of the people: never shewing themselves more attentive, nor at any time licencing themselves a more secret speech of the Prince, or suspicious silence. The day that the Senat met, *Cæsar* made a premeditate oration, tempered in this sort, saying: "That *Piso* had been his fathers Lieutenant & friend, and given by him to *Germanicus* as a coadjutor, by the authoritie of the Senate, in the administration of the affaires of the East: but whether he had there exasperated the young Prince, through disobedience and contention: and whether he had shewed himselfe glad of his death: or villanously had made him away; that they should judge of that with upright consciences. For if being Lieutenant, he had gone beyond the bounds of his office: and shaken off his dutie to his Lord generall: and rejoiced in his death and my griefe: I will hate him, and estrange him from my house, and revenge, not the Princes, but private grudges: If any villanous deed be detected in him worthy of revenge, even the death of any private person, afford your selves, and *Germanicus* children, and us his father, reasonable and just comfort. And examine also whether seditiously and mutinously *Piso* hath stirred up the army: whether by ambition he hath sought to win the favour of the souldiers: whether he returned into the province by force of armes: or whether these things be false, and made greater then they are, by the accusers: with whose overgreat affection I have just cause to be offended. For to what purpose should his bodie be shewne naked, be handled of the common people; and bruted abroad among strangers, as though he had been empoysoned; if these things be yet uncertaine, and are to be enquired of? I lament truly, and am grieved for my sonne, and alwaies shall. But I hinder not the defendant, to alleadge all he can for the purgation of his innocency: or if *Germanicus* had any fault worthy of reprehension. And I beseech you, not to take the crimes as already proved, because the cause is joyned with my sorrow. If either his neerenesse in blood, or his owne faithfulness, hath yeelded him any to defend his cause; helpe him, as much as in you lieth either by your eloquence or care, in this his extremity. To the same labour & constancie, I exhort the accusers. *Germanicus* this onely priviledge we will afford above the lawes: that his death shall be rather inquired of in the Curia, then in the Forum: before the Senate, then other Judges. Let all the rest be debared with like modesty, nothing regarding *Drusus* teares: or my griefe: or if any slanders be forged against me. After that the accusers had two dayes given them to bring in their accusations; and after six dayes were past, the defendant had three more to justifie himself. Then *Fulcinus* began with stale and frivolous matters: as that he governed Spain ambitiously, and covetously. Whereof being convicted, he could not be interessed; if he could purge himself of the latter crimes: nor if he could defend himself from that accusation; yet was he not acquitted, if greater matters were laid to his charge. After him *Servus* and *Veranius* and *Vitellius* with like affection; but *Vitellius* with greater eloquence objected that *Piso*, for hatred to *Germanicus* and desire of innovation, had so farre corrupted the common souldier with licentiousnesse and injuries towards the confederates: that of the

lewdest

lewdest sort, he was called the father of the legions. Further, that he had used cruelty against every good man, and especially against *Germanicus* followers and friends: in the end, that he had killed him with poyson and enchantments. Then, that he and *Plancina* used wicked ceremonies and sacrifices: that he had borne armes against the Common wealth: that he would never have appeared in judgement, had he not been overcome in battell. In many things his defence was weake: for he could not deny but that he had wonne the souldier by ambition: or that he had not exposed the province as a prey, to the lewdest sort: nor the injurious speeches against the generall. Onely he seemed to have purged himself of the empoysoning: which indeed the accusers did not sufficiently prove: accusing him to have empoysoned *Germanicus* meat with his hand, which was infected, as he fate above him at a banquet. For it seemed absurd, that he should dare so bold an attempt, amongst other mens servants, in the sight of so many standers by, and in *Germanicus* own presence. And thereupon he offered his family, and was very earnest that his servitors might be examined upon the rack. But the Judges were implacable for divers respects, *Cæsar* because he had made warre against the province, the Senatours, because they could never believe but that *Germanicus* died by treachery, and that they had expostulated the matter by letters the one to the other. Which *Tiberius* did no lesse deny then *Piso*. Withall, the outcry of the people was heard before the Senate house, that they would not temper their hands, if he escaped by sentence of the Senate. And they had drawn *Piso*'s images to the Gemonies; and broken them in pieces, if they had not been saved, and put in their places again, by the Princes commandment. *Piso* was carryed back in a charriot, by a Tribune of the Pretorian band, diversly rumored: whether he followed him as a guard for his safetie, or executioner of his death. The like hatred was toward *Plancina*, but greater favour, and therefore it was doubted, how far *Cæsar*'s authoritie would reach in her behalf. As long as there was any hope left for *Piso*, she promised to take part of whatsoever fortune with him, and if it so fell out, to be his companion in death. But she was no sooner pardoned through *Augustus* secret intreaty, but she began by little and little, to separate herself from her husband, and bring her defences apart. The which when *Piso* perceived, to avoid his utter destruction, doubting whether he should make any further triall in judgement: his sonnes perswading him he hardeneth himself, and goeth once again to the Senate. Where his accusation being renewed, and the Senators voices against him; and having endured all things adverse and cruell, he was amazed at nothing more, then that he saw *Tiberius* without pitie, without anger, resolute, and not swayed with any affection. Being brought home from thence, as though he had premeditated some justification for the next day; he writeth, sealeth, and delivereth some few lines unto a freedman. This done, he gave himself to the accustomed care of his body. Then the night being farre spent, his wife going out of the chamber, he commandeth the doores to be shut, and the next morning early, he was found with his throat cut, the sword lying on the ground. I remember I have heard of ancient men, that *Piso* was often seen to have a little book in his hands which he published not: but as his friends said, it contained *Tiberius* letters, and Commision against *Germanicus*; and that he had purposed to disclose it to the Lords of the Senate; and accuse the Prince, had he not been deluded by *Sejanus* vain promises, and that he killed not himself, but that some one was sent to murder him. But I will not assure either of those things, although I ought not to conceale it to have been uttered by those, which lived untill I came to mans estate.

III. Pisos letters to Tiberius: Plancina is quit.

CÆsar having changed his countenance into sadness, persuading himself, that that death of *Piso* would breed him envy; questioned of in Senate how *Piso* had behaved himself, the day before he died; and how he had passed the last night. "And he answering most things wisely, and some inconsiderately; reciteth the contents of the writing made by *Piso* almost as followeth. Being "oppressed by the conspiracies of my enemies, and envy of a false crime; so farre, "that there is no place left to my innocency and truth: I call the immortall gods "to witnesse, O *Cæsar*, that I have lived with all loyalty towards thee; and no lesse "duty towards thy mother. And I beseech you, that you would be an ayde and "stay unto my children. Among which *Cn. Piso* is guiltlesse of my fortune what- "soever it be: seeing he hath lived all this while in the citie. *M. Piso* did always "disswade me from returning to Syria. And I would to God, I had rather yeelded "to the counsell of my young sonne, then he to his old Father. And therefore I "beseech you most earnestly, that being innocent, he suffer not the punishment "of my demerit. By the service of five and fortie yeers, by the fellowship of the "Consulship which we bore together, once liked of *Augustus* the father, and a "friend to thee; I recommend unto thee as my last request, my unfortunate "sonnes life. Of *Plancina* he added no word. After this, *Tiberius* excused the young man of the civill warres, because the sonne could not disobey the fathers commandment: withall, he had compassion on the noblesse of his house, and his own heavy fortune, howsoever he had deserved. Of *Plancina* he spake with shame and discredit: pretending his mothers intreatie: against whom every good man was incensed, and secretly complained, saying: "Is it lawfull then for the grand- "mother to look upon the murderesse of her nephew, talke with her, and take her "out of the hands of the Senate, that justice might not be executed? Shall not "that have place in *Germanicus*, which the law doth permit all other citizens? "Cæsar was bewailed by *Vitellius* and *Veranius*: *Plancina* defended by the Em- "perour and *Augusta*: that now she might convert her skill and poysons which she "had so happily experimented, against *Agrippina* and her children, and satiate "the good grandmother and uncle with the blood of a most miserable house. Two dayes were spent under colour of examining the cause: *Tiberius* urging *Pisos* children, to defend their mother: and when the accusers and witnesses, had spoken a vie against her, and no man answered for her, pitie encreased more then envie against her. *Aurelius Cotta* being first demanded his opinion (for *Cæsar* propounding the case, the magistrates spake first) gave his censure that the memory of *Piso* should be blotted out of the Chronicles: that part of his goods should be confiscated; and part bestowed upon *Cn. Piso* his sonne, with condition that he should change his name: that *M. Piso* being deposed from his dignitie, and receiving *fiftie hundred thousand sesterces, should be exiled for ten yeers: and *Plancinaes* life pardoned at the suite of *Augusta*. Divers points of that sentence were mitigated by the Prince, as that *Pisos* name should not be wiped out of the Fasti: seeing that *M. Antonius*, who had made warre against his countrey; and *Julius Antoninus* name, who had violated *Augustus* house, remained: and *M. Piso* he delivered from infamy, and granted him his fathers goods, never, as I have often said, greedy of money: and at that time more easily pleased, for shame that *Plancina* was quit. And when *Valerius Messalinus* propounded, that there should an image

* About 39060 p. ant.

of gold be set up in *Mars* their revengers temple: and *Cacina Severus* an altar erected to revenge. He hindred both, alleaging that those things were to be dedicated and offered for forreign victories, and that domestical adversities ought to be buried in sorrow. *Messalinus* added, that thanks should be given to *Tiberius* and *Augusta*, to *Antonie* and *Agrippina*, and to *Drusus* for *Germanicus* revenge, not once mentioning *Claudius*. And *L. Asprenas* asking *Messalinus* before the Senate, whether he had willingly omitted him? *Claudius* name was then first added. The more I meditate with my selfe of things done both in old and latter times; the more the uncertainties and vanities of fortune in mortall affaires come to my remembrance; for in fame, hope, estimation, all men were rather destined to the soveraignty, then he, whom fortune had kept hidden for the future monarch. A few dayes after *Cæsar* persuaded the Lords of the Senate to bestow the dignity of Priesthood upon *Vitellius*, *Varanius*, and *Servus*: and having promised his voyce *Fulcinus* for the obtaining of any dignity, advised him not to overthrow his eloquence with rashnes. And that was the end of revenging *Germanicus* death: many things diversly reported, not onely among such as then lived, but in times consequent. So doubtfull are all waighy matters; whilest some take all as certaine, howsoever they heare it: others report a truth otherwise then it is; posteritie adding to both.

IIII. Warres renewed in Africke under Tacfarinas, who is defeated by Apronius: Lepida condemned for changing a child.

BUt *Drusus* being gone out of the city, once more to learne future things by the flying of birds; entred in againe, with a small triumph. And a few dayes after, *Vipsania* his mother died, only of all *Agrippas* children, of a naturall death: because it was certainly beleevd, that some died by the sword; others by poyson or famine. The same yeere *Tacfarinas*, who as I have said, was the last summer driven out by *Camillus*, reneweth the warre in Africke: at the first by roving pillages; unrevenge by reason of his sudden coming, then by waisting of villages; and carrying away great booties; and last of all not far from the river *Pagyda* he besieged a Roman cohort. One *Decrius* was Captaine of the fort, a lusty man, and of good skill in matters of warre: who taking that besieging as a disgrace to himselfe; encourageth his souldiers to fight in open field; and marshalled his army in order of battell before the fortresse. The cohort being beaten backe at the first brunt: he runneth in among the weapons of such as fled; rebuking the standard-bearers, that a Roman souldier should shew his backe, to a few untrained raw traitors. And having received wounds; & an eye stroken out; yet put himselfe in the face of the enemy, never leaving off fighting, untill he was forsaken of his company and slaine in the place. Which when *L. Apronius* (who succeeded *Camillus*) understood: being more perplexed with the shame of his own people; then glory of the enemy: he draweth out by lot (a rare matter in those dayes, though in old times practised) every tenth person of the dishonorable band, & beateth him with cudgels to death. Which severity wrought so great good, that an ensigne of old souldiers, in number not above five hundred, defeated *Tacfarinas* army, going about to assault a fort called *Thala*. In which battell *Ruffius Helvius*, a common souldier got the credit of saving a citizens life, on whom *L. Apronius* bestowed chaines and a speare: *Cæsar* added a civill crowne to them; finding fault rather then offended, that *Apronius* had

had not given it by his proconsular authority. But *Tacfarinus* perceiving the Numidians to be daunted, and refusing to besiege any longer, scattered his war, giving ground when he was pursued: and following a fresh when their backs were turned. Which manner of fight used by the Barbarian, molested and kept the Roman play to no purpose. But after that greedy of pray, he drew to the sea coasts, and there encamped: *Apronius Cestianus* being sent thither by his fathers appointment, with a troupe of horsemen & aid cohorts; adding unto them the readiest of the legions; had a prosperous fight, and drove the Numidian to the deserts. *Lepida*, who besides the honour of the Aemilian family, from which she was descended; had *L. Sulla* and *Cn. Pompeius* for her great grandfathers, was accused at Rome, for faining her selfe to have had a child, by *P. Quirinius*, a rich man and without children, and also of adulteries and empoisonings: and that she had consulted with the Chaldeans against the house of *Cesar*: her brother *Manius Lepidus* defending her cause, *Quirinius* being offended, and separated from her; yet had commiseration on her, although she were both infamous and faulty. In the hearing of that cause, it was hard to guesse the Princes mind: he did so turne and wind himselfe, & interlace tokens of anger with Clemencie: having first of all requested that matters of treason should not be debated at that time. Then he drew *M. Servilius*, once Consull, and other witnesses to broach such matter, which he would seeme to have suppressed: and sent to the Consuls *Lepidus* servants, whom he had guarded before with a company of souldiers, & would not suffer them to answer by torture, to such interrogatories as did appertaine to his house. Neither that *Drusus* Consull elect should first yeeld his opinion: which some construed to be a point of civility, that others should not be forced to do the like: others did wrest it to cruelty: and that he should never have given place, but to condemne the party called in question. *Lepida* the day of hearing, falling out when the playes were to be shewne; entering the Theater with a company of noble women: calling on her ancestours with a dolefull lamentation; and *Pompey* himselfe, whose monuments and images were there in a view, moved such great compassion, that the people gushing out in teares, began to curse *Quirinius*: wishing him all cruelty and misfortune: upon whom being old and without children, and of base parentage, she was bestowed, who had once been destined a wife for *L. Cesar*, and daughter in law to *Augustus*. Not long after her lewd behaviour was discovered, by torturing her slaves: and all of them condemned unto *Rubellius Blandus* opinion, which was that she should be banished. *Drusus* yeelded unto his opinion, although others were milder bent. Then *Scaurus*, who had had a daughter by her, obtained that her goods should not be confiscated. At last *Tiberius* declared, that he was assured also by *P. Quirinius* slaves that she sought to poison him, as being an enemy alwaies to noble houses. And so in a short compass of time, the Calphurnians lost *Piso*: and the Aemilians *Lepida*. But *D. Silanus* being restored to the Junian family, was a comfort unto it: whose fortunes I will lay downe.

V. Decius Silanus touched with adulterie: Papias Poppæus law against single life.

AS fortune was favourable to *Augustus* in government of state, so in household matters unlucky and improsperous: his daughter and Neece which he banished the city, being both of incontinent life: and the adulterers punished with death or exile. For perceiving the offence to be common in the mouth both of man and woman; and terming it by a rigorous name, of religion

violated;

violated, or treason; he passed the bounds of his auncestours clemencie, and his own laws. But I will lay down the ends of others, and what hath happened in that age: if having finished this which I have begun I shall have longer life, to undertake further matter. *Decius Silanus*, who was accused to have committed adultery with *Augustus* Neece, although there was no severe punishment decreed against him, then that he should be deprived of *Cesars* friendship; yet interpreting that to be a banishment, durst never intreat pardon of the Senate and the Prince, untill *Tiberius* came to be Emperour; and that by his brother *M. Silanus* credit and authoritie, for his great nobilitie and eloquence highly esteemed. But *Silanus* thanking *Tiberius*, he answered before the Lords of the Senate, that he was glad of his brothers return from a long peregrination: and that he might lawfully so do, because he was not expelled by decree of Senate or law: yet that the offence committed against his father, was entire: and that by *Silanus* return, those things were not made frustrate which *Augustus* had decreed. He remained after this in the citie, but as a private man without office. After this, they debated the matter concerning the moderation of the law *Papia poppæa*, which *Augustus* stroken in yeers, had ordained after the Julian laws, for augmenting the punishment of single life, and enriching the publike treasure. Neither for all that, were marriages and education of children the more frequented: the single life having taken strong root: whereby the multitude of the endangered by the law, growing greater, most houses were subverted by the interpretations of enforcers: and as heretofore through lewdnesse of life: so now by laws the estate of many was overthrown. This giveth me occasion to speake more at large of the beginning of laws; and by what means we are come to such an infinite multitude and varietie of them. In what ancient times no disordinate desire reigned: every man lived without reproch and vice; and therefore without punishment and restraint of laws; neither was there any need of reward, when as every man desired honest things of his own will: and where nothing was demanded against custome, nothing was forbidden by feare. But after that equalitie was banished, and that ambition and violence crept in, in stead of modestie and shame, rule and dominion took footing, and continued for ever among many nations. Some presently, or after they were weary of Kings, desired rather laws: which at the first were simple, mens mindes being yet rude. And above the rest, fame commended those of the Cretensians which *Minos* gave: and those of the Spartians, which *Lycurgus*: and not long after *Solon* prescribed more, and more exquisite, to the people of Athens. *Romulus* ruled us as pleased himself: then *Numa* bound the people with ceremonies and divine laws: some were found out by *Tullus* and *Anens*: but the chiefeft law-maker was *Servius Tullius*, which kings themselves were bound to obey. *Tarquinius* being driven out, the people made many against the factions of the Senatours, to defend their libertie and establish concord. Then ten men were chosen, to collect all the best laws of other countries; out of which they composed twelve tables, the end of law and equitie. As for the laws which followed, although they were sometimes made against malefactours for their misdemeanour; yet notwithstanding for the most part, they were brought in through the dissention of the communalty and noble men: for getting of unlawfull dignities; or driving out of noble men; or other disorders. By this occasion, the *Gracchi*, and the *Saturnini* were disturbers of the people: and *Drusus* no lesse prodigall under pretense of the Senators name, corrupted his companions with hope; or mocked them by sundry oppositions against them. Neither did they omit in the warre of Italy, nor in the

the civill warre, to make many lawes: untill *L. Sulla* the Dictator, the former lawes either abolished or changed: after he had added many unto them; forbare sometime for making any more, though not long by reason of *Lepidus* turbulent demands: and because that not long after, licence was yeelded the Tribunes to manage the people, as themselves listed. And now not in generall, but against particular men lawes were ordained: and thereby in a Common-wealth most corrupt; lawes upon lawes were multiplyed. Then *Cn. Pompeius* being a third time Consull, and chosen for reformation of manners; being more severe in punishing then the offence deserved; was the author and overthrower of his owne lawes: and lost those things by armes, which he had defended by armes. From that time forward there was continuall discord twenty yeeres together: no custome, no law observed: the most lawdefest enterprises escaped unpunished: and many undone for well doing. At length *Augustus Caesar* being the first time Consull, and settled in the state abolished those things, which being Triumvir himselfe had commanded: and gave new lawes to be observed in time of peace and under a Prince. Straighter lawes were made by him, and spies appointed to watch the transgressors: and many induced through recompenses granted by the law *Papia poppæ*; that if any forbore from the priviledges of parents, ceast from marriage, and had no children: that then the people who was the common father of all, should inherit their goods. But the pickthanks went farther, and informed against many, not only in the city, but also through all Italy, and wheresoever else the citizens were: and overthrew many mens estates, and drove a terrour into all: if *Tiberius* in providing a remedy had not chosen by lot, five such as had beene Consuls, five as had beene Pretors, and so many of the rest of the Senators, which solving many intricate quirkes of this law, were some ease for the present time.

VI. *Nero is recommended by Tiberius to the Senate: and married with Julia, Drusus daughter.*

ABout the same time, he recommended *Nero* one of *Germanicus* children, now entred into his youth, to the Lords of the Senate: and requested that he might be dispensed with for the office of Vigintivirat: and (which to all men seemed ridiculous) be lawfull for him to demand the Questorship, five yeeres sooner then the lawes did permit: pretending that the same was granted him and his brother at *Augustus* request. But I doubt not, but at that time, some secretly laughed at that demand. Yet these were the first beginnings of *Cæsars* rising; and the ancient custome more in every mans eyes: and a lighter band of alliance, held to be betwixt the father in law, and his wifes children; then the grandfather and his nephew. The Pontificall dignity was likewise bestowed upon him: and the first time he entred the place of common assemblies; he gave the people a donative: very joyfull to see *Germanicus* off-spring now of full age. Their joy was augmented by *Neroes* marrying of *Julia*, *Drusus* daughter. And as these things were gratefull to the people, so went it against their stomachs, that *Sejanus* should be destined father in law to *Claudius* son, as a disparagement to their nobility: & that at their own motion they exalted *Sejanus*, who conceived over great hopes in his mind. In the end of that yeere dyed *L. Volusius* and *Sal. Crispus*, two noble personages. *Volusius* was descended of an ancient stocke; but never higher then a Pretors roome: himselfe obtained a Consuls roome, and was made Cenfor for the chusing of bands of horsemen; and the first

first gatherer of riches, whereby that house rose to that greatnes. *Crispus* was a gentleman born, and so called and adopted by that excellent writer of the Romane Historie *C. Sallustius*, because he was his sisters nephew. But he, although he had a ready entrance for obtaining of dignities; yet following the example of *Mecenas* never once being Senator, had greater authoritie and power, then many which had triumphed and beene Consuls. Yet differed from his ancestors in maner of life; as being neat, fine, and bountifull, very neere riotousnesse; and was of a great capacite, and in courage able to performe great matters: and so much the more lively, by how much in utter shew he seemed drowsie and heavie merled. Therefore whilest *Mecenas* lived, next unto him his credit was best: and after his death, trusted with greatest secrets of state; and privie to the murdering of *Posthumus Agrippas*; and growne into yeeres, held rather a shadow of the Princes friendshippe, then the substance: Even so fell it out with *Mecenas*: either so by the course of the heavens decreed, that the Princes favour is seldome everlasting; or because both have their fill: those when they have given all they can; these when there is nothing left to desire. Now followeth the fourth time that *Tiberius*; and the second that *Drusus* was made Consull: a thing worthy of remembrance, that the father and the son were fellow officers: for two yeeres before, *Germanicus* had the same dignitie with *Tiberius*: but that was no joy to the uncle; neither hee so neere in bloud unto him. In the beginning of that yeere *Tiberius* went to Campania, under colour of getting his health; yet indeed by little and little to absent himselfe; or else that the father being away, *Drusus* might alone manage the whole Consulship. It fell out by meere chance, that a matter of small moment growing to waightie contention, brought the young man to great credit. *Domitius Corbulo*, who had beene Pretor, complained before the Lords of the Senate on *L. Sulla* a noble young man, that he gave him not the place at a play of fencers. For *Corbulo*, made his age; the custome of the countrey; and the favour of the ancient men: on the other side, *Mamercus Scaurus* and *L. Aruntius*, and other of his kindred, stuck unto *Sulla*. Orations were made on both sides: and examples of old times brought, sharply rebuking the irreverence of youth: untill *Drusus* qualified the matter with a fir discourse; and *Corbulo* satisfied by *Mamercus* the most excellent Oratour of his time, and uncle, and father in law to *Sulla*. The same *Corbulo* exclaiming that many high wayes of Italy were broken, and not passable; by reason of the fraude of the undertakers of the worke, and negligence of the Magistrates in great; accepteth willingly the finishing of that businesse. Which did not so much turn to a publike benefit, as the destruction of many: whose wealth and fame he tyrannized by condemning them, and setting their goods to sale.

VII. *Whether Captaines and Governours of Provinces should have their wives with them.*

NOT long after, *Tiberius* sent letters to the Senate; advertising them that by *Tacfarinus* incursions, Africk was again in arms: and that with the advise of the Lords it were needfull, that a Proconsull were chosen, skilful in matters of war; of an able body, and a sufficient man for this war. Which entrance *Sextus Pompeius* having gotten, of uttering his malice against *M. Lepidus*; accused him to be a coward, beggerly, and a dishonour to his ancestors; and therefore not to be admitted to lot, for the government of Asia. The Senators were on his side; who thought *Lepidus* rather meete then a coward; and the small wealth

left him by his father; and his nobility past without reproach, rather they judged a credit, then an ignominie. And therefore he was sent into Asia. And touching Africa, it was decreed that *Cæsar* should chuse one himselfe for that charge. Whilest these things were a doing, *Severus Cæcina* was of opinion, that no Magistrate unto whom should fall the government of a Province, should have his wife follow him: having first often repeated the good agreement betwixt him and his wife: that he had six children by her: and that he propounded nothing publikely to be executed, which he had not observed at home: not suffering his to goe out of Italy, although he had had commanderie in wars fourtie yeers in many Provinces. "It was not in vaine, said he, ordained in times past, that women should not be drawne to confederates and forreine nations. For it was incident where women followed, that in peace they were a hinderance by riot and sumptuousnesse: in warre by feare; and made the Romane armie, like the Barbarians going to war. That sex was not onely weak and unable to take paine; but if it got the bridle, cruell, ambitious and greedy of rule. To march among the souldiers, to have the Centurions at command; we have seen a woman of late: and to oversee the cohorts exercise, and the legions horse-races. That they should consider, that as oft as any were accused of extortion and polling, more was objected against their wives, then themselves. That the fewdest persons of the provinces, did by & by cleave unto them. They would intermeddle and conclude of all affairs: by this means two were courted, and two judgement seats. Women being wilfull, command proudly; and bridled by the Oppian and other lawes; now having gotten the reines in their hands, rule houses, places of judgements, and armies. This was heard but with the good liking of a few: many interrupting him, and saying, "That that was not the matter propounded, nor *Cæcina* a fit censurer to sway a matter of so great importance. *Valerius Messallinus*, son unto *Messalla*, in whom appeared the image of his fathers eloquence, answered immediately as followeth. "Many hard and irksome customes of our Predecessors have bin changed into the better and pleasanter. Neither was the citie besieged as in times past, or the provinces at defiance with us: and some few things are granted to womens necessities: which are so far from overcharging the confederates, that they are not burdensome to their husbands houses. Other things were common as well to the husband as the wife; and no hinderance at all therein to peace. True it is, that wars are to be undertaken by armed men: but unto such as return after their labours, what more honest solace then a mans wife? But some have fallen into ambition and covetousnesse. What? of Magistrates themselves, are not many of them subject unto sundry affections? yet it cannot be, that none should be sent into the Province. But oftentimes the husbands have bin corrupted by the naughtinesse of their wives: are therefore all single men uncorrupt? The Oppian lawes were once in use, the state of the common-wealth so requiring; but afterward somewhat of their rigour was remited and mitigated, because it was then expedient. It was in vaine to cover our cowardlinesse with new names; for it was the husbands fault, if the woman exceeded the mean. In fine, it were not well done for the weaknesse of one or two, to take from husbands their companion in prosperous and adverse fortune: and withal, a sex weak and fraile by nature, to be left alone, and exposed by her own licentiousnes, to the lust of others. Matrimonie could hardly be kept undefiled, their husbands being present: what would become of them, if they should be forgotten for many yeers, as it were by divorcement? therefore they should so prevent faults committed abroad, that they forget not the dishonours of the citie. *Drusus* added somewhat of his owne Matrimony, and

and that Princes most often visite the remotest parts of their Empire. How oft had *Augustus* of famous memory gone to the East and West, accompanied with *Livia*? That himselfe, had gone to Illyrium; and if it were expedient, was ready to goe into other countries: but yet not alwaies willingly, if hee should be drawn from his most deare wife, and mother of so many children, common between them both. And so *Cæcinus* sentence took no effect.

VIII. What abuses were committed by running to the Princes images. Warres in Thrace.

THE next day that the Senate met, *Tiberius* having covertly rebuked the Lords of the Senate by letters, because they did cast all the cares on the Princes neck, nominated *M. Lepidus*, and *Iunius Blæsus*, one of them to be chosen Proconsull of Africk. And both of them being heard, *Lepidus* very earnestly excused himself; pretending the feeblenes of his body, his childrens age, and a daughter marriageable: respecting also (though thereof he made no mention) that *Blæsus* was *Sejanus* uncle, and therefore sure to carry it away. *Blæsus* answered as though hee would have refused, but not with the like asseveration as the other; yet had a favourable hearing of flatterers. Then many secret complaints were made known: for every lewd companion, if he could catch hold on *Cæsar*s image, might freely, and without punishment, injury honest men without opprobrious speeches, and raise envie against them: yea, freed men, and bondslaves also, were feared, threatening with words and fills their patrons and masters. Whereupon *C. Cestius* a Senator uttered these speeches: "That indeed Princes were like unto gods: but yet the gods heard no supplications but just: neither had any refuge to the Capitol, or other temples of the city, that they should use that as a defence against all misdemeanour. That the lawes were abolished and utterly overthrowne: seeing that *Annia Rufilla* whom he had condemned of fraud before the Judge, did threaten, and use reproachfull speeches against him, in the place of assemblies and before the Curia, hee not daring to try the law with her, because she had *Cæsar*s image over against her. Others muttered the like, or bitterer speeches then these: and besought *Drusus* that he would shew exemplary punishment upon her: and being called and convicted, was condemned to prison. Likewise *Considius Aequus*, and *Cælius Cursor*, Gentlemen of Rome, were by commandement of the Prince and order of the Senate punished, for forging crimes of Treason against the Pretor *Magius Cæcilianns*. Both turned to *Drusus* commendation, because that by him who conversed in the citie with all companies, in familiar communication, the secret designments of his father were qualified. Neither did the young mans riot greatly dislike them; reputing it a lesser fault, to employ the day in buildings, and the night in banquetting; then given to no pleasures, alone heavily to passe the day in lewd practises and devises. For *Tiberius* and the accusers were yet not wearied. But *Ancharius Priscus* accused *Cæsius Cordus*, Proconsull of Crete, of polling the countrey: and added Treason, which was a supply when all other accusations failed. When *Cæsar* perceived that *Antistius Vetus*, one of the chief noble men of Macedonia, was acquitted of adultery laid to his charge: having rebuked the Judges, drew him in againe, to purge himselfe of Treason: as being seditious and a confederate with *Rhescuporis* in his counsels, when as having slaine his brother *Cotys*; he intended war against us. Whereupon he was banished into an Island; neither commodious for Macedonia, nor Thrace. For Thrace, the kingdome being divided betwixt *Rhæmetalces*

talces and *Cotys* children; unto whom by reason of their infancie, *Trebellienus Rufus* was made Tutor; through the strangeness of our manners, fell to rebell a fresh: no lesse blaming *Rhæmetalces* then *Trebellienus*, because they suffered injuries done to the people to escape unpunished. The *Coelaetæ*, and the *Odrusetæ*, all strong Nations; tooke armes under divers Captaines, for baseness of birth not unlike: and therefore could not grow to any cruell battell. For some troubled the present state, some passed the hill *Hæmus* to draw such to them as dwelt a farre off: most of them, and those of better government, besieged the king and the citie *Philippopolis*, built by *Philip* King of *Macedon*. Which when *P. Velleius* understood, who was Captaine of the next army: he sent a certaine company of horsemen, and a band of footmen lightly appointed, against those which roamed about for pillage; or to seeke more succour: himselfe brought his strength of footmen to raise the siege: all ending prosperously; the forragers slaine, and a diffention growing among the besiegers: the king sallied out against these, the legions arrived in seasonable time. This deserved not the name of any armie or battell: in which a few unfurnished straglers were slaine without any blood shed on our side.

IX. *The Galli unable to pay their taxations rebell: Julius Florus and Julius Sacrovir being their Captaines.*

THE same yere the cities of *Gallia*, by reason they were greatly indebted, began a rebellion: the chiefeest firebrand among the *Treveri* being *Iulius Florus*, and with the *Aedui* *Iulius Sacrovir*: both nobly descended, and whose ancestors had achieved valiant acts; and therefore made citizens of *Rome*: then a rare thing, and a guerdon onely of vertue. They by secret conferences, having drawne to them the most audacious; or such whose povertie or feare of punishments for their misdeeds, were ready to plunge themselves into any enterprise: resolved that *Florus* should stir up the *Belgi*, and *Sacrovir* the *French* neerer at hand. In their conventicles therefore and meetings, they began to cast out seditious speeches of their continuall tributes, the greatnes of usury, the crueltie and arrogancy of governours; and that the souldiers fell together by the eares when they heard of *Germanicus* death. That that was a notable time offered, of recovering their liberty: if now in their flourishing estate they would weigh, how poore *Italy* was; how weake the city souldier, and no strength in the armies, but what was in strangers. There was almost no city which was not infected with the seeds of that commotion. The *Andecavians*, and the *Turonians* were the first which burst out: of which the *Andecavians* were subdued, by the Lieutenant *Acilius Aviola*; with a band of men which lay in garrison at *Lugdunum*. The *Turonians* were overthrowne by the legionary souldier, which *Visellius Varro*, Lieutenant of lower *Germany*, sent under the same Captaine *Aviola*: and certaine of the chiefe gentlemen of *Gallia*, which brought him aide, the better thereby to cloake their revolt, and when occasion served, rebell with more assurance. *Sacrovir* was seene to demand battell of the *Romanes* bare headed, as he said to shew his valour: but the captaines said he did it to make himselfe the better known; thereby to be spared from their darts. *Tiberius* being consulted upon that point, made no reckoning of the disclosing of it; but nourished the warre by doubting. *Florus* in the meane time held on his purpose; enticed a wing of horsemen, enrouled at *Trevers*, and trained up in our service and discipline; that having slaine the *Romane* Merchants, which there used traffick; hee might begin the warre: few of the horsemen were corrupted; but most continued in their allegiance. Other rude indebted persons, or followers, tooke armes; and

went

went toward the torrest called *Arden*: but the legions from both armies; which *Visellius*, and *C. Silius*, had sent to crosse them, drove them back. *Iulius Indus* being of the same citie; and an enemy to *Florus* (and therefore more forward to shew his valour) being sent before with a choice power; scattered and defeated that disordered multitude. *Florus* escaped the conquerours hands, by uncertaine lurking holes; and at last perceiving the souldiers to set on his places of refuge, slew himselfe with his owne hands. And that was the end of the rebellion of those of *Treveri*. It was a matter of great difficultie to suppress the *Aedui*; by reason their city was more wealthy; and the aide which should have subdued them farther off. *Sacrovir* had with certain armed cohorts, gotten possession of *Augustodunum*, the chiefe city of the countrey; and taken the noblest mens children of all *Gallia*, which there followed their studies; as a pledge to win and binde their parents and kindred; and withall, secretly distributed weapons which himselfe had caused to be made, to all the youth. They were in number forty thousand; the fift part armed as the legions were: the others with hunting staves, hangers, and such other weapons as hunters use. To these were added certaine slavish fencers, covered according to the countrey fashion, from top to toe, in armour of iron, unapt and uneasy to strike: but to withstand impenetrable, whom they call *Crupellarii*. These forces were augmented, though not by any open consent of cities adjoyning, yet with every mans particular good will: the *Romane* captaine striving and doubting who should have the conducting of the warre, both desiring it. But *Varro* being old and feeble, yeelded to *Silius*, who was in his prime. It was currant in *Rome*, that not onely the *Treveri*, and the *Aedui*, but also that threescore and foure cities of *Gallia* had revolted, and the *Germanes* joyned with them, that *Spaine* was wavering: and all (as the nature of a report is) beleaved, more then it was. Every good man with the care of the common-wealth was greatly grieved: many disliking the present state, and desirous of alteration, rejoyced even in their owne harmes: and blamed *Tiberius* that in so great a hurliburly, he would still spend all his labour in hearing accusers libels. What (said they) shall *Iulius Sacrovir* bee condemned of treason in Senate? at last some were found, which with armes would suppress these bloody libels of accusers: that a miserable peace was well changed for warre. *Tiberius* so much the more composed to a careless securitie, changed neither place nor countenance, passed over those dayes after his accustomed wont, either through haughtinesse of courage: or because he knew the matter to be lighter then the report. In the meane time *Silius* marching on with two legions, having sent a power of allies before, walteth the villages of the *Sequanæ*, which were borderers and confederates with the *Aeduians*. Anon after he marcheth speedily with his armie towards *Augustodunum*: the standard-bearers striving who should make most haste: and the common souldier fretting, and chafing likewise, lest he should rest the night as hee was wont: onely that they may see the enemy, and bee seene, that would bee enough for the victory. Twelve miles off, *Sacrovir* appeared in the champion countrey: in the front he had placed his men covered with iron: his cohorts on the wings: and those which were halfe armed in the rereward: himselfe mounted on a goodly courser, amongst the chiefeest of the city; went to the souldiers and put them in minde of the ancient glory of the *Galli*; and how oft they had defeated the *Romanes*. How honourable a thing libertie was to the Conquerours: and how intolerable servitude would be, if they should be vanquished againe. This exhortation was not long nor pleasing: for the legions drew neere in battell array: the townesmen wanting discipline, and ignorant of service, did neither see nor

heare what was best for them. *Silius* on the contrary side, although his hope had taken away all occasions of encouraging them, yet cryed; "That it was a shame for them being conquerors over the Germanes, to be brought against the Galli, as against enemies: and that of late one cohort had vanquished the rebellious Turonians, one wing the Treveri: a few troupes of horsemen of this same army, had put to flight the Sequans. By how much the richer the Aedui are in money, and abundance in pleasures, the lesser courage they had. Break then in upon them, and binde them, and fleeto those which runne away. At that all of them giving an outcry, the horsemen compassed them in: the footmen set on the point; and the wings made small resistance. Those in complete yron harness, stuck somewhat to it; their plates resisting, and beating back the darts and swords: but the souldier snatching his hatchets and axes, as though he were to break through a wall, hewed their covering and carcases. Some with poles or forks overthrew this sluggish lump: leaving them for halfe dead lying on the ground, not once going about to rise. *Sacrovir* goeth first to Augustodunum; then for feare lest it should be yeelded, to the next village, with a few of his trustiest friends; where he slew himselfe with his owne hands, and the rest one another: and the village being set on fire over them, they were all burnt together. Then at last *Tiberius* wrote to the Senate, that the warre was begun and ended, neither adding nor taking away from the truth. And that the Lieutenants had behaved themselves faithfully and valorously; and himselfe directed them with counsell. And withall yeelded the reasons, why neither he nor *Drusus* went to the warre; magnifying the greatnesse of the Empire, and that it was not meet that Princes, if some one or other towne rebell, should forsake Rome; from whence all other government was derived. Now because there was no cause of feare, hee would goe see and settle the present estate of things. The Lords of the Senate decreed vowes and processions for his returne, with other convenient ceremonies. *Dolabella Cornelius* onely whilest he went about to exceed others, falling into absurd flattery, thought it meet that he should from Campania enter into the city avant. Whereupon *Cesar* wrote, that he was not so needy of renowne, that having vanquished most stout and proud nations; and received or refused in his youth so many triumphs; he would in his old age hunt after a vaine reward of a voyage neere the citie.

X. *Lepidus maketh an Oration in defence of C. Lutorius, accused of Treason.*

ABOUT the same time, he made request unto the Senate that *Sulpitius Quirinius* death, might be solemnized with publike funerals. *Quirinius* was not of the ancient patritian family of the *Sulpitians*; but borne at Lanuvium a free towne, a valiant warriour, and forwards in all his charges, was Consull under *Augustus* of famous memory. Then having wonne by assault the fortresse of the Homonadensians in Cilicia; the markes of triumph were awarded him; then given as a guide to *C. Caesar* in the regiment of Armenia, and when *Tiberius* was at Rhodes, shewed him all duties of love; which *Tiberius* did open in Senate, praising his dutifulnes towards him; and accused *M. Lollius*, to have perswaded *C. Caesar* to seditions and lewdnesse. But unto the rest, the memory of *Quirinius* was nothing pleasing, by reason, as I have said, of the danger he brought *Lepida* into, and miserable niggishnesse, and powerable old age. In the end of the yeer a carry-tale accused *C. Lutorius Priscus* a Gentleman of Rome; who had composed notable funerall verses upon

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Germanicus death, and received money of *Cesar* for them: objecting that he had made them in honour of *Drusus* being sicke: to the end that if he had died, they should have beene published for greater reward. Those verses *Lutorius*, upon vaine glory had read in *P. Petronius* house, in the presence of *Vitellia*, his mother in lawe, and many other noble women. As soone as the pick thanke had shewed himselfe, the rest forced by feare to give witnesse, onely *Vitellia* stood to it, that she had heard nothing. But more credit being given to such as testified to his overthrow: sentence of death was pronounced against him, by *Haterius Agrippa* Consull elect. Against whom *M. Lepidus* began to speake in this manner. If we consider, Lords of the Senate, with what a wicked tongue *Lutorius Priscus* hath polluted his minde, and mens eares: neither prison, nor halter, nor any fervile torments, could suffice to punish him. But if lewd and haynons facts bee without meane: yet the moderation of a Prince; your owne and your ancestors example doe mollifie the punishments and remedies of them: vaine things doe differ from wicked; and words from villanous deeds. And therefore judgement may be given; by which neither this mans offence goe scot-free; and we not repent us, either of our clemency or severity. I have often heard our prince complaine, if any by killing himselfe hath prevented his clemency; *Lutorius* life is yet in safety: who being kept alive, will neither breed danger to the common-wealth, nor put to death, serve for example to others. As his studies were full of folly and without sense, so they are likewise vaine, and quickly at an end. Neither is there any cause to feare any great or serious matter in him; who bewraying his owne imperfections, doth creepe not into mens, but womens breasts. Yet let him be expelled the city. Which I judge to be all one as if he had been convicted of treason. Among all the Consuls onely *Rubellius Blandus* agreed with *Lepidus*, the rest following *Agrippas* opinion: *Priscus* was led to prison, and immediately deprived of his life. The fact *Tiberius* with his accustomed ambiguity of words, blamed in Senate: extolling the zealous affection of severe punishments of Princes injuries, though small: yet intreated them that they would not so rashly punish words: praised *Lepidus*, and rebuked not *Agrippa*. Whereupon a Decree of Senate was made, that their orders should not be carried to the treasury before ten dayes were expired: and that so long the condemneds life should be prolonged. But the Senators had no licence to repent, and revoke their sentence; and *Tiberius* not to be pacified by tract of time.

XI. *Tiberius letter touching reformation of abuses.*

THE yeere following, *C. Sulpitius*, and *D. Haterius*, were created Consuls: all being quiet from forreine troubles: but severitie against superfluities suspected at home: which was growne to exceeding excess in all things, wherein money is lavishly spent. Some of their expences, although more unreasonable; yet were cloaked, by dissembling of their prices: but gluttony and belli-cheere, every man commonly speaking of, put them in feare, lest the Prince should rigorously proceed according to the ancient provident frugality. For *C. Bibulus* beginning, the other Aediles shewed also, that the law concerning excess of expences, was nought set by; and the sumptuousnesse of moveables which was forbidden, daily increased, & that it could not be redressed by any reasonable meanes. And the Lords of the Senate being demanded their advise, referred the whole matter to the Prince. But *Tiberius* often pondered with himselfe, whether such exorbitant lusts could bee bridled or not; whether the bridling of them would not bring more hurt, then benefit

nefit to the common-wealth: how unseemely and dishonourable it should be, to undertake that which could not be affected; or if it could, with the ignominie or infamy of noble men: and in the end he sent letters to the Senate to this purpose. "It would be peradventure convenient, Lords of the Senate, that in other matters, I should be demanded my opinion in your presence: and speake what I thought to be behoveful for the common-wealth; but in this relation it was better to withdraw mine eyes; lest that you noting the countenance, and the feare of every one of such, which should be deprehended of this shamefull lavishing; I should also see them, and take them as it were in the fault. If the Aediles, vigilant and carefull men, had before-hand asked my advise; I know not whether I should rather have perswaded them, to let passe strong and rooted vices, then go so farre, that it should be knowne how unable we be to redresse some kind of abuses. But they truly have done their dutie, and I wish that other magistrates would also fulfill theirs. To me it is neither honest to hold my tongue; nor easie to speake: because I have neither the office of an Aedile, Pretor, nor Consull. Some greater matter is required of a Prince, and of greater importance; and when as every man attributeth to him selfe the praise of things well done; the faults of all men in generall redounde to the dislike of the Prince alone. What shall I begin first to forbid, and reduce to the ancient custome? your huge and spacious countrey houses? the number of your servitours of divers nations? the quantitie of silver and gold? your painted tables, and brasen images of marvellous and exquisite workmanship? superfluities of apparell both in men and women? and those things which are proper unto women, as precious stones for which our money is transported to forreine nations or enemies? I am not ignorant that these things are blamed in banquets and meetings, and a meane wished for. But if any would make a law, or lay downe a punishment for them; those themselves which complaine, will exclaime that the citie is overthrowne; that the ruine of the nobilitie is sought for: and that there is none free from this crime. But wee see that old inveterate diseases of the body cannot be cured, but by sharpe and rough remedies: the corruptor and the corrupted: the weake and burning desire, is to be quenched with no lighter remedies, then the disordinate appetites were, which kindled the minde. So many lawes invented by our ancestors; so many made by *Augustus*; those by oblivion, these (which is a greater offence) abolished by contempt, have caused all superfluities to be more bold and practised. For if thou wouldst doe that which is not yet forbidden, feare lest thou be forbidden it. But if thou hast without punishment transgressed things forbidden, there is neither further shame nor feare left. Why then in times past was provident sparing used? because every man did moderate himselfe: because we were citizens of one citie: and our dominions not reaching out of Italie, we had not the same provocations: by victories had against strangers, we have learned to consume other mens goods; by civill warres our owne. How small a matter is that, whereof the Aediles doe admonish us? how little to be reckoned of, if we regard other things? But truly no man doth put us in minde, that Italie doth want the aide of forreine nations; that the life of the people of Rome, is tossed with the uncertaintie of sea and tempest: and if the strength of the provinces should not ayde and succour the Lords, slaves, and possessions: our woods forsooth, and our farmes, would they maintaine us? This burden, Lords of the Senate, the Prince doth sustaine: which being omitted, the common-wealth should fall to the ground. In other things, every man must give himselfe a law; let shame amend us; necessity the poore; satiety the rich. Or if there be any of the magistrates, which doth promise us so much industrie, and severity, that he

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"can prevent and redresse these things: I doe both praise him, and confesse that I shall be unburdened in part of my labour. But if they will accuse faults, and having gotten glory thereby, raise privie hatred, and leave it on me: beleieve me, Lords of the Senate, I am not desirous of displeasures: which although I runne into, and very greatly, and for the most part unjustly, for the common-wealth: yet by good reason, I refuse them, and intreate that those be not thrust on me, which will be neither profitable for me, nor you.

XII. *Examples doe more then lawes in reformation of abuses: the Flamines are hindered for being governours of Provinces.*

*C*AESARS letters being heard, the Aediles were discharged of that care: and the sumptuousnesse of their tables, which from the end of the war at Actium, untill the warres in which *S. Galba* got the soveraigntie for an hundred yeeres, lavishly used, began by little and little to be left off. The causes of this change it shall not be amisse to seek out. In times past, rich and great houses of noble men fell to decay through their magnificence; being then lawfull to winne the favour of the people of confederates, and Kings, to court and be courted. And as every man was most sumptuous in his house, furniture, and provision: so he was accounted most honourable, and followed with a greater traine. But after they beganne to murder one another, for private quarrels, proceeding of this pompe; and that their greatnesse was their ruine; the rest took a wiser course. And withall, new men, which were often taken out of free townes, colonies, and provinces, and chosen to be Senatours, brought in with them the frugalitie, which they had used before in their owne houses. And albeit, many of them either by fortune, or their owne industrie, grew to wealth in their age: yet they kept the same mind and custome they brought with them. But *Vespasian* was the chiefe author of this strict kinde of life; himselfe observing the ancient manner of living: for then a desire of pleasing and imitating the Prince, wrought more, then either punishment of lawes or feare. Unless peradventure, wee think that there is in all things a certaine change: and as there is an intercourse and change of time, so also an alteration of customes and manners. Neither were all things in ancient times better then ours; but our age hath left unto posteritie many things worthy of praise and imitation. But let such honest contentions betwene us and our predecessors, still continue amongst us. *Tiberius* having gotten the fame of moderation, by repressing the accusers: sent letters to the Senate, requesting the Tribunicall authoritie for *Drusus*. That terme of highest dignitie *Augustus* invented, to avoide the name of King or Dictator: and yet under another title signified a soveraignty above other Magistrates. After this he chose *M. Agrippa*, as an associate of that dignitie: and after his death *Tiberius Nero*, lest the successor should be unknown: thinking thereby to cut off others unlawful hopes: trusting to *Neroes* modesty, and his own greatnesse. By which example, *Tiberius* did then assure the soveraigntie to *Drusus*, when as whilest *Germanicus* lived, he held his judgement indifferent between them both, nor preferring the one before the other. But in the beginning of his letters, having humbly prayed unto the gods, that they would prosper his counsels to the good of the common-wealth: he spake some few words, and those truly of the young mans behaviour; as that he had a wife and three children; and was of the age that he himselfe was called by *Augustus* of famous memory to undertake the same charge. Neither could it be

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said that hastily, but after eight yeers triall; having suppressed seditions, and settled the warres, and triumphed, and been twice Confull; he was taken to be an associat of a known labour. The Lords of the Senate conceived the drift of his oration; whereby their flattery toward him was the more artificiall. Yet notwithstanding there was nothing newly invented: but ordained onely, that the images of the Princes, the altars of the gods, Temples, and arches, and such usuall honours should be erected for him. Saving that *M. Silanus* demanded and opened that in publike and private monuments, the Consuls name should not be prefixed; but theirs who had Tribuniciall authoritie: a thing greatly dishonouring and debasing the Consulary dignitie. *Q. Haterius*, who had counselled that the decrees made that day in the Senate, should be written in letters of gold, was mocked for his labour: that an old man should use to his infamy such filthy flattery. Whilest these things were a doing, the government of Africa was continued in *Iunius Blasius*. *Servius Maluginensis* a Flamen Dial, or *Iupiters Priest*; sued that he might draw lots for the government of Asia: saying, "That it was vainely spread abroad, that it was not lawfull for *Iupiters* Priests "to goe out of Italy. And that they had no other law then the Priests of *Mars* and "*Quirinus*. And if these had governed the Provinces, why was it unlawfull for the "*Diales*? that there was no law of the people, touching that matter, found in the "*books of ceremonies*. The high Priest had often celebrated *Iupiters* sacrifices: if "*the Flamin had been hindered by sicknesse or publike affaires*. Seventy and two "*yeers, after that Cornelius Nerula was murdered*, no man was put to supply the "*place, and yet the ceremonies never ceased*. And if his creation could be omitted "*for so many yeers, without any hinderance to the sacrifices: how much easlier "*might a man be absent, with the Proconsulary dignitie for a yeere? In times past "*they were forbidden to go out of the Provinces, through the private grudges of "*the high Priest: now through the favour of the gods, the high Priest was the "*foveraign above all men: not subject unto emulation, malice, or private affection*. Against which when *Lentulus* the Augur, and others had diversly spoken; in the end they resolved to expect the censure of the high Priest. *Tiberius* having deferred the hearing of the *Flamins* right, moderated the ceremonies which were decreed in honour of *Drusus* Tribuniciall dignitie: in rebuking by name the insolency of that sentence, which would have had the decree written in letters of gold, against the custome of the Countrey. *Drusus* letters were also read: which although they seemed to tend to modestie, yet were reputed most proud. "They complained that things "*were growne to that passe; that the young man having received so grear honour,* "*yet vouchsafed not to visit the gods of the Citie: nor shew himselfe in Senate; or "*begin at least his authoritie in his owne countrey. But forsooth, he is let by warre, "*or hindered in some strange countrey: when indeed he solaceth himself at his pleasure, in the shores and lakes of Campania*. This lesson had the ruler of the world "*taught him; this did he first learne of his fathers Counsels*. Although the old Emperour should disdain, to come and shew himselfe to the citizens: and pretend "*his yeers, and travell for an excuse: yet what impediment hath Drusus, but onely "*his arrogancy?

XIII. A reformation of Sanctuaries.

BUT *Tiberius* strengthning in himselfe the sovereignty: left the Lords of the Senate a shadow of their ancient estate, by sending the requests of the provinces to their examination. The licence and impunitie of ordaining Sanctuaries,

aries, and priviledged places increased throughout the cities of Greece. The temples were filled with most lewd bondslaves: in the same refuges, were received debtors against their creditors; and suspected of capitall crimes. Neither was there any authoritie able to bridle the sedition of the people; protecting all villanies, no lesse then the ceremonies of the gods. Whereupon it was concluded, that the cities should send their Embassadors with their priviledges, which some left off of their owne accord as falsly usurped: many trusted to old superstitions or pleasures done to the people of Rome. The pompe of that day was great in shew: in which the Senators considered of the prerogatives of their predecessors; the agreements of confederates, the decrees of Kings, which had been before the Romans had gotten such great power & authoritie: and the religions of the gods themselves, being yet in the disposition of the Senate, to confirme or alter all; as in times past they could have done. The first which shewed themselves in Senate, were the Ephesians; declaring that *Diana* and *Apollo*, were not born in the Iland *Delos*, as the common people did believe: and there was in their countrey a river called *Cenchrius*: and a wood called *Ortygia*, where *Latona* being great with childe, and leaning against an Olive tree which is yet in the place, brought forth these two gods: and that by the commandement of the gods, that wood was made sacred. And that *Apollo* himselfe did in that place flee from *Iupiters* anger, after he had slaine the Cyclopians. After that *Bacchus* the conquerour in warre, pardoned the Amazones, which humbling themselves there, caught hold on the Altar. And that the ceremonie of that temple increased by *Hercules* permission, when he enjoyed *Lydia*: which was not diminished when the Persians had dominion over it. After that the Macedonians; then we had maintained the same priviledges. Next unto those came in the Magnesiens, building their reasons on *L. Scipio*, & *L. Sullaes* constitutions: the one driving out *Antiochus*; and the other *Mithridates*: and extolled the loyaltie and vertue of the Magnesiens; and commanded that *Diana Leucophrynes* priviledges should not be violated. Then followed the Aphrodisienses, and Stratonicenses, alleading an order made by *Cesar* the Dictator; and another latter decree of *Augustus* of famous memory, for the pleasures done them, in taking part with their side, during the time of their faction, praising them that they had sustained the assaults of the Parthians; nothing at all changing their constancy towards the people of Rome. But the Aphrodisienses maintained the priviledges of *Venus* temple: and the Stratonicenses *Iupiter* and *Trivius* ceremonies. The Hierocæsarienses fetcht their matter from a farther beginning, inducing their *Diana Persica*, and a temple dedicated by King *Cyrus*; and told a tale of *Perperna*, of *Isauricum*, and many other Emperours; which granted that holinesse not onely to the temple, but to two miles compass. Then follow the Cyprians, declaring that they had three temples: whereof the most ancient was builded by *Aerius*, and consecrated to *Venus Paphia*, the second by his sonne *Amathus*, and dedicated to *Venus Amathusia*: the third to *Iupiter Salaminus*, built by *Teucer*, when he fled from his father *Telamon*. The Embassadors of other cities were heard likewise; with whose multitude the Lords of the Senate being wearied, some favouring one side, some another, and because they contended which had merited most, they referred the matter to the Consuls: that looking into the right of the cause, if they contained any secret abuse, they should bring the whole cause againe to the Senate. The Consuls besides those cities, which I have above named, spake of another priviledged place for malefactors, dedicated to *Aesculapius* at Pergamum: affirming that the rest were grounded upon obscure beginnings, in respect of their antiquitie. The Smyrnaens alleaged

alleged an oracle of *Apollo*, by which they were commanded to dedicate a temple to *Venus Stratonice*: the Teneans a verse of the same *Apollo*, commanding them to offer an image and Temple to *Neptune*. The Sardians brought in matters of latter memory; that to be *Alexander* the conquerers gift: and the Milesians did the like, using king *Darius* name for their franchise; but both of these did worship *Diana* and *Apollo*. The Cretensians made request that the image of *Augustus* might have some priviledge; and decrees of Senate were made, by which with great honour, yet moderation was prescribed unto all; and commandement given in those very temples to erect altars for a sacred memory: yet so, that under colour of religion, they should not fall into ambition.

XIII I. *Julia Augusta falleth sick: Sejanus called into question.*

ABout the same time, a grievous sicknesse which *Julia Augusta* fell into, caused the Prince (perfect amity being yet betwixt the mother and the son, or else secret hatred) to hasten his return to Rome. For not long before, when *Julia* had dedicated an image to *Augustus* of famous memory, not far from *Marcellus* theatre, she had set *Tiberius* name under her own: which he (as it was thought) taking as an under-valuing of the majesty of a Prince, smothered up with a great, but a secret heart-burning against her. But when the Senate had decreed, that there should be processions made to the gods, and the playes called Magni, exhibited by the chiefe Priests, the Augurs, the fifteen together with the seven, and those of the fellowship of *Augustus*, called Augustales; *L. Apronius* was of opinion, that the Heraulds should be overseers of those playes: which *Cæsar* spake against, making a difference in the rights of the Priests, alleaging examples for it. For the Feciales or Heraulds never had such high authoritie; and that therefore the Augustales were put to them, because it was a peculiar Priesthood of that house, for which the vowes were made. My meaning is not to lay downe any other opinions; but such as are either notable for their honestie, or shamefull for their infamie: which I suppose, to be the chiefe point belonging to Histories; that vertues be not slightly passed over with silence; and that men have a feare of bad speaking and doing, lest they become infamous with posteritie. But those times were so corrupted with filthy flattery: that not only the chiefe of the city were forced in that servile maner to keepe their reputation; but all such as had beene Consuls; the greatest part of such as had bin Pretors: & also many pederay Senators rose up & strove, who should propound things most base and abject. It is written, that as *Tiberius* went out of the Curia, hee was wont to say in Greeke, O men ready to servitude! as though hee, who could of all things least suffer publike libertie, did yet abhorre such base and servile submission: falling by little and little from unseemely flatteries, to lewder practises. *C. Silanus* Pronconsull of Asia, being accused for polling the Province; was also prosecuted by *Mamercus Scaurus*, who had beene Consull; by *Innius Otho* Pretor; by *Brutidius Niger* Aedile: all of them laying to his charge, that he had violated *Augustus* divinitie, and set nought by *Tiberius* majesty. *Mamercus* alleaged old examples, how *L. Cotta* had beene accused by *Scipio Africanus*: *S. Galba* by *Cato* the Cenfor: and *P. Rutilius* by *M. Scaurus*, A matter very unlikely, that *Scipio* and *Cato* should use any such revenge: or *Scaurus* great grandfather to this *Mamercus*, the dishonour and reproach of his ancestors, by so dishonourable and infamous a trade. *Innius Otho*s old occupation was to keepe a Schoole: then made a Senator by

Sejanus

Sejanus authoritie, brought his obscure beginning; into obloquie by impudent enterprises. *Brutidius*, a man well qualified; and if he had taken a right course, likely to have come to honourable preferment; over much haſt pricked forwards: and at the first went about, to out-go his equals; then his superious; and laſt of all to ſteed above his own hopes, which hath been the overthrow of good men; who contemning that which by a little patience, is had with ſecuritie; haſten to that which gotten before his time, breedeth their ruine and deſtruction. *Gellius Publicola*, and *M. Piconius*, increased the number of informers: the one being *Silanus* treaſurer; the other his Lieutenant. Little doubt but *Silanus* was blame-worthy for his crueltie, and ravenous dealing: but many other matters came together, dangerous even to the innocent: for beſides that he had ſo many Senators againſt him; he was ro answer alone, the eloquentest of all Asia: and for that cause chosen to accuse; being himself unskilfull, and appaled with his own danger; cause sufficient to have daſht the best practised out of matter. *Tiberius* himself not refraining to presse him with words and countenance, asked him many questions; not giving libertie to reſell or reply: yea oftentimes he muſt confeſſe, lest *Tiberius* should seeme to have asked in vain. And withall, the publike actor had bought *Silanus* bondmen, to the end they should be examined by torture. And because none of his kinsmen nor friends might help him in his danger, accusations of treason (a bond and neceſſitie to stop every mans mouth) were thrust among. Whereupon certaine dayes of delay being demanded; he let fall his defence: and taking courage ſent letters unto *Cæſar*, interlaced with intreatie and odious termes. *Tiberius*, that the causes he charged *Silanus* with, might have an example of excuse, commandeth *Augustus* records, touching *Tiberius Meſſalla*, Proconsull of the same Asia, to be recited; and a decree of Senate made against him. Then demanded *L. Piſces* opinion; who making a preamble of the Princes clemencie; was of advise that he should be banished to the Iland *Gyarus*. The rest gave the like verdict: saving that *C. Lentulus* thought it meet, that the goods which came by *Silanus* mother (for he was by another mother) should be separated from the rest, and given the sonne: *Tiberius* according thereunto. “But *Cornelius Dolabella*, having rebuked *Silanus* for his behaviour; followed the vaine of his flattery further; and added; That none who lived a reproachfull and infamous life, should draw lots for the government of any province; and that the Prince should be “judge thereof. The laws did punish crimes committed; but how much better “would it be for us, and our confederates, if we did provide that no offences should “be committed? Against which, *Cæſar* himself spake, and said; That he was not ignorant what the speech had been of *Silanus*; but that no judgements ought to be given at the rumour of the people. Many had behaved themselves in the Provinces, “better then was hoped for; and others not so bad as it was feared: for some by managing of waightie matters, have been stirred up to a better carriage and behaviour; “and others have become more slothfull and laſie. And that a Prince could not “comprehend all things in his own knowledge; neither was it expedient that he “should be drawn to this and that, by others ambition. That laws were ordained “against facts already committed, because future things are uncertain. So it was “ordained by our ancestors, that when the offences had gone before, punishment “should follow; therefore they would not alter those things, which were invented “by wisdom, and alwayes observed. That princes had charge sufficient, and power “enough, if their power grew great, the laws grew weake. That absolute authoritie was not to be used; as long as the laws were open. By how much the seldomer *Tiberius* shewed any popular behaviour; by so much the more joyfully it was accepted.

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And being wife (if he were not carried away with anger) in moderating the rigorous censures of others: added that the Iland Gyarus was barbarous, and uninhabited, and therefore that they would shew so much favour to the Junian family; and to one who had been of the same collidge with them; that he should rather be sent to the Iland Cythera: which was also the request of *Torquata*, *Silanus* sister, a virgin of good life: unto which censure they all condescended.

XV. More accusations prosecuted. A decree touching Jupiters Priests.
Tacfarinas driven by *Blæsus* out of Africk.

After this the Cyrenenses were heard: and *Cæsius Cordus* condemned of polling the provinces, at the suite of *Ancharius Priscus*. *L. Ennius* a Gentleman of Rome, accused of Treason; because hee had converted the image of the Prince, to common uses in plate; *Cæsar* forbade to be received amongst the criminal persons. *Ateius Capito* openly complaining, and by a kinde of libertie saying: That power of determining such a matter, ought not to be taken from the Senate, nor so hainous a crime passe unpunished. That the Emperor might be as slow as he listed, in punishing injuries done to himself, yet that he ought not to pardon such as were done to the common-wealth. *Tiberius* understood these things as they were indeed, rather then as they were spoken: and so persisted in opposing himselfe. *Capito* was so much the more noted; because that knowing what appertained to divine and humane lawes; discredited the common good: and the commendable arts hee had learned at home. Then there grew a scruple: in knowing, in what temple the gift should be placed, which the Gentlemen of Rome had vowed to fortune *Equitris*, for the health of *Augusta*. For although there were many temples in the City, of that goodnesse: yet there was none which bare that surname. In the end there was one so called found at Antium: and all the ceremonies in the townes of Italy, and temples, and images of gods, to be under the right, and Empire of Rome: and therupon the gift was placed at Antium. And seeing the matter was debated touching the religions; *Cæsar* declared the answer: which not long before he had deferred, against *Scorius Maluginensis*: and recited the decree of the chiefe Priests, which was, That as oft as the Flamen, Dial, or Jupiters Priest, fell into any ticknes, he might be absent from the Citie, with licence of the chief Priest: so as it were not above two nights; or in dayes of publike sacrifice; nor oftner then twice in one yeer. Which being ordained in *Augustus* time, did manifestly shew, that the absence for a yeer, or administration of Provinces, was not granted to the *Diales*. And the example of *L. Metellus* the high pontife, was alleadged, who in the like case had kept *Anulus Posthumus* the Flamen in the citie. And thereupon the lot of Asia was bestowed upon him; who of the Consuls was next unto *Maluginensis*. At the same time *Lepidus* made request unto the Lords of the Senate, tha the might at his owne charges, reedifie, and adorne *Paulus AEmilius* Temple, the ornament of his memorie: for at that time publike munificence was in use: neither did *Augustus* blame *Tamius*, *Philippus*, *Balbus*, for bestowing spoiles taken from enemies: or the overplus of their wealth to the ornament of the citie, and glorie of the posterity. By which examples *Lepidus* although he had no great store of money, did renew the honour of his ancestors. *Pompeius* theatre, consumed by casuall fire; because there was none left of the family, of abilitie to performe it; *Cæsar* promised to build at his owne charges, and leave it still the old name. And withall he highly extolled *Sejanus* as though through his labour and watchfulnesse, the violence of that fire had beene staide;

staied; from hurting any more then that one thing: and the Senate ordained an image to be erected in honour of *Sejanus* in *Pompeius* theatre. And not long after when *Cæsar* had honored *Iunius Blæsus*, proconsull of Africk, with the ornaments of triumph: he said that he attributed that to *Sejanus* honour, whose uncle he was. Yet *Blæsus* owne acts deserved that honour. For although *Tacfarinas* had been often put to the worst: yet renewing his aide in the middle of Africk, he grew to that arrogancie, as to send Embassadors to *Tiberius*, and require a place for himselfe, and his army to inhabit: or else threatned an endlesse warre. It was reported that *Cæsar* never more grieved at any disgrace done unto himselfe, or the people of Rome; then that a traitor, and thiefe, should deale like an enemy. There was never so much granted *Spartacus*; after he had defeated so many armies of Consuls; and burnt Italy unrevengeed: yea when the common-wealth was greatly weakened by *Sertorius* and *Mithridates* great warres: that he should be received by covenant into safe conduct: and therefore much lesse that *Tacfarinas* a thiefe; the Romane Empire being in most flourishing state, should be hired with a peace and lands to inhabit. He committed the whole matter to *Blæsus*, with charge that he should induce the rest, to lay down their armies; with warrant that they should sustain no hurt, yet that he should lay hold on the Captaine by all means possible: through which pardon many came in. Not long after they used the same maner of fight against *Tacfarinas*; as he had used against others: for because he, inferiour to the Romanes in strength, though better in theverie; made many inrodes; by scattered company deceived his enemy: and laid many traines to intrap him. Their companies were therefore set in order, and marched against him: of which the Lieutenant *Cornelius Scipio* was the chiefe: who lay in waite in that coast where *Tacfarinas* did waste and trouble the *Leptins*, and the *Garamantes*, places of refuge: On another side *Blæsus* sonne lead his owne power; lest the Cirtensian villages should be enticed to take part with *Tacfarinas*. In the middle, placing fortresses and strong holds, in convenient places with choice souldiers: the Captaine himselfe brought the enemy to a narrow straight, and disadvantage: because that which way soever he should bend; some of the Romane souldiers were in his face; some in his side; and often some in his back, and so, many slaine and intrapped. Then divideth the three armies again into many other companies, with Centurions of known valour over them. Neither did he as the custome was, retire his forces in the end of summer; or put them in standing camps of the old province: but as it had been in the beginning of warre; his fortresses well manned, by light-horsemen, and skilfull in those deserts; he gave *Tacfarinus* often changing his cabbins small rest: untill his brother being taken, he retired in the end with more speed, then was for the allies profit: such being left behinde, by whom the warre might rise againe. But *Tiberius* taking this to be an end of this warre, gave *Blæsus* that honour, that he should be saluted Emperour by the legions: being an old custome towards such Captaines, as had shewen valour for the common-wealth, with joy and acclamations to be saluted by that name by the conquering armies. There were many Emperours at one time; but none above another. *Augustus* had granted that name to some; and *Tiberius* at that time to *Blæsus*. That yeer died two notable men, *Asinius Saloni*, nephew to *M. Agrippa*; and *Pollio Asinius*, and brother to *Drusus*: and destined to be *Cæsars* neeces husband; and *Capito Ateius* of whom we have spoken before; by the studies of the civill lawes risen to the highest dignity in the city: but his grandfather *Sullanus* was but a Centurion, and his father Pretor. *Augustus* hastened the Consulship upon him; that by the dignitie of that office, he might be preferred before *Labeo Antistius* skilfull

skilfull in the same study: for that age had at once two ornaments of peace. But *La-beo* was more desirous of incorrupted libertie; and therefore held in great estimation: and *Capitoes* pleasing humour better accepted of Princes. To him, the injury of not being higher then a Pretor, was a commendation: to this, because he got the Consulship, grew of envy hatred. And *Iunia*, whose uncle was *Cato*, and was *C. Cassius* wife, and *M. Brutus* sister, died threescore and foure yeers after the *Philippensi* warre. Her Testament was much talked of among the people; because that being very wealthy, when she had named all the Peeres and Noble men, and bestowed some legacy upon them, she omitted *Cesar*: which he took in good part; not hindering but that her funerals should be solemnized with an oration before the people assembled, with other ceremonies. The images of twenty noble houses, were carried before her; and the names of the Manlians, the Quinctians, and others of like nobility. But *Cassius* and *Brutus* did shine above the rest, because their images were not seene.

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THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. of Sejanus beginning; his qualities; and by what means he
aspired to the Empire.



Asinius, and *C. Antistius* being Consuls; *Tiberius* had nine yeers managed the affairs; and advanced his house to a flourishing estate: (for the death of *Germanicus* he reckoned amongst his prosperities) when as fortune began on a sudden to work alteration: in him waxing cruell; or giving authoritie to such as were. The beginning proceeded from *Aelius Sejanus* Captaine of the garde; of whose power and authority I have before spoken. I will now lay downe his beginning, and qualities: and by what sinister means hee went about to clime to the Soveraigntie. He was borne at *Vulfinium*, sonne of *Seius Strabo*, Gentleman of Rome; and in his first youth followed *C. Caesar*, *Augustus* nephew: not without a rumour, that for money he had suffered his body to be abused by *Apicius*, a rich man and a prodigall. Then by many slights he had so wrought *Tiberius*, that being close and secret towards others: yet to himselfe had made him open and uncircumspect. Not so much by his cunning and fraud (for such devices were his owne overthrow) as by the anger of the gods against the state of Rome; by whose ruine and rising it fell alike. He was of body able to endure labour; of minde bold; in his owne actions secret; an informer against others; as proud as flattering; in shew modest; but inwardly greedy of aspiring: for which cause he used sometime largesse and lavishing; but more oftner industrie and diligence; meanes dangerous alike, when they are dissemblingly used to winne a kingdom. His forces, which at the first were small, he augmented by reducing the cohorts into one campe, which before were scattered abroad in the citie; that they might receive their charge together, and by their number and strength, and seeing one another, breede a confidence to themselves; and a feare to others. He pretended that the souldiers living scattered, grew riotous: and if any sudden attempt should be enterprised, their strength would be greater united, then separated, and that they would live more severely, if their garrison were lodged farre from the wanton allurements of the citie. As soone as his trenches were finished, he began to creepe into the souldiers mindes by going unto them, and calling them by their names; withall made choice himselfe of Centurions and the Tribunes. Neither did he abstaine from ambitiously courting the Senators; advancing his followers with honours, and rule of Provinces; *Tiberius* being so facile and prone to allow of his doings; that not onely in private speeches; but in Senate also and before the people, extolled him as an associate of his labours: and suffered his image to be set in the Theatres, and publike places of assemblies, and ensignes of the legions. But *Cesars* house being full; a young sonne; nephewes of full age; hindered his plots: And because it was not safe making away of so many at once by violence; his treachery required time to accomplish his wickednesse. He resolved then to use the covertest way; and begin with *Drusus*; against whom through fresh quarels hee was

greatly incensed. For *Drusus* being impatient of a concurrent, and therefore easily mooved: a contention rising by chance between them, bent his fist to strike *Sejanus*; and he is to save himselfe; *Drusus* dashed him on the mouth. Hereupon leaving nothing untried, he thought it the readiest way to addresse himselfe to *Livia Drusus* wife. She was *Germanicus* sister, in her youth of a hard favour, but afterward excelled in beauty. Her *Sejanus*, counterfeiting an ardent and burning love, enticed to adultery: and after he had obtained the first breach of honesty (for a woman having once lost her chastitie, what will she refuse to do?) put her in hope of marriage, and fellowship in the Empire; and perswaderh her to kill her husband. Thus shee who was *Augustus* neece, and *Tiberius* daughter in law; and had children by *Drusus*: defiled her selfe, her ancestors, and posteritie with adultery by a meane man: leaving an honest and present estate for the hope of a wicked and uncertaine. *Tudennus* a friend and Physician of *Livius*, was made privie to these plots: who under colour of his art was often used in secret conferences. He putteth away *Apicata* his wife, by whom he had three children, lest his lemmon should have her in jealousy. But the greatnesse of the enterprize drove them into feare; bred prolongings: and sometimes divers sorts of counsels. In the meane space in the beginning of the yeer, *Drusus* one of *Germanicus* children was come to mans estate; and those things renewed upon him, which the Senate had ordained for *Nero* his brother. *Tiberius* made an Oration tending to the great commendation of his sonne; because he tendered his brothers children with a fatherly affection. For *Drusus* (although it be a hard matter for rule and concord to dwell together) shewed himselfe indifferent to the young men; or at least, was not an enemy to them.

II. A survey of the legions and souldiers: *Drusus* poisoned by *Sejanus*.

Tiberius old, but fained determination of going to the Provinces, is put on foot againe: pretending that there were a great number of old souldiers; and that the armies were to bee supplied with a new muster. For voluntary men now wanted: or if there were any, they were not of so vertuous and modest carriage: because that for the most part, they were needy and vagrant persons which voluntarily follow the warres. Withall, he took a short view of the legions: and what Provinces they defended: which giveth me occasion to declare, what strength the Romanes had then in armes; what kings their confederates; and how much lesse the Empire then was. Italy had in both Seas two navies; the one at Misenum, and the other at Ravenna, and certain Gallies called rostratae to defend the coast adjoyning to Gallia: which *Augustus* had taken in the victory at Actium, and sent to *Porc Julius*, well appointed with Sea-men. But the principall strength consisted of eight legions neere unto Rhene; a stay as well to the Germanes, as Galli. Spaine newly subdued had three legions. King *Juba* had the Mauritanians, as a gift given him by the people of Rome: the rest of Africk had two legions: and Egypt the like number. Then all from the beginning of Syria unto the River Euphrates which containeth a great countrey, receiveth foure legions: *Hybero*, and *Albanus*, and other Kings being borderers, which by our greatnesse are protected against forraign kings. Thrace was under the government of *Rhæmetaces*, and *Cotys* children: and the bank of Danubium, two legions guarded in Pannonia; and two in Mæsia. The like number was in Dalmatia, which by the situation of the countrey lye behinde them: that if on the sudden Italy should need aide, they were at hand. Albeit the citie had her proper souldiers; three citie cohorts, and nine Pretorian; almost all chosen out of

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Etruria, Umbria, old Latium, and old Romans, sent thither to dwell. The galleys of confederates lay in the most commodious places of the provinces: the companies of horsemen, and ayds of cohorts, not much inferior in strength, though not easily layd downe, through their uncertaine sitting hither and thither; sometimes moe, sometimes lesse, as time and necessity required. I thinke it also expedient to discribe the other parts of the common-wealth, and how they had beene governed untill that day: being the yeere, in which the state began to decline, by *Tiberius* growing worse and worse. In the beginning, publique and private affaires of greatest importance, were handled before the Lords of the Senate: and the chiefeest licenced to opine and debate matters. *Tiberius* himselfe rebuking them if they fell to flatterie. In bestowing of offices he had regard to their ancestors merit in service abroad, or laudable acts at home: such onely preferred; due authoritie reserved unto the Consuls and to the Pretor: the meane officers, each one exercising his owne function: and the lawes, (matter of treason excepted) duly executed. But for provision of corne, and levying of tributes, and other publique commodities; certaine societies of gentlemen of Rome had charge of. *Cæsar* committed his owne affaires to honest and tried persons: and to some unknowne, if they were well spoken of: and such as were once chosen, continued still, and grew old in the same charge. The people were distressed with a great dearth of corne; yet no fault thereof in the Prince: but with as great care and diligence as he could, remedieth the sterility of the ground, and rough passages of the sea: and gave order that the provinces should not be oppressed with new taxations; and the old be borne, without coverousnesse and crueltie of magistrates. *Cæsar* had small possessions in Italy; and a reasonable number of servitors; and in his house a few freed men; and if he had a suit against any private person, he tried it by law in the place of judgement: all which he maintained, not with any courteous and mild course, but sternely and feared, untill by the death of *Drusus* all was turned upside downe. For whilest he lived there was no alteration; because *Sejanus* beginning to rise, sought means to winne credit, and feared least *Drusus* would revenge, who never dissembled his hartburning, but often complained: That his sonne being alive, he had another coadjutor in the Empire: and what wanteth that he is not his companion? That the first steps to soveraintie are hard, but once entered into, there will want no favourers, nor followers: forts he had built as he liked best: charge given him over souldiers, his image was placed amongst *C. Pompeius* monuments; and that he should have his nephewes common to the *Drusian* familie: that hereafter Modesty must be prayed unto, that he would be contented with his greatnesse. He did not utter these speeches seldome or to a few; and his wife being corrupted, his secrets were bewrayed. *Sejanus* therefore thinking it time to make haste chooseth a slow working poison: the better to father his sicknesse upon some casuall disease: which was given *Drusus* by *Lygdus* an Eunuch, as eight yeers after it was knowne.

III. Germanicus children are in Senate recommended to the Lords by *Tiberius*. *Drusus* funerals, and how hee was empoisoned.

But *Tiberius* all the time of *Drusus* sicknesse, shewed no signe of feare; perhaps because he would shew his constancie: yea being dead, but not buried; he entered into the Senate, and put the Consuls which sate on a low feare, as

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a token of their sorrow, in mind of their honors and calling. And having mattered his owne griefe, comforted the Lords of the senate, which powred downe teares with a continuall speech, saying: That he knew well he might be blamed, for shewing himselfe in Senate, in so fresh a griefe: when the communication of deereſt friends and kinsfolks was scarce seene, nor hardly the day, by many which lamented and mourned. Neither were they to be condemned of weaknesse, yet he for his part had sought for stronger comforts, out of the bosome of the common-wealth. And having compassion on the Empreſſe old age, and tender yeeres of her nephewes, and of his owne decaying age, intreated that *Germanicus* children, the onely comfort of present miseries, might be brought before them. The consuls went out and emboldening the young men in that which they should say, brought them before *Tiberius*, who taking hold of them, said, Lords of the Senate, I delivered these fatherlesse children to their unkle; and besought him, although hee had issue of his owne, that he would bring them up and cherish them, as if they were his owne blood: and make them worthy for himselfe and posterity. *Drusus* being taken from amongus, I turne my prayers to you, and beseech you in presence of the gods, and our countrey, that you would receive, and governe *Augustus* nephewes sonnes, descended of worthy progenitours; and accomplish therein my duty and your owne. These *Nero* and *Drusus*, shall be in stead of fathers unto you. You are so borne, that all your good and evill appertaine to the common-wealth. With great weeping were these words heard, and prayers made that the young men might prosper: and if he had then ended his oration, he had filled the hearts of the hearers with compassion towards himselfe, and glory. But being fallen into vaine discourses, as such as had beene often laughed at, of yeelding up the government: and that the Consuls or some other should take the care upon him, he discredited that which was both honest and true. The same solemnities which were ordained for *Germanicus* were appointed for *Drusus*; and as the manner is of the last flattery, somethings added. His funerall in pompe of images was very magnificent: having before him in a long procession *Aeneas*, the beginning of the Julian family: all the kings of the Albani: and *Romulus* the founder of the Citie. After him followed the nobilitie of the Sabines, *Appius Claudius* and the images of the rest of the Claudians. In delivering *Drusus* death, I have followed that which many true Writers have uttered; but I will not omit a very strong report of those times, yet current in every mans mouth, which is, that *Livia* being already corrupted to all dishonesty of body by *Sejanus*: he was said to have abused *Lygdus* body likewise: in age and beauty highly pleasing his master, and of all his servitors of best credit; who being made privie to the practise, the place and times agreed when the poyson should be given, grew to that audaciousnesse, that hee turned all upon *Drusus* head: and by secret advertisement, accused him to have gone about to poison his father; and gave *Tiberius* warning, to take heed of the first drinke his sonne should offer him at the Table. Whereupon by that fraud, the banquet being begun, the old man presented *Drusus* the cup which he had received; who ignorant of the practise, like a raw young man dranke it up, increasing thereby the suspicion, as though for feare and shame, hee had swallowed that death which hee had prepared for his father. This was the common rumour, which wanting a ground, and certaine author, thou maieſt easily refuse: for who is he though but of meane wisdom, much lesse *Tiberius*, experienced and beaten in waighy affaires, not hearing his defence, would have offered his sonne his death, and that with his owne hands; a thing remedies if he should repent it? Why had he not rather tortured the minister of the poyson?

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fought out the author, and used that delay; which usually he did even against strangers toward his owne sonne; never before detected of any lewd fact? But because *Sejanus* was thought to be the inventer of all bad actions, through the great good will *Cæsar* bore him, and the hate which the rest bare to both; things were beleevd although fabulous, and incredible; report speaking alwaies the worst of Princes deaths. The order of this fact hath been otherwise discovered by *Apicata* *Sejanus* wife, and by torturing of *Eudemus* and *Lygdus*: and no writer found so great an enemy to *Tiberius*, although all hath beene sought that may be said, and enforced against him, that hath objected any such matter. The cause why I laid downe and blamed the common rumor, was, that under a manifest example, I might discredit false reports; and pray such into whose hands our labours shall come; that they would not esteeme more of common, incredible tales, greedily received, then of truth not falsified into miracles.

II II. *Sejanus practises to destroy Agrippina, and Germanicus children: stage-players expulsed Italy.*

Ut whilest *Tiberius* praised his sonne before the people assembled, the Senate and the people rather for a show, then from the heart, put on a mourning countenance: yet in their minds rejoyced, that *Germanicus* house began to flourish againe; which beginning of favour, and *Agrippina* their mother not well dissembling her hope, hastened their overthrow. For when *Sejanus* perceived that *Drusus* empoisoners escaped unpunished, and no publike mourning of the people for his death; emboldened in wicked actions, because his first attempts had good successe, began to cast with himself, by what means he might extinguish *Germanicus* children, the undoubted successors to the Empire. For all three poison he could not, by reason of their keepers faithfulness, and *Agrippinas* invincible chastitie. He beganne therefore to inveigh against her obstinacie, and stirre *Augusta* hating her of olde, against her; and incensed *Livia* with the memory of her late fact; suggesting that her pride; bearing it selfe upon her fruitfulness in children, by the favour of the people gaped after the soveraigntie. This plot of his he prosecuted by the helpe of crafty accusers; amongst whom he had chosen *Iulius Posthumus* a man noted of infamous life with *Mutilia Prisca*, a principall favourite of the grandmother, and fit instrument for his practices, being highly in *Augustus* bookes: an old woman of her owne disposition desirous of rule, and therefore easily estranged from her daughter in law *Agrippina*. He had likewise inveigled *Agrippinas* neere kindred, to puffe up her haughty spirits; and use hard speeches of *Augusta*. But *Tiberius* intermitting no care of publike affaires; and embracing businesse for solace; heard the causes of citizens, and the suites of confederates: and by his perswasion, decrees of Senate were made, that the city of Cibratica in Asia; and Aegiris in Achaia, damaged by an earth-quake, might be relieved by remitting them three yeeres tributes. And *Vibius Sereus* Proconsul of farther Spaine, being condemned for publike violence, through the crueltie of the time, was banished into the Iland Amorgus. *Carsius Sacerdos* accused; as though he had helped the enemy *Tacfarinus* with corne, was quit: and *C. Gracchus* for the same crime. This *Gracchus* being very young, was carried by his father *Sempronius* to the Iland Cercina, as a companion of his exile: where growing to mans estate among banished men, and ignorant of liberall Artes, by turning and winding base marchandise in Africa and Sicilia, he gained his living: and yet he escaped not the dangers of greater fortune. And if *Ac-*

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lius Lamia, and *L. Apronius*, which governed Africk, had not defended his innocency: through the nobleness of his unfortunate stocke, he had tasted of his Fathers calamities. That yeere came Embassadors from cities of Greece; requesting that the ancient right of priviledged places, might be confirmed at *Iuno's* Temple at *Samium*, and *Aesculapius* Temple, at *Cois*. The Samians grounded themselves on a decree of *Amphyctions*; to whom belonged the principall examination of all matters: when the Grecians building cities through Asia, were Lords of the Sea coasts. The antiquitie of the *Cois* was not unlike: having withall the merit of the place: for when by King *Mithridates* commandement, all the Romans were slaine throughout all the cities and Ilands of Asia: they saved in the Temple of *Aesculapius* as many as they found. After this the Pretors having made many complaints, though in vaine, against the stage-players; at last *Cesar* spake of their unrulines and immodest behaviour; as having seditiously attempted many things in publike, and many undecently in private houses. And the Ofician play, a light sport pleasing the peoples humour, grew to such insolency, that the Lords of the Senate were faine to interpose their authority, for the suppressing of it: & then the stage-players were expelled Italy. *Cesar* had further griefe in the same yeere, partly by the death of one of *Drusus* children, and partly by the death of *Lucillus Longus* his friend, and partaker of all his fortunes, prosperous or adverse: and among the Senators, his onely companion, when he withdrew himselfe to Rhodes. In regard wherof, the Senate ordained, that although he were but of meane parentage, yet that he should have the funerals of a Censor, and an Image in *Augustus* forum, at the charge of the common purse. For at that time the Senate managed all the affaires; in so much, that *Lucillus Capito*, Procurator of Asia, the Province accusing him, was forced to purge himselfe before them; the Prince assuredly avouching that he had given him no authority: but over slaves, and money matters betweene party and party. But if he had usurped the authority of a Pretor, or used the strength of souldiers, he had therein contemned his commandment, & therefore that they should heare the allies: and so the matter being heard, he was condemned. For which cause, and by reason that the yeer before *C. Silanus* was punished: the cities of Asia decreed that a Temple should be built in honour of *Tiberius* his mother, and the Senate; which they performed after they had licence. And for the same cause *Nero* gave thanks to the Lords of the Senate, and to his grandfather: with the joyfull acceptance of the hearers; as representing *Germanicus*, yet fresh in memorie, to their mindes: thinking that him they had both heard and seen. The young man was of great modesty, and comeliness, worthy of a Prince; the more gratefull, through the danger he was in, by *Sejanus* known hatred against him.

V. How Jupiters Priests were chosen: *Tiberius* small affection to *Germanicus* children.

ABOUT the same time of chusing a Flamen Dial, in *Servius Maluginensis* place, who was dead; and of making a new law, *Cesar* himselfe spake. For the old custome was, that three patricians should be named together; borne of parents which had been married with a solemnitie called *confarreation*; of which one should be chosen for the Priest. And it fell out that that just number could not be found; the use of *confarreation*, or marriage with a cake of Wheate, either not used, or onely of a few: whereof he alleadged many reasons, though the

chiefest

chiefest was, the carelesnesse of men and women: and withall the difficulties of the ceremonies, which were willingly let slip. And when should he goe out of his fathers authoritie, which should obtaine that priesthood, or see who was married unto him? therefore that was to be redressed by decree of Senate, or by a law, as *Augustus* himselfe had changed somewhat of that rude antiquitie, and reduced it to the present use. Those things therefore being debated which touched the ceremonies, it was determined that nothing should be altered in the makings of those Priests: but a law was ordained, that shee who was married unto a Flamen, by reason of the sacrifices, should be under the power of her husband: and that in other cases shee should be as others were: And *Maluginensis* sonne was chosen in his Fathers place. And that the Priestly dignitie should better be regarded, and they the readier to undertake the ceremonies; it was ordained that *Cornelia* the virgin, who was chosen in *Scantias* place; should be given *L. L. S. x. x. festerces*: * About seven score and fiftie pound, and five shillings. and that as oft as *Augusta* entered the theatre, she should sit among the Vestals, *Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Vesellius Varro* being Consuls, when the pontifes, and following their example, the other Priests, made certaine vowes for the health of the Prince, they commended *Nero* and *Drusus* to the same gods: not so much for love of the young men, as for flattery, which in corrupt times is dangerous alike, either not at all, or too much. For *Tiberius* never a friend to *Germanicus* house, grieved impatiently that the young men should then be equalled unto him in his olde age: and sending for the chiefe Priests, asked them whether they had done that at *Agrippinaes* intreaties or threats; and although they denied it, yet were somewhat rebuked; the greatest part being his neere friends, and kin, or chiefe gentlemen of the city. Neverthelesse in Senate he admonished them in an oration, that none should hereafter puffed up the fickle minds of the young men to pride, by untimely and over-hasty dignities. *Sejanus* urged eagerly, that the city was no lesse divided into factions, then in time of civill warres, some terming themselves to be of *Agrippinaes* side; and more would if they were not prevented: and no way to redresse a waxing division, but by cutting off some one or two of the forwardest. Hereupon he beginneth with *C. Silus*, and *Titus Sabinus*, *Germanicus* friendship being dangerous to both: to *Silus*, because that having had charge of a great army seven yeeres together, and vanquished *Sacrovir* in Germany, and obtained the ornaments of triumph, the higher his fall, the greater the feare in others would be. Many were of opinion that *Tiberius* was the more vehemently incensed, by reason of his owne lavishing tongue, overmuch vaunting that his souldiers had alwaies continued dutifull, when as others had growne to mutinies: and that *Cæsars* state had beene shaken, if those legions had beene desirous of innovation: which *Cesar* construed as an enbasing to his greatnesse, and disabling him of abilitie to requite: for good turnes are no longer well taken, then they may be recompensed; when they grow greater, then hope of requitall, in stead of thankfulness they breed hatred and ill will. *Sofia Galla* was *Silus* wife; badly thought of by the Prince, because she loved *Agrippina*. It was therefore thought convenient to begin with these two, and not meddle with *Sabinus* for a time. The Consull *Varro* being thrust in, to accuse them, under colour of a quarell betwixt his father and *Silus*, became an instrument to gratifie *Sejanus* with his owne discredit. The defendants intreating some delay, untill the accusers Consulship were expired, *Cesar* denied it, affirming it to be a usuall matter for magistrates to call private persons into question: and that the authority of the Consull was not to be infringed, through whose watchfulness the common-wealth was kept without danger. That was a common trick with *Tiberius*

rius, alwaies to cloake new coyned mischiefe with old words. Therefore with great protestation, as though he had proceeded with *Silius* by order of law; or the matter belonged to *Varro* as Consull, or therein consisted the safety of the common-wealth: the Senate was called, the party accused not once opening his mouth; or if he began to purge himselfe, stucke not to utter by whose malice he was oppressed. He was accused to have had intelligence with the beginners of the war: that he had discredited his victory by his covetousnes; and other things against *Sofia* his Wife, nothing a long time spoken of *Sacrovir*. And doubtlesse the accusation of polling the province, could not have served their turne, had they not prosecuted all under treason: but *Silius* prevented his imminent condemnation, by his owne voluntary death. Nevertheless that contented not, but were greedy his goods should be confiscate, not to pay the stipendaries, for none of them demanded ought: but because *Augustus* liberalitie was at an end, he tooke a particular account of all that was due to a publicke treasure: which was the first time that *Tiberius* shewed himselfe greedy of other mens money. *Sofia* was driven into banishment by *Asinius Gallus* Consull; who also advised, that part of the goods should be confiscate, and part left unto his children. But *Lepidus* contrarily, that the fourth part of the goods should be given to the informers, according to the law; and the residue to his children. I find that this *Lepidus* was in those dayes a grave and wise man: who altered into the better many things which others by cruell flattery had ordained: which he did with such moderation, that he kept in with *Cæsar* in no lesse favour then authority. Which causeth me to doubt, whether it happen as in other things by fatall destinie and nativity, that princes are favourably inclined to some, and to others hardly bent; or whether anything consist in our counsels, to single out a course free from ambition and danger, betweene selfe-will stubborneesse, and filthy flattery. But *Messalinus Cotta* being no lesse nobly descended, differing from *Lepidus*, was of opinion, that by decree of Senate it should be ordayned, that governours of provinces, though faultlesse themselves, yet should be punished for their wives crimes, no lesse then for their owne.

VI. Calphurnius Piso accused and condemned. The last warre with Tacfarinas, and his death.

After this, they debated *Calphurnius Pisos* case, a noble man and of a fierce courage. He, as I have said, seeing what credit pickthanks were in, openly protested in Senate that he would depart the city: and little regarding the authority of *Augusta*, was so bolde as to summon *Vrgulania*, out of the Princes house: which *Tiberius* for the present seemed not to take in evill part. But bearing it in minde, although the heat of displeasure was cooled, yet he forgot it not. *Granius* also accused *Piso* of secret speeches, used against the majesty of the Emperour: adding that he had poyson in his house, and that he entered the Senate house with a weapon. This of the weapon was past over as not credible: but for other things aggravated against him, he was arraigned, but not convicted; because he was prevented by death. Afterward *Cassius Severus* cause was handled; a banished man of base parentage and lewd life, but a great Oratour. Who had raised so many enemies against him, that by the judgement of the Senate sworne, he was confined to *Creet*: where following the like practises, drew on his head old and new hatred: and at last being deprived of all his goods, and banished; spent the rest of his life in the Iland Seriphium. About the same time, *Plautius Silvanus* Pretor; the cause why, not known

knowne; threw his wife *Apronia* downe headlong from a high place. And being brought before *Cæsar* by *L. Apronius* his father in law, as a man troubled in minde, answered as though she had killed her selfe, when he was a sleepe, and wholly ignorant of the matter. *Tiberius* goeth forthwith to his house, and searcheth the chamber, where he perceived by the print of her feete, tokens of her striving against him, and the thrusting of her forward: which he reported to the Senate: and Judges appointed to examine the fact. *Vrgulania Silvanus* grandmother, sent her nephew a poniard to dispatch himselfe: which some thought to have been done by the Princes counsell; by reason of the league of friendship betwixt *Augusta* and *Vrgulania*. *Silvanus* having tried in vaine to kill himselfe with the poniard, in the end caused his veines to be cut. Not long after, *Numantina* the first wife accused, by charmes and witchcrafts to have put her husband out of his wits, found innocent, is quit by the Prince. That yeer the people of Rome was delivered of a long warre against *Tacfarinas* the Numidian. For the Captaines which till then had bene sent against him, having obtained the marks of triumph: fought no further how to extinguish the enemy. For there were now three images in the citie crowned with baies: and *Tacfarinas* still continued spoyling and foraging Africa; and augmented his forces by the aide of the Moores: which under *Protonius*, *Iubaes* sonne, a carelesse youth changed their servile state, and government of freed men, into war. The king of the Garamantes was a receiver and partaker of his booties, and pillages: not that hee marched with an army, but onely by sending light horsemen, which a farre off were thought to be more then indeede they were. And in the Province it selfe, some for need, and some of a turbulent humour joyned with him: because *Cæsar* considering how well *Blasius* had bestirred himselfe, called home the ninth legion; as though there had bene no enemies left at all in Africa. And *Dolabella* Proconsull for that yeer, durst not stay them, fearing more the commandement of the Prince, then the incertaintie and danger of the warre. Upon this, *Tacfarinas* gave it out, that the Romanes had their hands full; were distracted with other Nations: and therefore purposed by little and little, to retire out of Africk. And then that the rest might easily be overcome, if all which preferred libertie before servitude, would joyn and couragiously bend their forces against them: and gathering more strength, encampeth before *Thubuscum*, and layeth siege to it. But *Dolabella* drawing all the forces he could make into one: partly the name of the Romanes striking a terrour into their hearts; partly because the Numidian is not able to endure the force of the footemen: at the first encounter, levied the siege, fortified the most convenient places; and withall, beheaded the chiefe of the Mesulani, which began to revolt. In the end taught by experience of so many battels, that this fleeting enemy was not to be pursued with a maine campe; *Dolabella* sent for King *Protonius* with his countrey men; and divided his forces into foure companies; under the charge of severall Lieutenants and Tribunes. The out-riders and foragers were conducted by certaine chosen Moores: himselfe at hand to give direction to all. Not long after tydings came that *Tacfarinas* had encamped and erected cabins at an old ruinous fort, which himselfe had once burnt, called *Auzea*; trusting to the place being invironed with mighty great woods. Then the light horsemen and wings; not knowing whither, were led away with all speed. And at the dawning of they day, with the sound of trumpets, and a dreadful noise set on the enemies, halfe sleeping, halfe waking; their horses unready, or dispersed abroad at pasture. The Romanes footemen were close ranked; the troopes of horsemen in good order; all things in a readinesse for battell. The enemy on the other side in all things unprovided; had neither

neither weapon, order, nor counsell among them: but were haled, taken, and slaine like beafts. And every fouldier irked with the remembrance of his labours; and how oft desirous to copewith the enemy hee had beene deluded; fil'd himselfe with revenge and blood. Advertisement was brought from one company to another, to pursue *Tacfarinas* well knowne to them all; and that there would be no end of that warre, if the Captaine were not slaine. But he with a chosen guard about him; seeing his sonne already taken, and the Romanes on every side of him, rushing in among their weapons, with the losse of his life, escaped captivitie. And that was the end of that warre. *Dolabella* desiring the honour of triumph, *Tiberius* denied it him: and gave it to *Sejanus*, left his uncle *Blasus* commendation should be obscured. But *Blasus* was never the more esteemed; and the denying of the honor to *Dolabella*, augmented his honour: because that with a lesser army he had taken many notable prisoners, slaine the Captaine, and carried away the fame of ending the war. The Embassadours of the Garamantes, a people seldome seene in the city, came after the death of *Tacfarinas*, all astonied, as being of the conspiracie to satisfie the people of Rome. After this, *Tiberius* understanding of *Protonotus* diligence in his warres, renewing the old custome, sent one of the Senators to him with an Ivory staffe, and embroidered or wrought gowne, which were wont to be the ancient gifts of the Lords of the Senate; and to give him the greater honour called him king, companion, and friend of the people of Rome.

VII. A rebellion of bond-slaves suppressed: *Serenus* accused by his owne sonne.

THE same sommer beginnings of warre attempted in Italy by bond-men, were suppressed by meere chance. The beginner of this tumult was *T. Curtius*, sometimes a fouldier of a Pretorian band; who at the first in secret conventicles, in Brundisium and towns adjoyning; then by writings publicly spread abroad, tolled to libertie, the rude and fierce bond-slaves dispersed in the woods: when by the favour of the gods, there arrived three Gallies for the use of passengers in that sea. And *Curtius Lapius* rent gatherer in those countries; unto whom by lot fell the Province Cales; according to the ancient custome, having in a readinesse a power of sea fouldiers; discomfited the conspirators, who then did but begin their enterprise. *Cesar* sent out of hand *Statius* a Tribune, with a strong Power; who brought the Captaine himselfe, and the ringleaders of this bold attempt to the citie; greatly afraide of the multitude of bond-men, which increased to a huge number; the free borne decreasing daily more and more. The same men being Consuls, there happened a bloody example of calamitie and crueltie, the sonne accusing the father: both called *Q. Vibius Serenus*; both brought before the Lords of the Senate: the father out of banishment deformed, poore and unhandsome, bound in chaines; and his sonne pleading against him: who finely and featly attired with a cheerefull countenance, affirmed that secret practises had been wrought against the Prince; and certaine firebrands of warre sent into Gallia to raise a rebellion; himselfe being both accuser and witnesse. He charged *Cecilius Cornutus* once Pretor, to have furnished them with money: who through the wearisomnesse of trouble accounting the danger his bane, hastened his owne death. And contrarily the defendant, stoutly turning towards his sonne, shaking his irons, called the gods to revenge; praying that they would fend him to exile againe; to leade his life far from such customs; and inflict condigne punishment upon his sonne. And affirmed constantly

that *Cornutus* was innocent, and frighted with a false accusation; which should easily be perceived if some others were appeached also; for himselfe could not practise the death of the Prince, and an innovation with one onely companion. Then the accuser named *Cn. Lentulus*, and *Seius Tubero*: *Cesar* himselfe being ashamed to heare the chiefe of the citie, and his dearest friends, *Lentulus* very aged, and *Tubero* of a weake body, accused of raising a rebellion, and disturbing the common-wealth: and therefore both were incontinently acquitted. The fathers bondmen were put to the racke, which made against the accuser: who through the wickednes of his fact, growing halfe frantick, and terrified with the speech of the people, which threatned either to cast him headlong from the Robur*, or draw him in peeces; or punish him as a paricide, departed the citie: but brought back from Ravenna, was forced to end his accusation; *Tiberius* nothing at all dissembling the old grudge he bare *Serenus* the banished. For after *Libo's* condemnation, by letters he upbraided *Cesar*, that his service onely was recompensed; with some other things, more peremptorily, then safely, to proud eares, and ready to take offence. Eight yeeres after, *Cesar* cast this in his dish, many waies carping his actions in the meane space: although contrary to his expectation, through the constancie of his bondmen, the rack could extort nothing against him. When all had given sentence that *Serenus* should be punished according to the ancient custome; *Tiberius* to bleare their eyes and dissemble his grudge, would not allow of the sentence. *Gallus Asinius* was of opinion that he should be confined in *Gyarum* or *Donusa*; which he misliked also saying, that both those Ilands wanted water: and that to whom life was granted, things necessary for life ought to be granted: whereupon *Serenus* was carried backe to *Amorgum*: And because *Cornutus* had slaine himselfe, it was propounded in Senate whether the informers should lose their rewards; if any arraigned onely of treason and not condemned slew himself. Which they had all followed, if *Cesar* had not sharply and openly, contrary to his accustomed manner, complained in defence of the informers, saying: that by that meanes the lawes would be brought to nothing, and the common-wealth run to ruine, and that it were more tolerable to abolish the lawes themselves, then take away the keepers of them. By this meanes the promoters, a race of men found out for a common overthrow and destruction and never duely punished, were allured with rewards. These continuall causes of sorrow, were sauced with some small contentment: for *C. Comminius* a Gentleman of Rome, convicted of scandalous verses against *Tiberius*, was pardoned as the intreatie of his brother a Senator. A strange case, that knowing what was best (for sottish or senseles he was not) and what fame followed clemency; yet he desired rather cause of heavines and sorrow. Neither is it a matter of deepe insight to know the peoples affection, when they extoll Princes actions from the heart; and when from the teeth outward. And *Tiberius* himselfe at other times, cunningly premeditating his words, and with staggering and stammering delivering his minde: yet when he meaneth good indeed unto any, findeth his tongue ready and loofe. But when *P. Silius* sometimes rent gatherer to *Germanicus* was convicted for taking of money for giving iudgment, & therefore expelled Italy: his opinion was that he should be banished into some Iland, and that with such vehemency, that he bound it with an oath to be profitable for the Common-wealth. Which for the present time was taken for a rigorous sentence; but after *Silius* returne, turned to his commendation; whom subsequent times saw mightie, but a slave to money; a long time as he lusted, but never as he ought using Prince *Claudius* friendship. The same punishment was ordained against *Catus Firmus* a Senator, as falsely accusing his sister of treason.

* A place in the prison from whence malefactors were thrown headlong.

treason. *Catus* as I have already sayd, had inveighled *Libo*; then betrayed him and brought him to destruction. Which service *Tiberius* not forgetting, though pretending other causes; intreated that he might not be banished; but that he should be depofed from the Senate, he hindred not. I am not ignorant that many of those things which I have rehearsed, and which I shall rehearse hereafter, will seeme of small moment, and not worthy the writing. But I wish not that any should compare our Annales with the writings of the ancient Historiographers of the people of Rome: for they reported with a free discourse, of mighty great warres, winning of townes, of Kings taken and slaine: or if they come to domesticall affaires, they recorded the discords betwixt the Consuls and the tribunes; lawes concerning distribution of lands among the common people; and jarres betweene the communaltie and nobilitie. But the scope of our discourse is streight, and our labour inglorious: the times I write of being peaceable and quiet, or no greater warres: the state of the Citie dolefull, and the Prince carelesse in dilating the Empire. Yet it shall not be lost labour to looke into those things which at the first seeme light; oft yeelding instruction of great matters. For all nations and Cities are governed by the people; or Peeres; or alone. A forme of common-wealth constituted of one of these, may better be praised, then found: or if it chance to be found, it cannot long continue. Therefore as in times past the people bearing sway, or the Lords of the Senate; the humour of the communaltie was to be knowne: and the meanes how with greatest discretion they were to be dealt withall: and they judged most wise and experienced; who had deepest entred into the disposition of the Senators and Nobilitie: so the state being now changed; and the regiment consisting in one alone; it shall be convenient to note those things, which unto that forme of government doth best appertaine. For there are but few, which by wisdom distinguish honest things from dishonest; and profitable from hurtfull: but most men are taught by others events. And my writings bring more profit then delight; for situation of countreys; varietie of battells; the death of famous Captaines doe feed and recreate the readers mindes. But wee heape up bloody commandements; continuall accusations; deceitfull friendships; the overthrow of innocent persons; and causes bringing the like end; matters tedious for want of varietie. The old writers had also this advantage, that they had no detractors of their writing, or few: not being materiall to any; whether he had praised African or Roman armies. But many are yet alive, whose predecessors suffered punishment or infamie under *Tiberius* gouvernement. And although their family be extinguished; yet thou shalt finde many, which for conformitie of manners, thinke that others misdeeds are objected against themselves. Glory and vertue have enemies likewise, according to the disposition of every mans minde; framing reasons contrary to that which his owne inclination is neereft unto. But I will returne to my first purpose.

VIII. An Oration of *Cremutius* in defence of his Annales:
*Tiberius would not suffer the Spaniards to build a
 Temple in his honour.*

Cornelius Cossus, *Asinius Agrippa* being Consuls; *Cremutius Cordus* was accused of a new crime never before heard of, that in certaine Annales by him published, he had praised *M. Brutus*, and said that *C. Cassius* was the last of the Romans. His accusers were *Saturnus Secundus*, and *Pinarus Natta*, *Sejanus* clients,

ents, which was his overthrow. *Casar* had a sterne look hearing his purgation; which *Cremutius* being assured to lose his life, began in this manner. "I am accused for words (Lords of the Senate) because in deeds I am innocent. But they were neither against the Prince, nor his father, whom the law of treason doth comprehend. I am said to have commended *Brutus* and *Cassius*; whose acts many have written, and all in honourable termes. *T. Livius* an excellent writer, as well for eloquence as truth, did so much extoll *Cn. Pompeius*, that *Augustus* called him a Pompeian; yet that no breach of friendship at all. *Scipio Africanus* did never call this selfe same *Cassius*, this *Brutus*, theeves and patricides, as now a daies they are termed, but often worthy and famous men. *Asinius Pollio*es writings do deliver an honorable memory of them. *Messala Corvinus* extolled *Cassius* as his Captain: and both flourished in wealth and honour. When *M. Cicero* had in a book extolled *Cato* to the heavens; what did *Casar* the Dictator, but answer him in an oration as if he had been before the judges? *Antonies* epistles, *Brutus* oration, have, I confesse, many untrue and bitter speeches against *Augustus*. Men read *Bibaculus* and *Catullus* verses, which are stuffed with reproches against the *Cesars*. But yet *Iulius* and *Augustus* of famous memory winked thereat, whether with greater moderation or wisdom, I know not: for things of that quality neglected vanish of themselves; but repined and grieved at, argue a guilty conscience. The Grecians, whose not onely libertie, but unrestrained license escaped unpunished, I speak not of; or if any felt himselfe grieved, he revenged words with other words. It hath bin alwaies a matter of free liberty, and least subject unto detraction, to speak of those whom death had exempted from hatred and favour. Do I incense the people by orations to civill war, with *Cassius* and *Brutus* already in arms, and masters of the Philippian fields? Do not they (who ended their lives above seventy yeers agoe) as they are knowne by their images which the Conqueror himselfe hath not pulled down, so retain some remembrance of them by writings? Posteritie doth render unto every man the commendation he hath deserved. Neither will there want some if I be condemned, which will make mention, not onely of *Cassius* and *Brutus*, but of me also. Having thus said, he went out of the Senat, and ended his life by abstinence. Order was given by the Senators, that the Aediles should burn his books, which notwithstanding were still extant; some secretly, some publikely: which maketh mee the willinglier to laugh at the witlesse uncircumspection of such as think with the power and authoritie they have in their owne time, they can also extinguish the memory of future times. But it falleth out contrary, that when good wits are punished, their credit groweth greater, neither have forein Kings, or such as have used the like crueltie purchased any other thing, then discredit to themselves, and to such wits, glory. This yeer accusations were so hotly pursued, that even on the festivall dayes of the Latines, *Calphurnius Salvianus* went to accuse *Marius* before *Drusus*, Provost of the city; as he was entering into the Tribunall to begin his charge: for which cause *Salvianus* being publikely blamed by *Tiberius*, was sent into banishment. Great negligence was openly laid to the Cyziceniens charge, in not solemnizing *Augustus* sacrifices; and that they had used violence against the Citizens of Rome. For which cause they lost the freedome which they had gotten in the warre when they were besieged by *Mithridates*, chasing way the King, no lesse by their owne manhood, then *Lucullus* aide. But *Fonteius Capito* who had bene Proconsull of Asia, was quit of the accusation falsly forged against him by *Vibius Serenus*. And yet *Serenus* escaped unpunished, being odious generally to all, and therefore in greater safety. For the more bitter an accuser he was, the lesse touched, and as it

were a sacred person; but the light and bafe were punished. At the same time farther Spaine sent Embassadors to the Senate, requesting that by the example of Asia they might build a Temple in honour of *Tiberius* and his mother. *Tiberius* taking hold of this occasion, though otherwise not greedy of honours, thought it convenient to answer those who had rumored abroad that he was carried away with ambition, as followeth. "I know (Lords of the Senate) that many will accuse me of unconstancy, for not denying the same request unto the cities of Asia. I will therefore now declare unto you the defence of my former silence, & what I would have done hereafter. Seeing that *Augustus* of famous memory did not hinder those of Pergamum to erect a Temple in honour of himselfe, and the city of Rome: I who observe all his deeds and words in stead of a law, did the willinglier follow that approved precedent; because the honour done unto me, redounded likewise to the Senate. But as it deserveth pardon, since to have accepted that honour: so throughout all the Provinces with images like unto gods to be revered, favour-eth of ambition and pride: and *Augustus* honour would come to nought, if it should by flattery used every where be made common. I for my part (Lords of the Senate) protest before you all, and desire that posterity know, that I am mortall and do like unto men; and take it for honour enough to be Prince. And they shall attribute enough to my memory, which will beleve that I have not degenerated from my ancestors; that I have been carefull in your affairs; constant in dangers; not feareful of displeasure for the profit of the common-wealth. These things shall be for me temples in your mindes; these beautifull and lasting images: for those which are built of stone, if in judgement of posterity they become odious: are condemned for sepulchres. Therefore I pray your allies, citizens, gods and goddes, these that they would give me until the end of my life, a quiet minde with the understanding of divine and humane laws; those, that whensoever I shall depart out of this life, they would have me in remembrance with an honourable memory of my deeds, and renowne of my name. And in private places afterward disliked such adoration, which some interpreted to proceed of modesty; many of distrust; and some for baseness of minde and want of courage; because of mortall men the best aspire highest: so *Hercules* and *Bacchus* among the Grecians; *Quirinus* among us, were added to the number of the gods. *Augustus* had done better in hoping to be one. Princes have all other things at will: one thing they should insatiably seek for, which is to leave a happy memory after them; for by contemning of fame, they contemne the virtues which engender it.

IX. *Sejanus* requested of *Tiberius* that he might marry *Livia*, *Drusus* widow. And perswadeth *Tiberius* to withdraw himselfe from the City.

BUT *Sejanus* sottishly mad with over great fortune, and enflamed with a burning desire of *Livia*: importunately demanding a performance of a promised marriage, inditeth and sendeth letters to *Cæsar*: because the custome was, that although the Prince were present, yet to present their petitions by writing; the contents were as followeth. "That the good will of his Father *Augustus* was such towards him, and *Tiberius* also by divers signes did shew him such favour, that he would not sooner offer his hopes and vowes unto the gods, then unto the eares of Princes. That he never thirsted after high and eminent dignities, but chose rather to watch and travell like a common souldier for the safety of the Emperour: notwithstanding

"notwithstanding that he had obtained that which seemed to be of all other the greatest honor: that is, that he should be thought worthy of *Cæsar's* alliance; from whence sprang the beginning of his hope. And because he had heard that when *Augustus* in the bestowing his daughter, had thought even of gentlemen of Rome; so he besought him, if a husband were thought upon for *Livia*, that he would have him as a friend in minde, who would be content with the glory only to be allied to him, never purposing thereby to give up the charge imposed upon him, nor relinquish his usuall care: but would hold himselfe satisfied, if his house might be assured against *Agrippina's* wicked malice, and that in regard of his children: and as for himselfe he desired to live no longer then he could employ himselfe in the service of his Prince. *Tiberius* having praised *Sejanus* great love and zeale, and chiefly run over the benefits that he had received of him, demanding time as it had been fully to deliberate on the matter, added; That other men consulted of that only which was for their profit: but the conditions of Princes was of different quality, whose speciall drift was to direct their actions to fame: and therefore would not fall into that which was easie for him to have written. That *Livia* could detertermine with herselfe whether she would marry againe or not, or remaine in the same family: that she had a mother and grandmother as neerer counsellors: he therefore would deale more simply, and speak first of *Agrippina's* enmities, which would be farre more incensed, if *Livia's* marriage should divide *Cæsar's* house as it were into parts, and breede emulation between the women; and consequently the overthrow of his nephewes. What if any variance arise in that marriage? Thou art deceived *Sejanus*, if thou thinkest to continue in the state thou art now in, if thou marry *Livia*, who hath been wife unto *C. Cæsar*, and afterward to *Drusus*; and imagine that she beareth the mind to passe the rest of her life with a Gentleman of Rome. And if I should agree unto it, dost thou think that they would suffer it, who have seene her brother, her father, our ancestors in greatest dignities? Thou wilt continue in the calling thou art now in; but those magistrates and noble men which maugre thy teeth mount to authority, and determine of all matters, do report it, and that not in hugger mugger, that a long time since thou hast climed higher then the degree of a gentleman, and gone beyond my fathers friendship; and for the hatred they beare unto thee, blame me. But *Augustus* thought once to marry his daughter to a gentleman of Rome. Truly it was to be marvelled, that being distract with so many cares, and foreseeing that he who should match in that place, should by that alliance rise to great advancement, he would in familiar conference think upon *Proculeius* and some others, which lived a notable quiet life, not meddling at all with matters of estate. But if we be moved because *Augustus* did doubt, only whether he should bestow her upon a gentleman, how much more ought we to consider that he gave her to *M. Agrippa*; and then after unto me. These things I would not hide from thee for the friendship which is betwixt us: but I will not be against thine nor *Livia's* designements: and will forbear at this time to speak what I had cast in mind, and how neerly I purposed to linke thee unto me. I will onely say, that there is nothing so excellent, but thy virtues and good will towards me doth deserve it: and when opportunity shall serve, I will utter it either in Senate, or before the people. *Sejanus* hearing this answer was nothing pleased, not so much in regard of the marriage, as because he feared *Tiberius* secret suspitions; the rumour of the people; and envy which grew fast upon him. Yet fearing if he should cast off those great troups which daily came to court him, he should weaken his authority; and by entertaining them, minister matter of crime: the marke he shot at was to persuade

swade *Tiberius* to leade his life in some pleasant place far from Rome; wherein hee foresaw many things, as that there could be no access to the Prince but by him; that all letters being conveyed by souldiers which were at his devotion, should passe through his hands: that *Cæsar* declining now to age, and growne slothfull and effeminate through the quietnesse of the place, would disburden himselfe of cares of state, and commit them to another: and that the envy borne to himselfe should bee diminished, access to the Prince being lesser: and by that meanes all vaine shadows removed, he should grow mighty in true power and authoritie. Therefore by little and by little he findeth fault with the busines of the citie, the concourse of people, the flocking together of multitudes; extollet high a quiet and solitary life; a life without anguish of minde, and free from envie, most fit to think on important and waighty affaires. And falling out by chance that *Votienus Montanus* cause was to be heard, a man of a ready wit; *Sejanus* perceiving *Tiberius* not resolved to leave the citie, perswaded him to be a very inconvenient matter to be present at the assemblies of the Senate; lest hee should heare railing and reprochfull speeches, but yet true, uttered of himselfe in his owne hearing. For *Votienus* being accused of contumelious words against *Cæsar*, whilest *Aemilius* a witnes and a souldier laboured earnestly to prove his assertion, rehearsed from point to point, though the hearers buzzed and made a noise about him, all *Votienus* words: in which *Tiberius* heard many spightfull and reprochfull speeches backbitingly uttered in secret against himselfe: which so moved him, that he cried he would either presently, or when the cause was heard, purge himselfe; and was hardly pacified either with intreaty of his nearest friends, or flattery of all; and so *Votienus* was punished as for treason. *Cæsar* persisting fittly and using hard and rough dealing, though that was one of the crimes objected against him, condemned to exile *Aquila*, for adultery with *Varus Ligur*: although *Lentulus Getulicus* Consul elect, had already condemned her by the Julian law: and put *Apidius Merula* from his Senators roome, because he had not sworn to observe *Augustus* acts.

X. A controversie betwixt the Lacedæmonians, and Messenians touching the rights of the Temple of Dana: Piso, Pretor of Spaine, slaine by a villagois.

After that were heard the Embassies of the Lacedæmonians and Messenians concerning the right of the Temple of *Diana Limenæidis*; which the Lacedæmonians avowed by the records of their Annales, and prophecies to have beene dedicated by their predecessours in their country: but taken from them by *Philip* of Macedon, with whom they warred; and afterward restored unto them by the sentence of *C. Cæsar*, and *M. Antonius*. The Messenians on the contrary side alledged an old division of *Peloponnesus* between *Hercules* successours; and that that territory Dentheliate wherein the Temple was, fell to their King, whereof there remained ancient monuments engraven in stones and brasse. And if it were necessary to produce the testimony of Poets and Chronicles, they had more then they of good credit: neither had *Philip* so done by force, but according to equitie. King *Antigonus*, and the Captaine *Mummius* gave the like judgement. So the Milesians being publicly made arbitrators of the cause; and last of all, *Aradius Geminus* Pretor of Achaia determined the same. Whereupon judgement was given on the Messenians side. The Segestani likewise demanded that *Venus* Temple built on the hill Eryce, and faine down with age, might be recedified: calling to remembrance many

many things of her beginning pleasing unto *Tiberius* eares, which moved him to undertake willingly the charge, as being of her blood. After that the Massiliens requests were heard, and the example of *P. Rutilius* allowed, who, having by law been expelled Rome, the Smyrnæans received and made a Citizen in their citie. By which right also, the Massiliens received *Vulcatius Mosechus* a banished man, who left all his goods to their Commonwealth, as to his countrey. Two noble men *Gn. Lentulus* and *L. Domitius* dyed the same yeere. It was to *Lentulus* a great honour, over and besides that he was a Consul, and triumphed over the Getuli, that he endured his povertie patiently; then that having gotten great riches without injuring of any, he used them temperately. *Domitius* credit grew by his father, who was lord of the sea in the civill wars; untill he thrust himselfe into *Antonius* faction, and after that into *Cæsars*. His grandfather was slaine in the Pharfalian battell, taking part with the nobilitie: and himselfe chosen to marry *Antonio, Octavius* youngest daughter. After that he passed over the river *Albis* with his host, and entered farther into Germany, then any other before him; for which cause he obtained the honour of triumph. *L. Antonius* of great, but unfortunate nobilitie died likewise; for his father *Julius Antonius* being put to death for committing adultery with *Julia: Augustus* sent him being very young, and his sisters nephew, to Marfilles, where he cloaked the name of banishment with the pretence of study. Notwithstanding he had great honour done him at his funeralls, and his bones buried in the tombe of the *Octavians* by decree of the Senate. The same men being Consuls, a bloody fact was committed in hither Spaine by a peasant of Termostine, who assailing upon the way *L. Piso* Pretor of the Province, at unawares and unprovided, as being carelesse by reason of peace, killed him with one stroke; then fled in post to the woods, and forsaking his horse, stealing by dangerous by-ways, beguiled his followers, though not long: for his horse being taken and brought to the next villages, it was knowne whose he was. And being found and put to the racke to bewray his complices, cryed aloud in his countrey language, that that was a vaine question to aske him; and that his companions might boldly come, and behold him on the torture; for no torment or grieve should be able to draw the truth from him. And being the next day brought againe to the torture, by violent force breaking from his keepers, so dashed his head against a stone, that immediately he yeelded up the ghost. Some were of opinion that *Piso* was slaine by the treachery of the Termostines, by reason he exacted more of those barbarous people, then they were able to beare.

XI. Poppæus Sabinus defeateth the Thracians: and their obstinacie.

Lentulus Getulicus and *C. Calvisius* being Consuls, triumphall ornaments were awarded *Poppæus Sabinus* for defeating certaine Thracians, which wildly lived in high mountains: and therefore more savage and fierce. The cause of their rebellion, besides their naturall dispositions, was, because they would not that any muster should be made of their strongest and ablest men for service: never accustomed to obey their Kings farther then themselves listed; or if they did send any ayde, they appointed the conductor of them; and would make no warre but against the borderers. There was also a rumour then spread, that they should be dispersed and brought into other nations and mingled with them. But before they began to beare armes, they sent Embassadors to *Sabinus* declaring their amitie and obedience to the people of Rome; and that they would so continue if they were not oppressed with

new taxations: but if like vanquished men they should live in servitude, they had both weapons and youth, and a resolute courage either to die or live in libertie. And therewithall, shewed their fortresses built on rocks, whither they had conveyed their parents and wives, and threatened an intricate, hard and bloody warre. But *Sabinus* giving milde answers, untill he had gathered his forces together; and when *Pomponius Labeo* was come with a legion out of *Moesia*, King *Rhamatalces* with the ayde of his countrey men, which continued still in their allegiance; with the forces he had at hand, he marched toward the enemy possessed of the straights of the woods; some of the forwardest shewing themselves in open place; which, the *Romane* captaine having stole upon, were easily put to flight, with small bloodshed of the barbarians, by reason of their refuges at hand. Then fortifying in the same place, feasted on the mountaine, which was narrow and even ridged unto the next fort: guarded with great, but unorderedly and confuse strength; and immediately sendeth before of his choise archers against the fiercest of them before the trench, as the manner of the countrey is, singing ditties and verses. They wounded many with shot a farre off, and drawing neere, by a sudden irruption of the enemy had been driven to the worst, if the *Sugambrian* cohort which lay not far off, in dangers venturous, and no lesse fierce and dreadfull in noise of songs & clattering of arms, had not received them at a pinch. After this, *Sabinus* encamped neerer the enemy, leaving the *Thracians*, which (as I have already said) came to our side at the first fort, with warrant to waste, burne, carry away booties, so as they took no longer time then the day, and returne at night to set a sure watch and a vigilant over the camp. Which at the first was observed, but afterward through riot, wantonnesse, and desire of riches, neglecting their wardes, hunting after belly cheere, and overtaken with wine, fell heavily all to sleep. The enemy understanding their retchlesse negligence, divided his men into two squadrons; the one to set on the forragers, and the other to assaile the *Romane* camp; not with hope of any surprize, but by their clamors, and clashing of weapons, every man intentive to his owne danger, they should not heare the noise of the other skirmish: choosing the night withall to make the feare the greater. But those which assayed the trench of the legion were easily repulsed: the aid of the *Thracians* in the other fort terrified with a sudden assault; part of them lying asleep within the trenches; and part seeking provision and stover abroad, were so much the more cruelly slain, because they were reckoned to be as fugitives and traitours, which bare armes to bring themselves and their countrey into servitude. The next day *Sabinus* sheweth himselfe in a place without advantage to either side to see whether the barbarians, glad of the nights successe, durst venter a battell. But seeing they went not out of their fortresses or hills adjoyning, he began to lay siege to them with a strong company, casting a trench, and a parapet four miles compass about them: after that by little and little, to barre them of water and forrage, straightned his enclosure, the first environing the last; and raising up a bulwarke so neere the enemy, that from thence they might throw stones, darts, and fires into the enemies camp. But nothing annoyed the enemy more then thirst, a huge multitude of raw fighting souldiers, having but one fountaine left them for their use: withall, their cattell (as the custome is among barbarous people) shut up with them, died for want of stover: dead carcasses of men lay along, as well with wounds as thirst, all corrupted with putrefaction, stench, and infection. And to make their troubled estate more miserable, they fell at discord among themselves: of all calamities, the full measure: some ready to yeeld, some to die, some to strike and kill one another: some perswading courageously to sally out, and not perish without revenge;

venge; and these not of the basest alloy, though divided in opinions. But among the captaines, *Dius*, a man stricken in years, and who by long experience had tried as well the strength as clemency of the *Romans*; counselled them to lay downe their armes, as the onely remedy in their distresse: and was the first which yeelded himselfe with his wife and children to the conquerors: the rest which were weake, either through age or sexe, and desired rather life then renown, did the like. But the youth betweene *Tarsa* and *Turesis*, both resolved to die with libertie, were doubtfully distracted, but *Tarsa* crying that death was to be hastened, and hope and feare to be cut off at once, and giving example unto others, thrust himselfe through the breast, many following the same death. *Turesis* with his company expected the night: our Captaine not being ignorant thereof, and thereupon reenforced the watch. The night being stormy and tempestuous, the enemy now making a fierce outcrie, and on the sudden using a marvellous silence, drove the besiegers into uncertainties; when as *Sabinus* went about from one place to another, exhorting them not to lay chance open to such as by their doubtfull clamours, and fained silence, laid traines to intrap them; but that every man should keepe his standing, and take heede he threw no dart in vaine. In the meane space the barbarians clustering together by troops, now threw handstones against the rampier, javelins burnt at the end, and troncheons of oake, now filled up the ditches with shrubs, hurdles, and dead carkasses. Some of them having before made bridges, and ladders, planted them before the bulwarkes, caught hold of them, laboured to pull down the defence, grappled, fought hand to hand with such as resisted: contrarily the *Romane* souldier beate them down with spears, thrust them back with the pikes of their bucklers, lanced darts, and rowled heapes of stones from the wall upon them. The hope of victory already gotten, and that if they should now faint and be overcome, shame and reproach put life and courage into our, in them desperate hope of life; many having their mothers and wives bewayling and lamenting about them. The night animated some to boldnesse, drove some into feare: blowes flew on all hands; wounds given and taken unlooked for; no man knowing his fellow from the enemy, and the sound of the voyces as if it were an eccho rebounding behinde them in the turning and winding of the mountaine, brought such a confusion, that the *Romans* abandoned their standings and holds, as though they had beene battered and broken downe: howbeit, a small number of the enemies escaped alive; the residue, (the most couragious either slaine, or wounded) at the opening of the day, were chased to their fortresses, and at length forced to yeeld; willing to accept the first conditions the winter would offer: to the rest, a cruell and timely winter by reason of the hill *Hæmus* was a safeguard, that they could neither be subdued by force; nor siege.

XII. The sharpe words which *Agrippina* used to *Tiberius* for accusing *Claudia Pulchra* her cousin: what good will was borne the *Smyrneans* above the other towns of *Asia*, and the cause.

But at Rome, the Princes house being greatly troubled, to begin the course of *Agrippinaes* future ruine; *Claudia Pulchra* her cousin german was called into question by *Domitius Afer*: who having been lately Prætor, of small reputation, and eager by what means soever to winne credit, laid to her charge that shee led an unhonest life with *Furnius*, and practised to poyson, and used enchantments

ments against the Prince. *Agrippina* being of a fell and haughty disposition, and then more then ever kindled through the danger of her neere cosin, hasteneth to *Tiberius*, whom by chance hee found sacrificing to his father: and taking hold of that occasion, told him: "It was two mens office to offer sacrifice in memory of *Augustus*, and persecute his posteritie: that the divine spirit was not transfused into "dumbe statues and images: but the true image descended of celestially bloud felt "the smart of his posterity: and therefore she would take upon her the person of the "party accused: that it was in vaine to take exceptions against *Pulchra*, whose onely "ruine was, that unconsiderately she had loved and revered *Agrippina*: forgetting what had salve to *Sosia*, for the same cause. Those words provoked *Tiberius*, although seldome using to open the secrets of his breast: and rebuking her in a Greeke verse, said, that therefore she was displeased, because she could not reigne. *Pulchra* and *Furnius* are condemned: and *Afer*, the excellency of his wit knowne; After this practised in accusing and defending of parties; he was better knowne for eloquence, then honesty of life: saying that when his eloquence in his latter age decayed, and his spirits failed; yet was never quiet when his tongue walked not. But *Agrippina* frowardly persisting in anger, and incumbered with sicknesse, when *Caesar* went to visit her, pouring downe in a long silence many teares, at last burst into envie and intreatie; that he would redresse her solitary life; and being yet but a young woman, provide her a husband: Marriage being the only comfort of minds honestly given: that there were some in the citie which would vouchsafe to receive *Germanicus* wife and his children. But *Caesar* not ignorant of what importance this request was to the common-wealth; yet lest he should openly seeme to displease or feare her, gave her, though most earnestly demanding, no answer at all. That I finde not in the Writers of Annales, but in the Commentaries of *Agrippina* her daughter, who being *Neroes* mother, had delivered to posteritie her life and calamities which fell to her friends. But *Sejanus* in this dumble, sent her a message unlooked for, and under colour of friendship, which was, that there was poison prepared for her; and that she should avoide to eate or drink with her father in law. But shee not knowing how to dissemble, sitting by him at table could not be wonne to looke cheerefully, or speak a word, or touch any meate: untill at last *Tiberius* marked it either by chance, or because he had had some inckling of it. And to trie that more certainly, praying certaine apples as they were served in, gave of them with his owne hand to his daughter in law; which augmented *Agrippinaes* suspicion, and not once tasting of them, delivered them to the waiters. Yet openly *Tiberius* spake not one word; but turning to his mother, said, that it was no marvell, if he had proceeded severely against her, seeing she had an opinion, he went about to poison her. Thereupon a rumour was spread, that her destruction was sought for; and that the Emperour durst not openly attempt it; and therefore sought secret meanes to compass it. But *Caesar* to stop that rumour shewed himselfe often in Senate, and gave the Embassadors of Asia audience many dayes together, when they doubted in what citie they should erect a Temple in honour of him. Eleven cities of different power strove with like ambition for that honour; alleading that there was not any great difference betwixt them; in antiquitie of time; love and affection to the people of Rome; in the warres against *Perseus* and *Aristonicus*, and other Kings. The *Hypepeni* and *Tralliani*, together with the *Laodiceni*, and *Magnetians* were sent away as not sufficiently grounded. No, nor the *Ilienſes* producing that Troy was the mother of Rome, had any foundation of their reason saving onely antiquitie. But

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some doubt was made of the *Halicarnassi*, because that for the space of a thousand and two hundred yeeres; their cities had never been shaken with any earthquake; and that the foundation of their Temple was built upon lively strong stone. The *Pergamini* were answered that they had received honour enough, in that they had *Augustus* Temple amongst them; seeing that thereon they grounded their reason. It seemeth that the *Epheſians* and *Mileſians* had their cities occupied, the one in the ceremonies of *Apollo*, and the other of *Diana*: In so much that all the contentions rested betwixt the *Sardinians* and *Smyrnæans*. The *Sardinians* recited a decree of the *Etrurians*, as being of their bloud: for *Tyrrhenus* and *Lydus* King *Aryes* sons, divided the land betwixt them, by reason of the increase of the people. And *Lydus* remained in his countrey, and *Tyrrhenus* went to seeke new countries to inhabit; which were called by the names of their Captaines: they in Asia, and these in Italy: and in progresse of time the *Lydians* growing to farther wealth, sent people into Greece, which were afterward called *Peloponnesiās*. They told us also of letters sent them by our Captaines, of treatise made with us in the warre of Macedon; of the number of rivers; the temperature of their countrey; and what a rich territory they had round about them. But the *Smyrnæans* fetching their antiquitie a farre off; either that *Tantalus* from whence they came, was descended from *Iupiter*; or from *Theseus*, issued also from the stock of the gods; or else that some one of the *Amazons* had founded them: alleaged further the service they had done to the people of Rome; in which they most of all relied, and that they had given them succour by sea; not onely against forreine wars; but also the wars of Italy. And that they first of all had dedicated a Temple in honour of Rome, *M. Portius* being consull. The people of Rome indeede then flourishing; but yet not lifted up to the height of their greatness: the Citie of Carthage yet standing, and many strong Kings living in Asia. They brought in *L. Sulla* for a witnesse, whose army being fallen into great danger through the roughnes of the winter, and want of apparell, when newes was brought thereof to the *Smyrnæans* as they were assembled upon occasion; all which were present sent the apparell from their own backs unto our legions. Thereupon the Lords of the Senates opinion being demanded, the preferred the *Smyrnæans*. And *Vibius Marſus* counſelled farther that over and above his charge, *M. Lepidus* unto whom the government of that Province fell, should have a deputie appointed to take care of that Temple. And because *Lepidus* through modesty refused to accept it, *Valerius Naſo* who had been Pretor, was by lot chosen and sent.

XIII. Why *Tiberius* absented himselfe from the Citie.

VV Hilest these things thus passed, *Caesar* having deeply thought upon, and after protracted his determination, at last goeth into Campania, under colour of dedicating a temple to *Iupiter* at Capua, and another to *Augustus* at Nola: but indeed resolved to lead his life farre from the Citie. The occasion of his departure although following some authors, I have attributed unto *Sejanus* wiles, yet because that after *Sejanus* death he continued fixe yeeres in the like retired life, I am often induced to doubt, whether the cause be more truly to be referred to himselfe, as going about to cloake by the place, his crueltie and loose behaviour. Some were of opinion, that being through age, slender, tall, and crooked, bald headed, and his face speck with plaisters and ointments, was therefore ashamed to shew himselfe in publike. And at Rhodes he was wont to shun company,

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live secretly, and hide his lascivious dissolute life. Some gave out that his mothers insupportable insolency drove him away, whom as a companion in state he could not endure; nor yet be rid of her, because the soveraignty it selfe was her gift. For *Augustus* was determined to leave the Empire to *Germanicus* his sisters nephew, who had a good report of all men: but being overcome by his wives importunate intreatie, he adopted *Tiberius*; and *Tiberius Germanicus*; which *Augusta* did upbraide unto him, and demanded the Empire againe which she had bestowed upon him. He departed with a small traine with him: one Senator who had been Consul, which was *Cocceius Nerva*, skilfull in the lawes; one gentleman of Rome besides *Sejanus*; and of noble men onely *Curtius Atticus*. The rest were men indued with liberall sciences, most of them Grecians, with whose conference he purposed to passe the time. Some Astrologers gave out that *Tiberius* departed Rome under such a constellation, that he should returne no more; which was cause of manies overthrow, which conjectured and divulged that he had not long to live: for they could not foresee so incredible a matter, as that he should want his countrey willingly eleven yeers together. Wherein did appeare not long after how neere cousins their art and falsehood are; and how truth is disguised and hidden under obscuritie. For it was not spoken at a venture that he should not returne againe, although they were ignorant of other things which should happen unto him: or whether he should quickly die, or not, which was not signified by those words of theirs; because hee ended his latter yeers in some village not farre off, or on the sea-shore, or neere unto the walles of the citie. At that time a doubtfull and dangerous perill, which by meere chance *Cesar* fell into, augmented the vaine rumour already sowne; and gave him occasion to put more trust in *Sejanus* friendship and constancy, then ever hee had done before. For as they were eating in a countrey house called *Spelunca*, between the sea *Amuclanum*, and the hills of *Fundani*, in a naturall grot or cave, certain stones falling suddenly from the mouth of it, slew some of his servitors; which so affrighted the rest, that they fled all away. But *Sejanus* with his knees, his face and hands leaning and hanging over *Cesar*, set himselfe against the other stones which were falling, and in that plight was found by the souldiers which came to succour them. This made him greater then he was: and although he should have given most pernicious counsell; yet should have had favourable audience, as one nothing caring for ought which might happen to himselfe. He took upon him the office of a judge against *Germanicus* issue, suborning some to play the parts of accusers, and inveigh especially against *Nero* next in succession; although a modest young man, yet oftentimes forgetfull of that which was requisite for the present time, pricked forward by his freed men and followers, which thought it long till he were Emperour, to shew himselfe bould and stout of courage: perswading him that the people of Rome desired, the armie coveted, and that *Sejanus* durst doe nothing to the contrary; though now hee insulted alike over the patience of the old man, and sloth and cowardliheesse of the young. *Nero* hearing these or the like speeches, yet dreamt of no bad practice: although some wilfull and unconsiderate speeches slipt now and then from him: which when the spies set over him had augmented and carried to *Cesar*, and *Nero* not suffered to purge himselfe; drove many into sundry doubts. Some shunned to meet him; some having saluted him, turned presently from him; many brake off abruptly their talke. *Sejanus* favours on the other side laughed in their sleeves to see it. *Tiberius*, whether the young man spake unto him, or held his tongue, cast a malicious eye, or smiled dissemblingly upon him: and whether he spake or held his tongue, it was alwayes a crime

crime in him. Neither was he secure from treason in the night; his wife bewraying his watchings; his dreames; his sighes to *Livia* her mother, and she to *Sejanus*: who drew *Drusus Neroes* brother, to his side with hope of the Empire, if he could remove his elder brother which was already downe and out of credit. *Drusus* was of a cruell and fell disposition; and besides the desire of rule, and hatred which usually reigneth betwixt brothers: he was incensed with envie to see *Agrippina* their mother readier bent to doe *Nero* good, then himselfe. And yet *Sejanus* did not so much tender *Drusus*, but that he projected in his minde some meanes of his ruine: knowing well that he was very fierce and headstrong; and therefore easily entrapped: In the end of this yeere two famous men died, *Asinius Agrippa*, rather of a renowned then ancient stocke, himselfe not degenerating from them; and *Haterius* descended from Senators, whilest he lived greatly esteemed for eloquence: but monuments of his wits there are none; because he was esteemed rather for vehemencie and quicke delivery, then diligence and premeditation. And as others industries and labours are had in estimation after their daies; so *Haterius* fluent vaine was extinguished with him.

XIIII. The falling of an Amphitheatre, and the hurt which ensued: *Tiberius* reedifieth certaine houses; burnt in the hill *Calvus*.

VV Hen *M. Licinius*, and *L. Calphurnius* were Consuls a sudden and unlooked for mischance as soone ended as begun, might have been compared to the calamity of mighty wars. For an Amphitheatre begun at *Fidena*, one *Atilius* a freed man to set forth a play of fencers; as one having neither abundance of wealth, nor ambitious in winning favour of the people; but by niggardly sparing to make a base gaine in the workmens hire; did neither lay a sound foundation, nor fasten the timber frame erected upon the same. Thither flocked many, very desirous of such shewes, both men and women of all ages; partly by reason it was so neere unto them; and partly because that, during *Tiberius* Empire, they were barred from such pastimes; whereby the mischief was the greater. For the pile being great, and filled full with the throng of people, then falling a funder, whether it fell inwards or spread outwards, it carried downe headlong, and overwhelmed a huge multitude of people, intente on the shew within, or gazing round about. Those which at the beginning were crused to death by that hap, escaped languishing torment. They most of all were to pitied, which being bruised and broken, yet lived and in the day knew their wives and children by sight, and in the night by lamentable howling & crying. Those which were absent moved with this report, one lamented his brother; another his neere kinsmen, another his parents: yea they were afraid if their friends and cosens were out of the way, although for other occasion; doubting still they had beene there; and because it was not certainly knowne whom that violent ruine had beaten downe, the uncertaintie spread the feare farther. As soone as they began to remove the frame, they flocked about the dead bodies, some kissing, some imbracing them; and fell often at debate, in mistaking one for another, by reason they were disfigured, through some resemblance of countenance, and likeness of yeeres. Fifty thousand persons were slaine or maimed by that mischance: and a decree laid downe by the Senate, that from thence forward no man should exhibit the play of Fencers, who was lesse worth then * foure hundred thousand sesterces: nor that any Amphitheatre should be built but in a firme and sound

* About 31300 pound.

place : and *Atilius* was banished. After that fresh calamity, the houses of the chiefe Gentlemen were open ; medicines and Physitians appointed for the bruised and mangled : and the Citizens, although heavy and sad, yet then were like their ancestors, which after great battels, did relieve and comfort the wounded with all care and liberalitie. That misfortune was scarce past, but the rage and violence of a fire consumed the City more then ever, and burnt the hill *Cælius*. That was reported to be an unlucky yeere, and that the Princes absence was begun in a dismall houre ; as the manner of the people is, to draw casuall mishaps to blame, if *Cæsars* had not prevented them, by bestowing of money to every man according to his losse. For which liberality, thanks in Senate were given him by the noble men : and the people gave him a good report, because that without ambition or intreaty of friends, he had of his owne motion helped and called strangers unto him. And divers were of opinion, that the mount *Cælius* should after that be called mount *Augustus*, because that when all was waisted with fire round about ; onely the image of *Tiberius* which was in *Iunius* a Senators house, remained untouched. The same happened in times past to *Claudia Quinta* ; and therefore her image twice escaping violent rage of fires, our ancestors did consecrate in the Temple to the mother of the gods : an argument that the Claudians are accounted sacred, and received among the number of the gods : and therefore the ceremony ought to be augmented in the place, where the gods have shewne so great favour towards so mighty a Prince. It shall not be amisse to shew, how that hill was in old time called *Querquerulan*, because it was fertill and abundant with oakes : then *Calius* of *Cæle Vibenna*, who being Captaine of the *Etrurian* nation, and succoured the Romans, obtained that seat of *Tarquinius Priscus*, or of some other King ; for in that point writers doe vary. As for the rest, it is without controversie, that those great companies of souldiers did inhabit also the plaines, and places adoyning to the place of assemblies : and thereupon that was called the *Thuscian* street, of the name of the strangers which came thither to inhabit. But as the benevolence of noble men, and largesse of the Prince, was a great comfort to their adversity ; so the credit and authority of informers more and more increasing, wrought the overthrow of many. *Domitius Afer* accused *Varro Quinctilius*, a wealthy man and neere kinne to *Cæsar*, having before condemned *Claudia Pulchra* his mother : no man marvelling that being long a needy companion, and having wastfully consumed his late recompense, should arme himselfe to farther mischief. But that *P. Dolabella* was his fellow pick, thank issued of noble kinred, and allied to *Varus*, was a miracle, overthrowing by that action himselfe, and distained his nobilitie and blood. Yet the Lords of the Senate would not agree thereto, but thought it convenient to expect the Emperours coming : which for the time was the onely shift against imminent mischiefs. But *Cæsar* having dedicated his temples in *Campania*, albeit he had given warning by edict, that no man would disturb his quietnes ; & hindred the concourse of townsmen by placing of souldiers in the way : yet being weary of townes & colonies, and all places situated in the continent, withdrew himselfe to the *Iland Capreas*, three miles distant by sea from the farthest part of the promontory of *Surrentum*. I easily beleeve that *Iland* did fit his humor, having neither haven nor commodities, & those conveyed in very little vessels : no man landing but the watch was presently acquainted with it. The temperature of the aire is in winter milde, by reason that a hill opposite unto it, beateh backe the force of the winds. In the summer season it is open to the western wind, and hath very pleasantly the sea on every side, and a goodly prospect towards the hill *Vesuvius*, until by fire the face of the place

place was changed. The report goeth that the Greeks did possesse that place, and that the *Theleboians* inhabited the *Iland Capreas*. But at that time *Tiberius* occupied the place, and seated himselfe in twelve countrey houses of pleasure : and how much more in former times he was earnestly bent upon the publike good, so much the more now secretly he abandoned himselfe to loose life and naughtie idleneffe. He was never more suspicious and credulous then now : a qualitie which *Sejanus* whilest he was abiding in the citie whetted on ; and which did now more then ever disquiet him : and no longer using secret treachery to intrap *Agrippina* and *Nero*, put over them souldiers as it were to record in *Chronicles* what messages they received, who resorted to them, what they did either secretly or openly. Farther there were others suborned to counsell them, to fly to the armie of *Germany* ; or when the place of assemblies was best replenished with people catch hold of *Augustus* image, and cry for succour of the people and Senate. And albeit, they gave no care to those devises ; yet they were laid to their charge, as though they had intended them.

XV. A treacherous practise of three Senators to intrap *Sabinus* a Gentleman of *Rome*, and *Agrippinaes* friend : the death of *Julia*, *Augustus* neece.

Iunius Silvanus, and *Silius Nerva* being Consuls, the yeer had a foule beginning ; by reason *Titus Sabinus* an honourable gentleman of *Rome* was drawn to prison, onely because he was a friend to *Germanicus* : never omitting to shew all tokens of dutie to his wife and his children ; and of all *Germanicus* followers the onely man which visited them at her house, and accompanied them abroad : and therefore commended by the good, and disliked by the bad. Against him *Latinius Latiaris*, *Porcius Cato*, *Petilius Rufus*, and *M. Opius*, who had beene sometimes Consuls, bent their malice, through a greedinesse of the Consulship ; which they could not obtain but by *Sejanus* means ; and *Sejanus* liking could not be purchased, but by some notable peece of villany. They had so complotted betweene them, that *Latiaris*, who was somewhat allied to *Sabinus*, should lay the snare, and the rest be present as witnesses ; and then begin the accusation. Hereupon *Latiaris*, at the first began to cast out speeches at randon ; then to extol his constancie, that he did not as others did, fawne in prosperitie, and shrinke from a house in adversitie ; with other honourable speech of *Germanicus*, and bewailing and pitying *Agrippinaes* estate. And seeing *Sabinus* (as mens minds are soft and tender in calamitie) to powre downe teares and complaints ; *Latiaris* began more boldly to touch *Sejanus* cruelty, pride, & the hope he gaped after : not forbearing unreverent speeches against *Tiberius*. These speeches as though they had beene sauced with some what which durst not bee avouched made shew of straight friendship betweene them : so far that *Sabinus* often times sought out *Latiaris* ; frequented his house ; uttered his griefes unto him, as to a most trustie and faithfull friend. Those whom I spake of before, consulted of some meanes how these speeches might be heard of many, for the place of their two meeting must be private : and if they should stand behinde the doore they were afraide of being scene, or of a noise, or lest some suspicion should grow by some chance. Betweene the rooffe and the seeling, the three Senators (the place no lesse unseemely then the treason detestable) hid themselves, and laid their eares close to holes and chinkes to listen what was said. In the meane space *Latiaris* having found *Sabinus* in the market place, as if he had some new matter to tell him, draweth him home, and into his chamber ; beginneth to rip up things past and present, which

yeelded store of matter; and inforceth new occasions of feare. *Sabinus* doth as much, and more at large: the nature of griefes being such, that when we once enter into them hardly can we finde an end. This done, they began immediately their accusation, and sent letters unto *Cæsar*, declaring the order of their owne lewd practise, and shamefull act. The citie was never in greater perplexitie and feare, then at that time: every man estranging himself even from his neereft kindred and acquaintance: they avoyded all meetings, conferences, eschewing as well known friends, as strangers: yea they have an eie to mute and senselesse things, and searched the roofes and wals of ther houses. But *Tiberius* requesting by writing that the solemnities of the new yeer might be celebrated in the Kalends of January; turned his talke to *Sabinus*, charging him that he had corrupted some of his freed men, to attempt somewhat against his person; and therefore boldly demandeth a revenge, which without delay was granted; and being condemned, he was drawne and haled with his garment turned over his head, and almost throttled, cried aloud; "Is this the beginning of the new yeer? be these the sacrifices which are flaine in *Sejanus* honour?" "which way soever he did cast his eies, or unto whom soever he directed his speech, they all fled: the place of assemblies and the streets were empty; some came back and shewed themselves againe, as feard for that they were seene to bee as feard. For what day was past free from executions; if betwixt the sacrifices and the vowes, at what time the custome was to abstaine from prophane speeches, fetters and cords are spoken of? And it was said that *Tiberius* could not through ignorance incurre this hatred; but contrary, that he sought to have it known, that without any let, new Magistrates might as well open the prisons, as Temples and Altars. After that he sent letters of thanksgiving, that they had punished an enemy to the State, adding with all, that he stood in feare of his life, and was jealous of his enemies practises, though naming none: yet no man doubted but he aimed at *Nero* and *Agrippina*. If I had not purposed to declare the occurrents of the yeers as they fell out, I could willingly in this place have set down before his time, what ends *Latinus*, and *Opisus*, and the other contrivers of that lewd practise had come unto; not onely after that *C. Cæsar* was come to the Empire, but whilest *Tiberius* was yet alive: who, as he would not suffer the ministers of his wickednesse to be punished by others; so oftentimes having had of their service his fill, and fresh offered to continue the trade; hee sought all means to extinguish the old, as persons odious unto him. But what punishment these, and others of the like conditions endured, shall be declared in his place and time. Then *Asinius Gallus* whose children *Agrippina* was ant unto, thought it convenient that *Tiberius* should utter unto the Senators of whom he stood in fear, and suffered them to be removed. But it was thought *Tiberius* of all his vertues was fond of none so much as of his dissimulation; and therefore disliked much that he should be urged to disclose that which he went about to conceale. But *Sejanus*, tempered the matter; not for any love he bare *Gallus*; but because he would have the Princes lingring delays come to light; knowing well that he was slow in his deliberations: but if he had once set them abroach, that his bad speeches were joyned with cruell deeds. The same time *Iulia* died, whom *Augustus* having convicted of adultery, had exiled into the Iland *Timerus*, not farre from the Apulian shores: where she endured twenty yeers exile, sustained by *Augusta*; whose manner was by secret practises to subvert her sons in law when they were in prosperitie, and openly shew them pity when they were in misery.

XVI. The *Frisians* rebell against the *Romans*: *Agrippina*, Germanicus daughter is married to *C. Domitius*.

THE same yeere the *Frisians* beyond *Rhene* forsooke their obedience, rather through our covetousnesse, then impatience of living under our subjection. *Drusus* in regard of their small abilitie, had imposed a small tribute on them which was a certaine of oxen hides for the warre, no man respecting what strength or largenesse they were of: untill *Oleennius* a Captaine of a principall ensigne and governor of the *Frisians* made choice of the skins of the beast called *Urus*, and of that bignes. As that had bene a heavy burden for other nations; so the Germans could least of all others endure it: whose woods although full of huge savage beasts; yet at their houses have but small herds; first therefore they delivered these oxen; then their possessions; and lastly the bodies of their wives and children into bondage. From hence grew their griefe and complaints: and seeing that no man relieved them, they sought a redresse by warre; layd hands on such souldiers as received the tribute, and hanged them up. *Oleennius* escaped the fury of the enemy by flying to a Castle called *Flevus*, strengthened with no small power of citizens & confederates, which held the coasts of the Ocean in subjection. Which when *L. Apronius* Propretor of low Germany, understood, he sent for the chiefeft ensignes of the legions of higher Germany, and aids aswell of the horsemen as footmen, & brought both the armies over *Rhene*, into the *Frisian* land: the rebels forsaking the siege of the castle to defend their own. Then *Apronius* maketh causeys and banks, & strong bridges over the next arme of the sea, for the huge army to passe over. And in the mean time having found some foords, commandeth the wing of the *Caninefates*, & such foormen as served under us, to hemme in the enemy behind. Who ranged into battell aray to fight, drove back the confederates, and legionary horsemen sent as an aide. After that were sent three cohorts lightly armed; then two more: and a little after a strong company of horsemen. Strength sufficient, if they had charged courageously together; but coming some after some, and dropping in by companies; they neither gave courage to the fearefull, but carried away themselves with like feare, ran all away for company. The residue of the aides he committed unto *Cerhegus Labeo*, Lieutenant of the fift legion: who perceiving things to go doubtfull on his side, sent to demand more ayde of the legions. The fift legion courageously issuing first out with a hot skirmish, put the enemy to flight; received into them the wounded and wearied cohorts. The *Roman* Captaine sought neither to revenge, nor bury the dead bodies; although there had bene flaine many Tribunes, Prefects, and divers Centurions of marke and fame. It was after known by the fugitives, that the fight held on untill the next day, and that there were nine hundred *Romanes* flaine in a wood called *Baduhenna*: and that another power of foure hundred which had taken the village of *Cruptorix*, (which sometime had received pay of the *Romanes*) fearing treason, slew one another. This got the *Frisians* great renown among the *Germanes*: *Tiberius* dissembling his losses, lest he should commit the charge to some other: and the Senate, being possessed with domesticall feare, regarded not much whether the remote part of the Empire went dishonourably to wrack or not: but stricken (as I have said) into a feare, sought a remedy by flattery. And albeit they had propounded many matters to deliberate on, yet they decreed, that all laide aside, there should bee two Altars erected, one unto Clemency, and another unto Friendship: and that *Cæsars* and *Sejanus* images should bee set about.

about them: and intreated most earnestly they would vouchsafe them so much favour as that they might see him. Neverthelesse they went neither to Rome, nor any place thereabout, but thought it sufficient if they went out of the Iland, and bee seene in Campania next adjoyning unto it. Thither resorted the Lords of the Senate, Gentlemen, and many of the common people, heaue for *Sejanus*; unto whom access was hardliest obtained; and that with great crouching, by approving and participating his designments. It well appeared his arrogancy grew greater, seeing he blushed not to see such open, base, and filthy servilitie used. For at Rome it was a usuall matter for men to walke the streets, and by reason the city is great, no man knew anothers businesse: but there some lying night and day in the field, some on the seashore, without any difference, endured either the pride of the porters, or had favour as pleased them, untill that that was also denied them. Then they returned to citie with discontented feare, and *Cesar* not having vouchsafed either to looke, or speake unto them: and some, whose unfortunate friendship with *Sejanus* portended their imminent death, were glad in an ill time. *Tiberius* having publikely given his neece *Agrippina Germanicus* daughter unto *Cn. Domitius*: commanded that the marriage should be solemnized in the city. He made choise of *Domitius*, as well for the antiquity of his stocke, as neereneffe in blood to the *Cæsars*: for *Octavia* was his grandmother, and by her, *Augustus* his unkle.

THE



THE FIFTH BOOKE OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. *The death of Julia. Tiberius crueltie increaseth his practises to make away Nero, and Agrippina.*

When *Rubellius* and *Fusius*, both of them surnamed *Geminus*, were *Consuls*, *Julia Augusta* died, being very aged, and of the noble family of the *Claudians*; and besides, into the house of the *Livians* and *Iulians* adopted. She was first married unto *Tiberius Nero*, and had children by him: who being driven out of his countrey in the warre of *Perusium*, and a peace after confirmed betwixt *Sext. Pompeius* and the *Triumviri* returned to the *Citie* again. After that *Augustus* ravished with her beautie (whether against her will or not it is uncertain) took her from her husband, shewing himself so lustful of her, that not giving her time to be delivered of her first husbands childe, brought her great as she was to his own house. After that she had no issue, but being united to *Augustus* bloud, by the marriage of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, they had nephews children common to them both. Her behaviour was, according to the carriage of ancient times, yet more courteous than women of former ages could well allow; an intolerable mother, a tractable wife, with the subtiltie of her husband, and dissimulation of her sonne, well medled and composed. Her funerals were not sumptuous, her testament long void. She was praised in a funerall oration before the *Rostre* by *C. Cæsar* her nephews sonne, who not long after succeeded in soveraintie. But *Tiberius* omitting no part of his pleasures, excused by letters his absence from his mothers obsequies, as though he had been hindred by important affaires; and under colour of modesty, cut off many honourable ceremonies, which the Lords of the Senate had decreed should be done in memory of her; and especially that no divine ceremony should be ordained for her, because (said he) such was her will. And in part of the same letters he found fault with such as went about to win womens favour and good will: therein covertly carping the *Consull Fusius*, a man highly in *Augustus* grace, and his crafts-master in winning of womens favour, a jesting mate, and oft accustomed bitterly to scoffe at *Tiberius*; a thing which great potentates kept long in memory. But now *Tiberius* began to grow worse and worse, and his rule tyrannous: for whilest his mother lived, there was some refuge left, because he had a long time accustomed to shew himself dutifull unto her; and *Sejanus* durst not crosse her: but then having as it were the bridle in their own hands, they brake loose at once, and letters were sent against *Agrippina* and *Nero*; which the common people judged to have been sent before, but kept backe by *Augusta*: for not long after her death they were read in Senate, containing bitter and sharp words; yet never objected that he had born armes, or stirred any rebellion against him, but only unnaturall loves to young men, and incontinent life. But against his daughter in law he durst not object so much, but onely her arrogant and proud speeches, and obstinate minde. The Senators were stricken into a feare and silence, untill some few whose hopes depended

pended not an honest meanes, but made publike calamities occasion of private benefits; demanded that the matter might be referred to voices: *Cotta Messalinus* shewing himself most forward with a cruell sentence. But the other chiefe Gentlemen, and especially the magistrates were afraid; for although *Tiberius* had angrily inveighed against them, yet he left other things in doubt. There was in the Senate one *Iunius Rusticus*, chosen by *Caesar* to set down the acts of the Senators (and therefore was thought to know best his intent and purpose) who either by fatall destiny (for before he had given no token of his constancie) or subtil device, forgetting imminent perils, whilest he feareth uncertainties, thrusteth himself among the Consuls yet wavering and doubting what to do; and adviseth them not to put the matter to deliberation, saying: that greatest matters might be turned in a moment: and that some space of time ought to be given the old man to repent himselfe: and the people withall carrying *Agrippinae* and *Neroes* images with them, environ the Senate house, and wishing all prosperous fortune to *Caesar*, cry, that those letters were false; and that the overthrow of the Princes house was intended against the Princes will: and so there was nothing concluded that day in prejudice of the parties. Certaine counterfeit judgements were spread abroad against *Sejanus* under the Consuls names. Some men secretly, and therefore the more saucily practising their wits as their fancy led them, which yeilded *Sejanus* farther matter of calumnyation, and kindled his anger: saying that the Princes displeasure was nothing regarded: that the commons were at jarre with the Senate: that new orations and new decrees of Senate were heard and read now adaies. What remaineth but to take armes in hand? and choose those of their Captains and Emperours, whose images they had followed for their ensignes? Whereupon *Caesar* reiterating his injurious speeches against his nephew and daughter in law, and rebuking the people by edict; complained to the Senate, that the imperiall majesty had been openly deluded and scorned through the fraud of one of the Senators: and therefore required that the hearing of the cause might be reserved wholly unto himself. They consulted no farther on the matter, but condemned the parties, but not to death, because they were forbidden: and protested they were ready to execute revenge, if the Prince had not hindred them*.

* There wanteth very much of the story in this place,
which hath perished through time.

II. The death of *Sejanus*; of his friends and children.
One faineth himselfe to be *Drusus*
Germanicus sonne.

“VVHether it be a more lamentable case to be accused for breach of friendship, or to accuse his friend, I cannot well judge: * no mans crueltie or clemencie will I try: * but free and bearing my selfe on my owne conscience, I will prevent danger. I beseech you, that you would not have me in remembrance rather in mourning and sad then joyfull manner and cheerefull, reckoning me in the number of those which have escaped publike calamities by an honorable end. Then talking now with one, now another, as by chance they were neere unto him, he spent a great part of the day either in entertaining, or taking leave of them. And having many about him, which noted how resolute and assured he was in countenance, no man dreaming any such matter, with a sword which he had hidden under his garments, slew himselfe: and after he was dead, *Caesar* used no such reprochfull

prochfull and injurious speeches, nor objected any such hainous matter against him, as he did against *Blasius*. After this, *P. Vitellius*, and *Pomponius Secundus* cause was heard. *Vitellius* they accused, that he had offered the coffers of the publicke treasury whereof he had charge, and the money which was in them for souldiers pay, to stirrers up of new broiles. The other *Considius*, who had been once Pretor, accused for having had great friendship and amitie with *Velius Gallus*, who after that *Sejanus* was punished, fled to *Pomponius* gardens, as to a place of safe refuge: both of them in their distresse having no other comfort left but the constancy of their brothers; who became baile for their life. Shortly after, *Vitellius* through many delays betwixt hope and feare wearied out, under colour of using it in his studie, asking for a penknife, lightly prickt a veine, and ended his life with grieve and anguish of minde. But *Pomponius* being a Gentleman of a gallant carriage and excellent wit, bearing adverse fortune patiently, overlived *Tiberius*. Then was there order taken though the peoples anger were mitigated, and many others pacified with the former punishment, that the rest of *Sejanus* children should be punished. Whereupon they were carried to prison, the son having some feeling of the danger which hung over his head; but the daughter was so simple, that she often asked, whither they would leade her, and for what? that she would do no more so; and that it was sufficient to chastise her with the rodde like a childe. The Writers of that time affirme, that because it was never heard of before, that a virgin should be put to death according to the custome of the Triumviri: that she was deflowred by the executioner immediately before the halter was put about her neck: and both strangled. The bodies of these young and tender children were cast into the *Gemonies*, a place where condemned persons were throwne downe headlong. About the same time, *Asia* and *Achaia* were put into a very great fright, though it continued not long, with a rumour that *Drusus*, *Germanicus* sonne, had been seene first in the Islands *Cyclades*, and afterward in the continent. But it was a young man of like age, whom some of *Caesars* freed men by a subtil practise followed, bearing men in hand, they knew it to be him. Such as knew him not, were drawne by the same of his name, and the Greeks especially, prone to all new and strange wonders. It was reported he had escaped out of prison and fled to his fathers army, some both sayning and believing withall that he would invade *Egypt* or *Syria*. Youth flocked already to him very cheerefully; many signes of love publicly shewne him, feeding themselves with the present vaine hope of what might happen. When as *Poppaeus Sabinus* had tydings thereof, who was then occupied in the affairs of *Macedonia*, had charge also over *Achaia*: he therefore, were the report true or false, to prevent all things, hastening over the *Toronæan* and *Thermean* cut, and passing by *Euboea*, an Island of the *Ægean* sea, and *Piræum* a coast of *Attique*, the *Corinthian* shore, and the straights of *Isthmus*; by another sea came to *Nicopolis*, a colonie of the Romans: and there after a carefull examination understandeth who hee should bee. Hee said he was *M. Silanus* sonne, and that many of his followers having forsaken him, hee embarked himselfe, as though he meant to travell into *Italy*. These things he signified to *Tiberius* by writing: neither have we found any thing more of the beginning or end of this matter. Towards the end of the yeer a quarell of certaine Consuls burst forth, which had bene a long time a breeding. For *Trio* little regarding what enemies he procured, and well practised at the barre, under hand carped *Regulus*, as being carelesse in oppressing *Sejanus* ministers. *Regulus*, unlesse greatly provoked, of a temperate and

and cold humour, did not onely answer and quail his fellow Confull, but brought him within the compasse of conspiracie, and to be examined for it. And although many of the Lords of the Senate intreated them that they would surcease their quarell, which would grow to their owne overthrow; yet they continued their grudge and menaces one against the other, untill they went both out of office.

The end of the fifth Booke.

THE

THE SIXTH BOOKE OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIUS TACITVS.

I. *of Tiberius lascivious life. Pursuing of Livia and Sejanus.
Cotta accused.*



N. Domitius and Camillus Scribonianus entered the Consulship, when *Caesar* having passed the straight betwixt Capreas and Surrentum, coasted Campania, doubtfull whether he should enter into the Citie or not: perhaps because he had otherwise resolved in his mind, though making shew he would come: oftentimes approaching neere the Citie, and to the gardens along Tiber, and returning back againe to the rocks, and desarts of the Sea, to cover the shame of his lascivious life: which so unstayedly hee wallowed in, that, as the manner of the Kings was, hee defiled and abused noble mens sons under age, and not onely the wellfavoured and comliest, but the modest and well nurtured, and whose modest behaviour shewed the stock from whence they grew, served him for provocation of filth. Then first of all were those unknown words of Sellaries and Spintries found out of the filthinesse of the place, and sundry sorts of sufferance of abuse. Some of his slaves had charge to seek them out, and bring them to him; alluring such by gifts as shewed themselves willing and readie; and threatening such as refused: and if either their neer friends or parents went about to detaine them, and used violence, and carried them away perforce; and exercised their wils on them as if they had beene captives. But at Rome in the beginning of the yeer severe judgements were given against *Livia*, and against her images, and other memories consecrated in her honour; as if her lewdnesse had then first come to light, and had not bin already punished. The *Scipios* gave their opinion that *Sejanus* goods should be taken from the publike treasury, and put in the Princes private cofers. The *Silanians* and *Cassians* were of the same opinion, and urged it with the same termes, or not greatly changed: when on the sudden and unlooked for, *Togonius Gallus* among those Noblemen, thrusting himselfe forward, being but of base and low calling, had the hearing given him, as a matter to laugh at: for he desired the Prince to choose twentie by lot out of a certaine number of Senators, to guarde and defend his person with weapon, as oft as he went to the Senate. He beleevved peradventure that *Tiberius* had meant good earnest when he required that one of the Consuls might conduct and aide him from Caprea to the Citie. *Tiberius* neverthelesse accustomed sometimes to interlace serious matters with skoffes, thanked the Lords for their good will: yet demanded whom hee might omit? or whom he might choose? whether alwaies the same, or sometimes others in their stead? such as had borne office, or young men? private persons or Magistrates? what a goodly sight it would be to see them take a sword in hand at the entrance of the Counsell house? neither would he make such account of his life, if hee were to maintaine it by armes. This he answered to *Togonius*, tempering his words, and perswaded no farther the disallowing of that opinion. But he rebuked *Iunius Gallio* very bitterly, who propounded that the souldiers of the garde after their

service was ended, might have a roome in the fortieth ranke of seats: and asked him as it had been in their presence, "What he had to do with souldiers? for whom "it was not lawfull either to receive commandement or gift, but of the Emperour: "or whether he had found out that which *Augustus* of famous memory could not "provide for? It was rather a matter of discord and sedition, fought for by one of "*Sejanus* followers, to stirre up rude mindes under title of honour to corrupt the cu- "stome of service. This was the reward which *Gallio* received for his artificiall flatter- "erie; and anon after was driven out of the Councell-house, and then out of Italy. And because it was objected that he could easily indure exile, having made choyce of the famous and noble Ile of Lesbos, he was recalled to the City, and kept in the Magistrates houses. In the same letters, to the great contentment of the Lords of the Senate, *Cæsar* touched *Señius Pagonianus*, who had been sometimes Pretor, to the quick: audacious, malignant, and prying into all mens secrets; beloved of *Sejanus*, and by him employed to lay snares to intrap *C. Cæsar*: which being once laid open, all the barred a long time hatched against him burst forth; and sentence of death decreed against him, if he had not promised to bewray the complices. But when *Acreus* had accused *Latinus Latiaris* hated both alike, it was a most gratefull spectacle unto all. *Latiaris*, as I have rehearsed before, was the principall agent in circumventing *Titius Sabinus*; and then the first that received punishment for it. Among these accusations *Haterius Agrippa* setteth upon the Consuls of the last yeer, asking them why they are now so still, and cease from the accusations begunne the one against the other? it was feare, and guilt of conscience which made them friends; but the Lords of the Senate would not so put up that which they had heard. *Regulus* said, he would stay for a time of revenge, and that he would prosecute the matter before the Prince. *Trio* answered, that emulation and envie betwixt colleagues were better forgotten, and injurious words, if any had passed. *Agrippa* urging on still, *Sanquinus Maximus* one of the Consuls, desired the Senators that they would not increase the Emperours cares by hunting after matter of dislike, and that he himselfe was able to redresse these things; and so *Regulus* life was saved, and *Trio*es ruine deferred. *Haterius* was so much the more odious, because that withered and unlusty with sleepe, or lascivious watchings, and through his dull drousie disposition, nothing fearing the Prince, though cruell, even in his brothell houses, and loosest lasciviousnes, dreamt of nothing but how to subvert the nobilitie. After that, *Cotta Messalinus*, the author of every cruell sentence, and hated of old, as soone as occasion was offered, was accused to have uttered certaine things against *Cæsar*: and among others, that he was in his secret parts both man and woman, and after a banquet on the birth day of *Augusta* among the Priests, he tearmed that a Novendinall supper, or belonging to a mortuary: and that repining at *M. Lepidus*, and *L. Aruntius* power and authoritie, having a suite depending against them for a money matter, he should say, that them the Senate would defend, but me my little *Tiberius* will support. The chiefe of the citie convicted him without any delay, and pursuing him eagerly, he appealed to the Emperour. And not long after letters were brought from *Tiberius*, in which in manner of a defence, calling to minde the beginning of friendship betwene him and *Cotta*, and his many good turnes and services, requested that words might not be hardly wrested, and that the simplicity of table talk might not be imputed to him as a crime. The beginning of these letters of *Cæsars* was worth the noting, which was this: "What I shall write unto you Lords "of the Senat, or how I shal write, & what I shal not write at all, at this time the gods "and the goddesse confound me worse then I feel & know my selfe daily to perish, "if I know. So farre his villanous demeanour turned to his own scourge and punishment.

ment. And therefore that most deepe wise man did not say without cause, that if Tyrants miuds were layd open, a man should see them torne and rent in sunder: for as the body is rent with stripes; so the mind is tormented with cruelty, wanton affections, and evill counsels. For neither his great fortune, nor solitary places could defend *Tiberius*, but that himselfe confessed the torments and punishment which lay hidden in his breast. Then the Senators having received authority to determine of *Cæcilianus* according to their wills, who had uttered many things against *Cotta*: their judgement was that he should receive the same punishment, that *Aruseius* and *Sanquinus* had, who were *L. Aruntius* accusers. Then the which nothing ever happened more honourable to *Cotta*: who being indeed of noble birth, but through riot needy, and infamous for his vices, in honourable punishment is made equall to *Aruntius*, a man of sincere and honest life.

II. Terentius defences, why he should not be punished like unto others of *Sejanus* friends,

QUINTUS SERVILIUS after this, and *Minutius Thermus* were brought in. *Servilius* had beene Pretor, and *Germanicus* companion. *Minutius* a Gentleman, and who in *Sejanus* friendship had carried himselfe modestly, and therefore both the more pitied. But *Tiberius* contrariwise blaming them as principall agents, commanded *C. Cæstius* an old Senator, to report unto the Senators what he had written unto him: whereupon *Cæstius* undertooke the accusation: a miserable calamitie of those times that the chiefe of the Senators, some openly, some secretly played the part of base promoters: and further, no man able to know the stranger from the kinsman; nor friends from such as he never saw before; nor things lately committed from such as through continuance of time were almost forgotten. They were accused of all they had spoken wheresoever, either in the place of assemblies, or at their table; every man making hast to prevent, and be before another in carrying of tales; some of them to save themselves, other some infected as it were with a disease gotten by conversing with others. But *Minutius* and *Servilius* were condemned, and their goods given the accusers. *Iulius Africanus* borne at Santon a towne in Gallia, and *Seius Quadratus* were drawne into the like mishap; but the occasion why, I have not found. I am not ignorant that the dangers and punishment of many have beene omitted by writers being over-wearied with multitude; or fearing lest those things should be tedious to the Readers, which seemed superfluous and lamentable to themselves in rehearsing. There have come many things to our eares worthy the knowledge: although other have not once touched them. For at the selfe-same time that the rest colourably seemed to shake of the amitie they had with *Sejanus*, *M. Terentius* a Gentleman of Rome, although arraigned for his labour, durst avouch it, beginning his speech for his defence before the Lords of the Senate in this manner. It would be peradventure lesse behoovfull for my estate to acknowledge then deny the crime I am charged with: but hap what hap may, I will confesse that I have beene *Sejanus* friend, and that I desired so to be; and that after I had obtained his friendship I was glad of it. I had seene him joynt Officer with my father in the government of the Prætorian Cohort, and not long after in managing of citie affaires and matters of war. His kinsmen and allies were advanced to honor: as every man was inward with *Sejanus*, so was he graced by *Cæsar*. And contrariwise, such as were not in his favour, lived in feare and distressed with povertie. Neither doe I allege any man for an example of this: all of us who were not privy to his last attempts, with the danger of my onely estate I will defend. Not *Seja-*

"*nus* the Vulsinienſis; but a part of the Claudian and Julian family, which by alliance he had entred into; thy ſonne in law *Cæſar*, thy companion in the Conſulſhip, and him who tooke upon him thy charge of adminiſtring the common-wealth, wee did reverence and honour. It is not our parts to judge of him whom thou doeſt exalt above the reſt, nor for what conſiderations. To thee the higheſt judgment of things the gods have given; and unto us the glory of obedience is left. Wee looke unto thoſe things which wee ſee before our eyes; whom thou doeſt enrich; whom thou doeſt advance to honours; who have greateſt power of hurting or helping; which *Sejanus* to have had no man will deny. The Princes hidden thoughts, or if he goe about any ſecret drift, it is not lawfull to ſound, and dangerous: neither ſhalt thou in the end reach unto them. Thinke not onely (Lords of the Senate) of *Sejanus* laſt day but of ſixteene yeeres; in which we did likewiſe fawne upon, and court *Saturnus* and *Pomponius*; and to be knowne unto his freed men and partners, was reckoned as a high favour. What then? Shall this defence be generall, and not diſtinguiſhed, but a conſaſion made of times paſt, and his latter actions? No: but let it, by juſt bounds and termes be devided. Let the treaſons againſt the common-wealth; the intentions of murdering the Emperour be puniſhed: but as for the friendſhip, duties, pleaſures and good turnes; the ſame end ſhall diſcharge and quit thee (O *Cæſar*) and us. The conſtancy of his Oration, one being found to deliver that, which they all thought in their minds: preveiled ſo much, that his accuſers by ripping up their old faults, were puniſhed, either with exile, or death.

III. The cauſe of making a Prefect at Rome: an examen of ſome of the Sibyls bookes.

After that *Tiberius* ſent letters againſt *Sext. Veſtilius* ſometime Pretor, and welbeloved of *Drufus* his brother, & choſen to be one of his gard. The cauſe of diſpleaſure againſt *Veſtilius*; was either becauſe he had compoſed certaine writings againſt *Cæſars* uncleane life, or falſly fathered upon him, gave credit to the reporters: & thereupon being baniſhed the princes court & familiarity, having fiſt gone about with his owne old feeble hand to ſlay himſelfe bound up his veines: and in the meane ſpace having intreated the princes favour, and received a rigorous anſwere, did at laſt open them. Then at once were accuſed of treaſon, *Annius Pollio*, *Appius Silanus*, *Scaurus Mamercus*, *Sabinus Calviſius*, and *Vienianus* alſo brought in with his father for company, all of them well deſcended and ſome in authority. The Lords of the Senate quaked for feare; for how many was there which was not either allied, or a friend of one of thoſe noble men? But *Cæſus* Tribune of the citie cohort, and then an informer delivered *Appius* and *Calviſius* from danger. *Cæſar* deferred *Pollios*, *Vicinianus* and *Scaurus* cauſe, that himſelfe might have the hearing of it with the Senators: having given out already tokens of heavy diſpleaſure againſt *Scaurus*. Not ſo much as women but were partakers of danger: and if not attained for attempting to aſpire to the Empire; yet brought in queſtion for their teares: and *Vitia* an old woman *Fuſius Geminus* mother was put to death, becauſe ſhe bewailed the death of her ſonne. Theſe things were done in Senate. And where the Prince was, the like was practiſed: *Veſcularius Atticus*, and *Iulus Marinus* two of his moſt familiar friends, which accompanied him to Rhodes, and at Capreas never departed from him, were put to death. *Veſcularius* was the meſſenger to and fro when the treacherie was wrought againſt *Libo*. *Marinus* was of *Sejanus* counſell when he put *Curtius Atticus* to death; moſt men being glad to ſee them taken in the ſnare they laid

laid for others. About the ſame time *L. Piſo* high Prieſt died a naturall death, which was a rare matter in thoſe times in a man of ſo great nobility: He never of himſelfe propounded any matter which ſmelled of flattery or baſe mindes; and if he were forced thereto, he uſed great moderation in doing it. His father, as I have already ſaid, had been Cenſor; he lived to the age of foureſcore; having in Thrace deſerved the triumphall ornaments. But his greateſt credit roſe in that, that being newly created Provost of the Citie, he did governe exceeding moderately all the time of his continuall rule: irkſome through unwontedneſſe of obedience. For in times paſt when the Kings or Conſuls went out of the City, leſt ſhe ſhould be left without government, there was one choſen for a time able to give every man right, and provide for all ſudden accidents. And it is ſaid that *Dentres Romulus*, had the ſame charge given him by *Romulus*; after that, *Numa Marcius* by *Tullus Hoſtilius*, and *Spurius Lucretius* by *Tarquinius Superbus*. Then that the Conſuls had the charge of committing this office; and a ſhadow of it continueth unto this day; as oft as the Latine feaſtes are ſolemnized, one is appointed over the reſt to exerciſe the room of a Conſull. But *Augustus* in the time of civill warres, made *Cilnius Meænas* a Gentleman, Provost over Rome and all Italy. Then being Lord and maſter of the Empire by reaſon of the greatnes of the people, and ſlow aide which the Laws afforded; he choſe out one, of ſuch as had beene Conſuls, to bridle the bond-men and ſuch Citizens as through audaciouſneſſe would grow troubleſome, unleſſe they ſtood in awe. The fiſt that received that authoritie; but kept it but a while, was *Meſſalla Corvinus*, as unable to diſcharge it. Then *Taurus Statilius*, although he were very good, went through it with great commendation. After that *Piſo* was well liked for the ſpace of twenty yeeres, and by order of the Senate honoured with publike funerals. It was afterward propounded before the Lords of the Senat by *Quintilianus* Tribune of the people, concerning the Sibyls book, which *Caninius Gallus* one of the ſixteene, requested might be received among other books of the ſame propheteſſe; & demanded it might be ſo eſta bliſhed by decree of Senate: which being given by common conſent, *Cæſar* ſent letters ſomewhat reprehending the Tribune, as ignorant of the old cuſtome by reaſon of his youth; and upbraided *Gallus* that being old and practiſed in the ſcience and ceremonies; nevertheleſſe had demanded the opinion of the Senators not fully aſſembled; the authour being uncertain and before the Colledge had yeilded their judgement; neither as the cuſtome was, the verſes having beene read and waighed by the Maſters. Withall he advertiſed them, becauſe that many vaine things were publiſhed under the name of famous men, that *Augustus* had under penaltie ſet down a day, within which ſuch books ſhould be brought to the city-Pretor; and that it was not lawfull for any to have them in their private poſſeſſion. The like decree was eſta bliſhed by our Predeceſſours alſo; and after that the Capitoll was burnt in the civill warre, their verſes were ſought in Samum, in Ilium, Erythrum, through Africk alſo, Sicily, and the Colonies of Italy, whether they were one or many: the buſineſſe being committed to the Prieſts to diſtinguiſh the true Prophecies from the falſe, as neer as might be by the judgement of man. And then alſo the book was referred to the examination of the ſixteene. When the ſame men were Conſuls, through a dearth of corne and other proviſions, they grew almoſt to a commotion: and many things for many dayes together were in the Theatre more licenciouſly demanded with greater eagerneſſe, then the manner had beene to demand things of the Emperours. Whereat being moved, he blamed the Magiſtrates and Senators that they had not by publike authoritie bridled the inſolencie of the people: and added withall, how far greater quantity of corne he had cauſed to be brought

brought then *Augustus*, and out of what Provinces. Whereupon a decree of Senate was enacted, to reſtraine the people, according to the ancient ſeveritie, the Conſuls being no leſſe forward to publiſh it: his owne ſilence in the cauſe was not conſtrued to be a point of civilitie as he looked it ſhould be, but was imputed to his pride. In the end of that yeer, *Geminus*, *Celſus*, *Pompeius*, Gentlemen of Rome, were put to death for conſpiracies; among which, *Geminus* through prodigalitie and looſeneſſe of life, and a friend to *Sejanus*, was a man of nothing. And *Julius Celſus* a Tribune, looſing the chaine he was bound with at large; then winding it about and forcing himſelfe a contrary way, brake his owne neck. But *Rubrius Fabatus* deſpairing of the Romane affairs, and fleeing to the Parthians, and brought back ſafe from the ſtraights of Sicily by a Centurion, had keepers appointed him, not able to alleadge any probable cauſes of his long voyages; yet he eſcaped unpuniſhed, rather through forgetfulneſſe then clemency.

III. Tiberius marrieth his neeces. Uſurers accuſed, and the inconvenience that enſued.

SEr. *Galba*, and *L. Sulla* being Conſuls, *Tiberius* having a long time beſought himſelfe what husbands he ſhould provide his Neeces, whoſe age now came on, made choiſe of *L. Caſſius*, and *M. Vinicius*. *Vinicius* kindred came out of a ſmall towne, himſelfe borne at *Calles*: but his father and grandfather were Conſuls: the reſt of his kindred were Gentlemen: he was of a milde diſpoſition, and very eloquent. *L. Caſſius* was deſcended of one of the common people at Rome, but ancient and noble, and brought up under the ſevere diſcipline of his father; and often commended for his courteſie then induſtrie. To him he giveth *Drufilla*; to *Vinicius* *Julia*, both *Germanicus* children: and writeth to the Senate touching that matter, with a light commendation of the young men. Then having yeelded ſome cauſes of his abſence, but very extravagant, came to matters of greater moment, and the diſpleaſures and diſlikes he had incurred for the Common-wealth: and requeſted that *Macro* the Provost, and ſome few of the Tribunes and Centurions, might as oft as he came to the Senate, enter into the Curia with him. And albeit the Senate made a decree very generall, without preſcribing any number, or qualitie of perſons, he was ſo farre from coming to any private Counſell, that he never came ſo much as to the Citie; coaſting about it, and for the moſt part in by-ways, and ſtill avoiding his Countrey as much as he could. In the meane ſeaſon, a great rabble of informers roſe up againſt ſuch Uſurers as took more for conſideration of their money, then they might by the law made by *Caſar* the Dictator concerning the manner of lending, and holding poſſeſſion within Italy; long neglected heretofore, becauſe the publike good is leſſe ſet by, then private commoditie. Uſurie in very deepe hath beene an old diſeaſe in the Citie, and often a cauſe of ſeditions and diſcords; and for that cauſe hath been reſtrained in ancient and leſſe corrupt times. For firſt it was ordained by the law of the twelve tables, that no man ſhould take above one in the hundred; when as before that time, it was as pleaſed the monied men. After that, by a Tribunitian law it was brought unto halfe one in the hundred; and in the end Uſury was wholly forbidden: and many lawes made by the people to cut off all fraude; which often reſpreſſed, revived againe by ſtrange ſlights and deviſes. But then *Gracchus* being Pretor, unto whom the examining of that queſtion fell, conſtrained by the multitude of ſuch as were indangered thereby; propounded the matter before the Lords of the Senate: who

daunted

daunted thereat (for there was not one of them free from that fault) craved reſpite of the prince: he granted them a yeere and ſixe moneths: within which time, every man according to the preſcript of law ſhould ſettle his eſtate, and make up his domeſtick accompts. Hereupon every man calling in his debts, on a ſudden enſued a great want and ſcarcity of money; and by reaſon ſo many were condemned, and their goods ſold, all the money ready coyned went either to the Princes, or publike treaſurie. Beſides this, the Senate ordained that two parts of the uſury money ſhould be beſtowed upon lands in Italy: but the creditours diſliked that, and urged the payment of the whole, as a matter impayring the credit of the parties convented, to goe from their word. So at the firſt there was great running hither and thither, and entreaties: then they flockd about the Pretors tribunall: and thoſe things which were found for a remedy, as ſelling and buying of ſuch mens goods, turned to a contrary effect, becauſe the Uſurers had hoorded up all their money to buy land. And becauſe the multitude of ſellers, was cauſe that the value of lands was rated at a very low and vile price: how much the more a man was indebted, the lother he was to ſell. And many were thruſt out of all they had: and the decay of their wealth carried their credit and fame headlong after, untill *Tiberius* relieved them, by putting a * hundred million ſeſterces in banke, and lent it for three

* About
781250.pound.

yeeres ſpace without conſideration or intereſt, if the debtor could give ſecurity to the people of Rome in lands double the value of the debt. By that meanes their credit was reſtored, and other particular creditors by little and little found: neither was the buying of lands practiſed according to the forme of the decree of Senate, hotly at the beginning purſued, as almoſt all ſuch things are; but in the end careleſly neglected.

V. C. *Cæſar* marrieth *Claudia*, daughter unto *M. Silanus*: what prooſe *Tiberius* made of *Traſullus* ſkill.

After that, the old feares returne againe, *Conſidius Proculus* being accuſed of treaſon: who celebrating his birth day not doubting any thing, was drawn to the Curia, and at the ſame time condemned and put to death; and his ſiſter *Sancia* baniſhed, *Pomponius* being accuſer, who being of an unquiet and buſie diſpoſition, pretended he had done this and that, and all to currie favour with the Prince, thereby to ſteed his brother *Pomponius Secundus*, who was then in danger. Baniſhment is likewiſe decreed againſt *Pompeia Macrina*, whoſe husband and father in law, the one of Argos, and the other of Lacedæmon; men of mark and reputation among the Achæans, *Cæſar* had already afflicted and brought to ruine. Her father likewiſe, a famous gentleman of Rome, and her brother, who had been Pretor, ſeeing that their condemnation was at hand, ſlew themſelves. It was imputed unto them for a fault, that *Gn. Magnus* made reckoning as of a ſpeciall friend of *Theophanes Mytileneus* their great grandfather: and that the Grecian flattery after his death, had given him divine honour. After theſe *Sext. Marius* the richeſt man of all Spaine, was accuſed to have committed inceſt with his daughter, and was caſt headlong from the Tarpeian rock. And little doubt but his exceeding wealth was his overthrow: for although his gold mines were conſiſcated, yet *Tiberius* reſerved them for himſelfe, and by much bloud ſhedding growing more bloody, commanded all thoſe to be executed which were in priſon, and accuſed of confederacy with *Sejanus*. The butchery was great in all ſexes, and all ages, noblemen, common people, ſcattered here and there, or gathered into heapes. Neither was it lawfull for neere

kinſmen

kinsmen and friends to be present, to bewaile their case; nor yet to come oft to see them: but there were watches and spies on every side, intente to prie what lamentation every man made, which followed the purified bodies, until they were thrown into the river of Tiber. And if any of them were found floting on the water, or driven to the bankes, no man durst burne them nor touch them: all familiar societie and intercourse of humanitie was lost throw feare and violence; and how much crueltie increased; so far pity was banished. About the same time *C. Caesar* bearing his Grandfather company from Capreas, tooke to wife *Claudia* daughter of *M. Silanus*, cloaking his cruell and bloody disposition with a counterfeite modesty; not once uttering so much as a word of the condemning of his mother, the banishing of his brothers: but whatsoever minde *Tiberius* had put on, of the like habite hee shewed himselfe; and not much differing from him in words. Whereupon a witty saying of the Orator *Passiennus* was commonly applyed to him: That there was never better servant then he, nor worse master. I will not omit *Tiberius* prophesie of *Sergius Galba* then Confull: who having sent for him, and founded him of set purpose with divers speeches; at last in Greeke uttered unto him this sentence: And thou *Galba* at sometime shalt taste of the Empire. Signifying that his rule should be long a coming, and dure but a short time; as learning that skill of the Chaldeans Art, for attaining of which he had idle time at Rhodes, and *Trafullus* for his master; whose cunning he tried by this meanes. As oft as he would consult with them touching any matter, he went up to the highest part of the house with onely one freed man in his company, unlearned, but of a strong and able bodie; whom he caused to leade him the way over hard and difficult passages and broken rockes (for his house did hang over the rockes) whose cunning and Art *Tiberius* did purpose to trie: that in returning backe, if any jealousie of vanitie or treachery had entered into his minde, he would throw him headlong in the Sea which was under him, lest he should bewray his secrets. *Trafullus* being then brought into those rockes, and moving *Tiberius* which moved him many questions, and foretelling him very skilfully future things, and that he should be Emperour; *Tiberius* asked him farther, whether he had found out the houre of his owne nativitie; and what should happen to himselfe that yeere, and that same day. Who having considered the aspects of the Starres, and measured their distances, began first to doubt; and then to feare: and the more he viewed them; so more and more he was surprised with admiration and feare; and at last cryed out, that he was ready to fall into most doubtfull and imminent danger. Then *Tiberius* embracing him rejoiced that he had foreseene his owne dangers, and promised he should escape them; and taking those things which he had said for Oracles, held him afterward among the number of his dearest friends. When I heare of these and the like things, I can give no certaine judgement, whether the affairs of mortall men are governed by fate and immutable necessitie; or have their course and change by chance and fortune. For thou shalt finde, that as well those which were accounted wise in ancient times, as such as were imitators of their sect, doe varie and disagree therein: some doe resolutely beleve that the gods have no care of mans beginning or ending; no, not of man at all. VWhereof it proceedeth that the vertuous are tossed and afflicted with so many miseries; and the vitious and bad triumph with so great prosperities. Contrarily others are of opinion, that fate and destiny may well stand with the course of our actions, yet nothing at all depend of the Planets and Starres, but proceed from a connexion of naturall causes as from their beginning. And these grant withall, that we have free choise and election what course of life to follow: which being

once

chosen, we are guided after, by a certaine order of causes unto our end. Neither doe they esteeme those things to be good or bad which the vulgar sort doe so call; for many which seeme to be oppressed with misery, are happy if they endure their adversitie with constancie: and many which flow in wealth, in most miserable estate, if they use their prosperitie unadvisedly. And yet of some it may be said, that their destinies are known at their birth: and if they fall out otherwise then hath been foretold, it proceedeth of the ignorance of the deceitfull reporter; and so the art is discredited, whose cleare and evident proofes, former and present times have tried: for by the sonne of the same *Trafullus*, *Neroes* Empire was foretold, as in convenient time it shall be declared, because I will not now digresse from my purpose.

V I. *Tiberius* cruelty against *Drusus*: the death of *Agrippina* and others: *Julia*, daughter unto *Drusus*, is married unto *Rubellius Blandus*.

THE same men being Consuls, *Asinius Gallus* died; and no man doubting, but for want of taking sustenance, but whether willingly or of necessitie, that is uncertaine. And *Caesar* being asked, whether he would suffer him to bee buried, was not ashamed to permit it; and further to accuse chance and fortune, that had taken away the criminall person before he had beene openly convinced; as though that in three years space there wanted time of proceeding to judgement against an old Confull, and father of so many Consuls. After that, *Drusus* was made away, having sustained himselfe the space of nine dayes with a miserable food, by eating the flocks of his bed. Some have written, that *Macro* had order sent him, that if *Sejanus* should attempt to take arms, the young man should bee fetcht out of prison (for he was kept in the Palace) and made Captaine over the people: but because it was incontinently rumored that *Caesar* would be reconciled to his daughter in law, and nephew, he shewed that he desired rather cruelty, then to be sorry for that he had done: yea and having inveighed against him after he was dead, objected he was loose of life, hurtfull and dangerous to his, and evilly affected toward the Common-wealth: and withall commanded all that to be recited, which he had caused day by day to be put in writing, both of his words and deeds: a thing so cruell that nothing more, that he should so many yeers have appointed spies to observe his countenance, his lamentation, yea private murmurings: and scarce credible, that the grandfather could endure to heare it, reade it, and publish it, were it not that the letters of *Actius* the Centurion, and *Didymus* his Freed-men did declare the names of such bondslaves, which had either stricken *Drusus*, or put him in a fright, as he went out of his chamber. Yea the Centurion added his owne words, full of cruelty against *Drusus*, as a matter worthy praise; and *Drusus* answer againe as he fainted and drew towards his end: in which, raving as though he had been distracted of his wits, wished *Tiberius* all ill luck and misfortune: and then seeing himselfe past all hope of life, cursed him most deadly, praying the gods, that as he had slaine his daughter in law, his brothers son, and his nephewes, and filled all his house with blood; so they would revenge and punish him for an example to his name, his stock, predecessors, and posterity. The Lords of the Senate were troubled with these speeches, making shew of detesting them, but they were stricken into a feare and admiration; that hee, who had been so cunning and crafty heretofore in cloaking his lewdnesse, should now become so confident, that (as though the wals were throwne downe) he durst shew that his nephew beaten by his Centurion and stricken by his

slaves,

slaves should ask for meat in vaine to save his life. This griefe was scarce gone, but the next news were of *Agrippina*, whom I think since *Sejanus* death untill now lived with hope; and seeing that crueltie was no whit remitted, willingly ended her life; unlesse that furnished for want of sustenance, it was falsely given out shee died that death of her selfe. For *Tiberius* layd grievous crimes to her charge, accusing her of uncleannesse of life; and that *Asinius Gallus* was the adulterer; and that seeing him dead, shee loathed any longer to live. But in very deed *Agrippina* not contented with reason, and greedy of rule, taking upon her cares fit rather for men then women, had shaken off all vices incident to her own sexe. Shee died the selfe same day that two yeeres before *Sejanus* died, which *Cæsar* thought worthy of record, and vaunted that shee had neither been strangled, nor throwne headlong from the Gemonies. For this he had thanks given him by the Senate, and order taken that the fiftene Kalends of November, which was the day they both died, some gift should be offered up to *Jupiter*. Not long after *Cocceius Nerva*, who was continually at the Princes elbow: a man very expert in divine and humane lawes, being in perfect disposition of body, resolved with himselfe to die: which when *Tiberius* understood, he went to visit him, sate by him, and inquired the causes of his intention, and intreated him; confessing at last that it would be a burden to his conscience, and a discredit, if the chiefe of his friends should without cause of death shew himselfe weary of life. But *Nerva* disliking his speech, would take no more sustenance. Those which best knew his meaning, gave out, that deeply seeing into what calamities the common-wealth was like to fall into, moved with anger and feare, whilest his credit was untouched, and his person unattempted, would end his life with that honest death. *Agrippinaes* ruine driven with it (which is scarce credible) *Planciaes* destruction. Shee had been once wife unto *Gn. Piso*, and rejoyced openly at *Germanicus* death; and when *Piso* was slaine, shee was saved no lesse by *Augustaes* prayers, then ill will the bare *Agrippina*. As soone as hatred and favour failed, right took place; and being accused of known crimes, with her owne hand received rather late then undeserved punishment. Among other griefes in a dolefull and sad city, this was one; that *Livia*, daughter unto *Drusus*, once *Neroes* wife, married againe into *Rubellius Blandus* family, whose grandfather *Tiburtes* a gentleman of Rome most men knew. In the end of this yeer, the death of *Aelius Lamia* was celebrated with funerals proper to a Censor, who at last being discharged of the Government of Syria which he had in shew onely, was made governour of the city. He was descended of a noble stock, and was a strong lively old man, and the government of the province denied him, augmented his worth. Then *Flaccus Pomponius* Propretor of Syria being dead, *Cæsars* letters were recited, in which he complained, that if there were any notable man, and fit to rule an armie, he refused the charge: and therefore he was forced through that necessitie to intreat such as had been Consuls, to take upon them the rule of the provinces; forgetting that *Arruntius* had been hindered ten yeers from going into Spaine. The same yeer died *M. Lepidus*, of whose moderation and wisdom I have spoken sufficient in other books; and his nobility needeth no farther proofe: for the *Æmilian* family hath brought forth many good citizens; and although some of them have been of corrupt manners, yet lived in good and honorable estate.

VII. *Aphænix scene in Egypt: how Getulicus escaped Tiberius cruelty.*

VHen *Paullus Fabius*, and *L. Vitellius* were Consuls, after many ages were past the birde Phœnix came into Egypt, and ministred matter to the most learned of the countrey, and also Greekes, of disputing many things concerning that miracle. Of which it seemeth good unto mee to lay downe such things as they agree of, and many which rest doubtfull, yet notwithstanding worthy the knowledge. That that birde is consecrated to the sunne, and that it differeth in the beake, and variety of feathers from other birds; all do accord which have described her shape and forme; but of the number of her yeeres there are divers reports. The common opinion is, that she liveth five hundred yeeres; some affirme that shee liveth a thousand foure hundred threescore and one yeere. And the first of these kinds of birds flew to the citie called Heliopolis, with a great multitude of other birds with her, wondering at her new shape in *Sesostris* time, after that in *Amasis* and *Ptolemeus* reigne, which of the Macedonians was the third king of Egypt. But antiquity is darke and obscure. Betwixt *Ptolemeus* reigne and *Tiberius* there were scarce two hundred and fifty yeeres. Whereupon some thought that this was no true Phœnix, nor come from the land of Arabia, and that it had nothing of that which antiquity hath attributed and confirmed to be in that kind. For when they have ended the number of their yeeres, and that their end approacheth, they build their nest in their countrey, and in it cast seed of generation; of which a young one doth rise; whose first care is, being growne to ripeness, to bury the old. And that not at all adventures, but having taken up a certaine weight of the stone Murrha, and tried the carrying of it along journey: when she perceiveth her selfe able to indure and carry such a burthen, and to accomplish the voyage, she lifteth up her fathers body, and carrieth it to the Altar of the Sunne, and there doeth burne and sacrifice it. These things are uncertain, and fabulously augmented. But that that bird is scene sometimes in Egypt is not doubted. But murders continuing at Rome, *Pomponius Laëus*, whom as I have said, was governor of *Mæsia*, by cutting his veins, let out with his blood his life, and *Paxæa* his wife followed his example. The feare they had of dying by the hand of the hangman, did cause them thus so readily to kill themselves: because such as were condemned, lost their good and wanted buriall: but their bodies which slew themselves were buried, and their testaments stood good; which was the gaine and reward of making hast. But *Cæsar* sent letters unto the Senate, declaring it to be a custome among the ancients, that when they intended to breake of friendship with any, they forbade them their house, and that then the friendship ended, which he had done to *Laëus*: who blamed for evil government in the province, and other matters, covered his fault by accusing others, vainely putting his wife in feare, who was out of danger though not without fault. After this *Mamercus Scaurus* was accused againe, of a noble house, and a great Orator; yet of reprochfull life. His friendship had with *Sejanus* did nothing hurt him, but the hatred which *Macro* bare him was his overthrow, who practised the same arts that *Sejanus* had done, but more covertly. The accusation was an argument of a Tragedy written by *Scaurus* containing verses which might be wrested against *Tiberius*. But *Servilius* and *Cornelius* his accusers objected against him, that he had abused his body with *Livia*, and offered magicall sacrifices. *Scaurus* as a thing worthy of the ancient *Æmilian* family; preventeth his condemnation

tion by killing himselfe at the encouragement of his wife *Sexitia*; who was both an encourager and partaker of his death. Notwithstanding if occasion were given he punished the accusers likewise: as *Servilius* and *Cornelius* famous by the death of *Seurius*, because they had taken money of *Varius Ligur*, to desist from the accusation, were perpetually banished into certaine Ilands. And *Abudus Ruso* once *Edile*, whilest he went about to procure danger unto *Lentulus Getulicus*, under whom hee had charge of a Legion, because he had purposed to marry his daughter to *Sejanus* sonne, was condemned without accusation, and driven out of the City. *Getulicus* at that time had charge over the Legions of higher Germany, and had gotten exceeding love for his clemency and small severity; and of the next Army well beloved by meanes of *L. Apronius* his father in law. Whereupon the constant report was that he was so bold as to write unto *Cæsar*: That the affinity betwixt him and *Sejanus* was begun, not of his owne motion and desire, but thorow *Tiberius* counsell; and that as well he as *Tiberius* might be deceived; and that the selfe same errorr could not be to him alone dangerlesse, and to others utter ruine; for his part that his loyalty was trusty and sure, and so would continue; if snares had not beene layd to intrap him; that he would accept of a successor in his charge no otherwise then of a messenger of death; and therefore that they should strike as it were an agreement, by which the Prince should be master of the rest, and that he would keepe and hold the Province. Although these things seeme very strange; yet were they beleevd, because he alone of all *Sejanus* liefmen escaped without danger, and continued in great favour and grace. The reason why, was, because *Tiberius* thought with himselfe being now aged and hated of all men, that his estate would rather continue by fame, then force.

VIII. *The Parthians complained on Artabanus; in whose roome Tiberius placeth Phrahates: Pharasmanes gaineth a battell against Orodes King of Armenia.*

VHen *C. Cestius*, and *M. Servilius* were Consuls, certaine Noblemen of Parthia came to Rome, without the privity of *Artabanus* their King. He for feare of *Germanicus* was faithfull to the Romans, and just towards his subjects: but after *Germanicus* death became proud toward us, and cruell towards his Subjects; confident by reason of prosperous successe in warres had against his borderers, and despising *Tiberius* as weake, old, and unfit for warres, and greedy also of Armenia, into which after the death of King *Artaxia*, he put his eldest sonne *Arfaces* as governour, injuring them with contumelious speeches. Then sent to redemand the treasury and riches left in Syria and Cilicia by *Vonones*, and withall, vaine-gloriously bragged and threatened that he would invade and conquer the ancient bounds and limits of the Persians and Macedonians, and recover all that had beene possessed by *Cyrus* and *Alexander*. But the principall author and perswader of sending secret messengers to Rome was *Sinnaces*, a man both noble and wealthy; and next unto him *Abdus* an Eunuch: a matter of no disgrace among the Barbarians, nor barre to credit and authority. These two drawing the principall noble men of the countrey to them, because they could have none of the bloud of the *Arfacides* to be their King, most of them being slaine by *Artabanus*, or under yeeres, demanded *Phrahates* King *Phrahates* sonne which was at Rome: for, said they, there needed no more but the name and consent of *Cæsar*, and one of the bloud of *Arfaces* to shew himselfe upon the bankes of *Euphrates*. That did *Cæsar* desire and provided

provided for him accordingly with preparations and necessaries to seate him in his fathers kingdome, holding still his secret drift by entertaining forraign countries, by sleights and policy in warre, to keepe all quiet at home. In the meane space *Artabanus* understanding what was wrought against him, at the first was slow, and lingered for feare; then boyling with desire of revenge. For barbarous people count temporizing and delay, as base and servile; and to goe through presently their designements, a royall point. Yet profit took place, and thereupon sending for *Abdus* under colour of amity to a banquet, gave him a lingering poison, and entertained *Sinnaces* with fained friendship and gifts, and busied him in other imployments. But *Phrahates* arrived in Syria, and laying aside the Romanes manner of living, in which he had beene so many yeers nourished, giving himselfe to the Parthian usage and unable to brook it, fell sick, and died. Yet *Tiberius* held on his determination, and chose *Tiridates* one of the same stock, and an enemy to *Artabanus*; and incited *Mithridates Hiberius* to recover Armenia, and reconciled him to his brother *Pharasmanes*, which then possessed that Empire; and maketh *L. Vitellius* generall over all this preparation of the Orient. I am not ignorant what a sinister report ranne of him in the city, and with what infamous matters he was touched: yet in governing of the Provinces he demeaned himselfe according to the vertue of ancient times. But returning from thence, through the fear of *Cæsar*, & familiarity of *Claudius* being changed into a base and abject servility, became a patterne unto posterity of shameful flattery; and so his first vertues gave place to his latter vices; and the vertuous acts of his youth, his infamous old age defaced. Of these petty Kings *Mithridates* first induced *Pharasmanes* to further his endeavours by policy and force: and corrupters were found which for great sums of gold entised *Araces* ministers to kill him; and thorow *Hiberius* great power they entered Armenia, and took the City *Artaxata*. When *Artabanus* understood of these dealings, he furnished his sonne *Orodes* with things necessary to revenge, and giveth him the strength of the Parthians; and dispatcheth others to levy hired souldiers to give him aide. On the other side, *Pharasmanes* drew the Albanians and Sarmates to his party, whose Princes (called *Scepruchi*) having received gifts on both sides according to the manner of their Country, gave aide to both sides. But the *Hiberi* being masters of the passages, thrust suddenly the Samatian forces on the Armenians by the Caspian way. But those which came from the Parthians were easily driven backe, because the enemy had shut up all the other passages, one excepted; which was betwixt the sea and the hils of the Albani, which could not serve their purpose, by reason it was summer: for the Easterne winds fill up the shallow foordes and the shore: the South winter wind keepe backe the flood, and leaves the shallow shore bare and naked. In the meane space *Pharasmanes* having reentforced his strength, challengeth *Orodes* to fight, being destitute of allies and unfurnished of men: and if he refused or shifted off he braved him under his nose; and hard by his campe wasted his stover; and often compassed him about as if he had besieged him: till the Parthians not accustomed to endure such bravadoes, came about their King, and demanded battell. Their strength consisted in their horse-men, and *Pharasmanes* in foot-men and horse-men both. For the *Hiberi* and Albani inhabiting mountainous places, were better accustomed to hardnes and travell. They say they came out of *Theflalia* at such times as *Iason*, after he had carried away *Medea* and begotten children by her, returned to the empty court of *Aeeta* and uninhabited *Colchos*: and report many wonders of his name, and the Oracle of *Phryxus*. Neither dare any man sacrifice a Ram, because it is thought that *Phryxus* was carried on one, be it, this Ram were a beast or a ship

which bare those arms. The battell pitched in order on both sides: the *Parthian* put his souldiers in minde of the Empire of the East; and the renowned nobility of the *Arfacides*: and contrariwise debated *Hiberius* as ignoble, and flying to mercenary souldiers. *Pharasmales* on the other side, declared that he was never yet subject to the *Parthian* rule; and that the greater their enterprize, the greater their glory if they were the conquerers: or if they turned their backs, the greater dishonour, infamy and danger: withall he shewed him his owne host dreadfull, and the *Medians* painted with gold: on his own side, men; on the other, booty. Among the *Sarmates* the Captaine onely was not heard; but every man encouraged each other not to abide the shot, but prevent the enemy rushing in courageously to handy stroakes. Divers manners of fights were there seene in that battell: when as the *Parthian* accustomed with like skill to fly and follow, severed his squadrons to make way for the arrowes to light. The *Sarmates* laying aside their bowes which steeled them but a short time, ran into the enemy with their swords and launces; sometimes were in the front, sometimes in their backs, as if they had been horse-men: sometimes close ranked with their bodies and weapons thrust back, and bare downe the enemy, and were borne downe againe. The *Albini* also and *Hiberi* behaved themselves in like manner; now catching hold of the enemy; now thrusting him downe; the battell growing doubtfull on their side, the horsemen and footmen pressing in and giving them many wounds. Whilest this fight thus continued, *Pharasmales* and *Orodes*, each encouraging his stoutest, or comforting those which began to stagger and waver, being in fight the one of the other: and therefore knowing the one the other, with a great clamour, armour and horses ran one against another; but more fiercely *Pharasmales*: for he wounded his enemy through the head peece: yet being carried away with his horse, was not able to redouble his stroke; the stoutest of his followers presently defending the wounded. Neverthelesse, a rumour, falsely beleved that he was slaine, appaled the *Parthians*, and caused them to yeeld the victory.

IX. *Sinnaces* rebelleth against *Artabanus* King of *Parthia*.
Tiridates is put in his place.

Immediately after, *Artabanus* gathering together his whole strength out of all parts of his Countrey, pursueth a revenge on the *Hiberi*, saying that they had the better of the battell, through skilfulnesse of place; and therefore would never desist; if *Vitellius* by assembling the Legions, had not given out that he meant to invade *Mesopotamia*, thereby striking him into a feare of the *Romane* forces. Then *Artabanus* leaving *Armenia*, left all good fortune behinde him, *Vitellius* enticing his subjects to abandon their King, as one in peace cruell, and in warres unfortunate. *Sinnaces* whom as I have said, was utter enemy to *Artabanus*, had secret conference with *Abdageses* his father and others: and by continuall overthrows and losses which they suffered, drew easily unto him such as were most ready to revolt: they also repairing to him by little and little, which were subject unto *Artabanus* rather for feare then good will: very glad they had found Captaines to follow, took courage unto them. By this time *Artabanus* had no refuge left, save onely a few strangers for the guard of his person, banished from their owne dwellings: a people not understanding what is good, nor having a care of that which is nought: but hired for gaine, are instruments of what mischief soever. Accompanied with these, he hasteneth his flight to the frontiers of his Countrey, joyning upon *Scythia*; hoping for

for succour, because he was allied to the *Hircanians* and *Carmanians*; having a hope likewise, that the *Parthians* alwaies indifferently bent to the absent, and unconstant and fickle to the present, would in the meane space change their minde, and receive him againe. But *Vitellius* seeing *Artabanus* fled, and the mindes of the countrey people enclined to a new King, encouraging *Tiridates* to take that which was offered; conducted the legions and allies to the banks of *Euphrates*. And as they were sacrificing and offering according unto the custome of the *Romanes*, *Suovetaurilia*, a Boare, Ramme and Bull, the others made ready a Horse, to pacifie the god of that river: the inhabitants of *Euphrates* brought word, that without any great raine, of his owne accord the river was exceedingly risen; and withall that the white froth made circles as it were the forme of a diademe, which was a presage of a prosperous passage: but some did interpret them more subtilly, gathering thereby that the beginnings of their attempts should be lucky; but have small continuance, because that there was more credit to be given to those things which were portended by the earth and heaven; and that the quality and nature of rivers was unconstant, and running away; and would no sooner shew a token of good luck, but take it away againe: but having made a bridge with vessels, and passed over his armie, the first which came to the campe was *Ornospades*, with many thousands of horsemen. This *Ornospades* once a banished man, brought no small ayd to *Tiberius* when he made warre in *Dalmatia*, and for that service was made citizen of *Rome*. After this, entering anew into the kings favour, he made him ruler of all that countrey which lieth betweene two famous rivers, *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*; and therefore tooke the name of *Mesopotamia*. Not long after *Sinnaces* augmented his forces, and *Abdageses* the stay of that side joyned unto them the wealth and preparation of the king. *Vitellius* thinking it enough only to have shewne the *Romans* power, advertised *Tiridates* and the chiefe noble men of *Parthia*, but especially *Tiridates*, that he would alwaies have in minde as things worth remembrance, *Phrabates* his grandfather, *Cesar* his bringing up; the nobles to be dutifull to their King; shew reverence unto us; and every man to have a care of his credit, and fidelitie: and from thence turned back with the legions into *Syria*. I have joyned together things done in two summers, to recreate the mind of the reader, wearied with domesticall adversities. But *Tiberius* although three yeeres were past and gone since the death of *Sejanus*, could not be appeased neither by time, nor prayers, nor nor by punishing his fill (things wont to mollifie other men) but would punish uncertaine and stale things gone and past, as manifest offences, and newly committed. Whereupon *Fulcinus Trio* fearing this dealing, and not able to endure the accusers which were now bruining matter against him; in his last will and Testament composed many cruell things against *Macro*, and certaine of the chiefe of *Cesars* freedmen: objecting against himselfe, that he had a feeble and unconstant head through age, and that by his continuall absence he differed little from a banished man. Which things being concealed by *Trios* heires, *Tiberius* commanded publicly to be recited; shewing thereby patience in another mans liberty, and small regard of his owne infamy: or else because he was ignorant of *Sejanus* villanies untill that time; and content that all things how ever they were spoken, should come to light, and have the truth knowne (which flattery often hindreth) rather to his owne shame and reproach then not at all. The same time *Granius Martianus* a Senator, being accused of treason by *C. Gracchus*, slew himselfe. *Tatius Gracianus* likewise who had been Pretor, and condemned to die by the same law. Not unlike deaths unto the former had *Trebellienus Rufus*, and *Sext. Paconianus*: for *Trebellienus* killed himselfe with

his owne hands; and *Paconianus* was strangled in prison, because he had there composed certaine verses against the Prince. *Tiberius* did not receive these newes, divided from Italy by sea, or by messengers a far off, as he was wont to doe; but neere unto the City where he might the same day or the next morning, answer the Senators letters, as it were looking upon the blood of the Citizens, flowing in their houses; and the hand of the executioners. In the end of this yeere, *Poppaeus Sabinus* gave up his ghost; a man of meane parentage, yet through the favour of Princes had beene Confull and triumphed: and governour over the greatest Provinces foure and twenty yeeres: not for any excellent skill that was in him, yet able to discharge the office, and no more.

X. *The Clites rebell against Archelaus King of Cappadocia. Tiridates King of Parthia his conquests. Artabanus being recalled, driveth out Tiridates.*

Quintus *Plantius*, and *Sent. Papinius* were Consuls the yeere following. The yeere the people of Rome were so inured to calamities, that they thought it not hard dealing that *L. Aruseius* and others were put to death: but they were greatly dismayed to see *Vibulenus Agrippa* a gentleman of Rome immediatly after the accusers had ended their oration in the Curia, to draw poison out of his bosome, and drinke it: and being fallen downe and yeelding up his ghost, yet to be in all haist carried by the sergeants to prison, & already halfe dead, incontinently to be strangled. No not *Tigranes*, who had been sometimes King of Armenia, but then arraigned, could with his royall title escape the same punishment that was inflicted upon bare citizens. *C. Galba* sometime Confull, and two of the *Blasi* died of a voluntary death. *Galba*, because by *Cesar* hard & rigorous letters he was forbidden to cast lots for the government of the Province: the *Blasi*, because that the priesthoods which were destined unto their house whilest it was in prosperity; and now being decayed deferred, and bestowed upon others when they were vacant; which they construed as a prognosticate of death, and therefore did execute it themselves. *Aemilia Lepida*, whom as I have before told you, was married unto young *Drusus*, charging him with divers crimes, although she were most lewd and wicked, yet escaped scottfree and unpunished whilest *Lepidus* her father lived; but afterwards shee was convinced of manifest adultery with one of her bondmen: and therefore laying aside all defence, ended her life with her owne hands. At the same time the Clites, being a people of Cappadocia, and subject to *Archelaus*, because they were according unto our custome constrained to bring in the value of their yearly revenues, and pay tributes, fled to the hill *Taurus*; and there by the strong site of the place defended themselves against the weake forces of their King, untill *M. Trebellius* Lieutenant sent thither by *Vitellius* Lord president of Syria, with foure thousand legionaries, and certaine choise ayde souldiers, had compassed and environed with engins and works two hills which the Barbarians possessed, the lesser called *Cadra*, the other *Davara*; killing those which durst issue out with the sword, and forcing the rest to yeeld for want of water. But *Tiridates* ayded by the Parthians, recovered *Nicephorium*, and *Anthemusias*, and other townes which lying in Macedonia, yet are called by Greeke names: and *Halum*, and *Artemita*, townes of Parthia; striving who had best cause to rejoyce. *Artabanus* being odious unto them for his cruelty, as brought up among the Scythians: and hoping that *Tiridates* would be courteous and gentle, as trained up and fashioned after the Roman behaviour

haviour and education. The Seleucians used great flattery: their city is very strong, environed with wals, and not corrupted with barbarous fashions, but retained such as their founder *Seleucus* gave them. Their manner is to choose three hundred either for wealth or wisdom and of them make as it were a Senate. The people kept their part in government, and as long as they agree among themselves, the Parthian they feare not, but falling to jarres and contentions, whilest each side calleth for aide against his adversary: he who is called by one of the parties, mastereth both. That hapned of late under *Artabanus*, who for his owne commodity, made the people subject to the chiefe Gentlemen: where the people beare the sway, that government approacheth neere unto libertie: but the rule of a few is neere unto the will and pleasure of a King. When *Tiridates* was come among them, they honoured him with all those inventions that Kings had beene honoured with in times past, and with such as latter ages have more abundantly invented. Withall, they powred out many reprochfull speeches against *Artabanus*; confessing that he was indeede descended of the *Arfacides* on the mothers side, but in other points nothing futable. *Tiridates* committed the government of the Seleucians to the discretion of the people; then consulting what day he should be crowned, received *Phrabates* and *Hieroes* letters, which had two the strongest governments of that kingdome, intreating him that he would defer it for some small time, which to satisfie those great men he yeelded unto. In the meane time he went to *Ctesiphon* the royall seat of the kingdome, and perceiving that they prolonged from one day to another, *Sewena* with the good liking of many, in a great assembly crowned *Tiridates*, according to the custome of the Countrey. And if he had out of hand entred farther within the countrey, and other Nations, those lingerers had been put out of all doubt, and all yeelded obedience unto one. But staying too long at the Castle whither *Artabanus* had conveyed his money and his Concubines, he gave him time to leape back from their agreements. For if *Phrabates* and *Hiero* and some others came not at the day appointed to the coronation, some for feare, some for malice and hate to *Abdageses*, who then possessed the new King, and was the onely favourite in Court, turned to *Artabanus*, whom they found in Hyrcania meanly and ill-favouredly attired, killing with his bow food for his sustenance. At the first hee was greatly afraid, as though some traine had beene laide to intrap him, but when they had given him their credit and faith, that their coning was to restore him to his kingdome, his spirits were revived, and inquireth what sudden change had hapned. Then *Hiero* finding fault with *Tiridates* said, that he was but a childe, and that the *Arfacides* governed not the kingdome, but the vaine name and title was in an unwarlike person, softly and tenderly brought up among strangers, and that *Abdageses* was he which ruled and commanded all. *Artabanus* knowing of old what it was to rule, perceived well that those which found fallshood in friendship, dissembled not: and therefore making no longer delay then he could assemble the Scythians forces and aide, setteth forward with all speed to prevent the wills of his enemies, and keepe his friends from slipping back; yea, he did not so much as wipe off the filth and uncleanness of his body, because he would move the common people to compassion. There was no subtilty, no prayer, nor ought else forgotten, whereby he might draw the doubtfull to him, or confirme and assure the willing and ready. He came then with a strong power unto the places adjoyning to Seleucia, when as *Tiridates* stricken into a feare with the fame and person of *Artabanus*, was distracted in minde whether he should encounter him, or draw out the war by lingering. Such as desired battell and quick worke, perswaded that the enemy was dispersed, and stragled, and wearied with their long journey, and scarce resolved to obey *Artabanus* being so lately Trai-

tors and enemies unto him, though now his support and aid. But *Abdageses* thought it best to returne into Mesopotamia, that having the river as a defence between him and the enemy, calling in the meane space the Armenians and Elymæi & the residue which were behind them; and their forces augmented with allies and friends & such as the Roman captain would fend them, then to trie the chance of war. That advise prevailed because of *Abdageses* authority & *Tiridates* rawnesse in matters of danger: yet that retiring differed not so much from fleeing: the Arabiās first lead in the dance the rest drawing to their houses or to *Artabanus* Campe; untill *Tiridates* returning back into Syria with a small company, acquitted them all of the infamy of treason.

XI. *Tiberius repaireth, with his owne charges, that part of Rome which was burnt: how Macro wonne C. Cæsars favour.*

THe same yeer Rome was greatly damnified with fire; that part of the Cirque which joyned unto the hill Aventine and all the buildings also upon Aventine being wasted and consumed to ashes, which losse *Cæsar* converted to his glory by giving the owners out of his purse as much as the losse of their houses & buildings came unto, which munificence amounted * to a hundred millions of sesterces, which was so much the more acceptable to the people, because that in his owne buildings he was alwaies moderate. Neither ever had he made above two publike buildings the one a Temple to *Augustus*, the other the stage of *Pompeius* Theatre: which being finished, yet he left undedicated; either as despising ambition or by reason of his age. And to make an estimat of every mans losse *Tiberius* foure sons in law were chosen, *Gn. Domitius*, *Cassius Longinus*, *M. Vinicius* and *Rubellius Blandus*, and *P. Petronius* joyned with them by the Consuls appointment: every man inventing new honours for the Prince, as his wit and capacity would give him leave: which whether he accepted or refused was uncertain by reason of his death which followed shortly after. For not long after the last Consuls in *Tiberius* reigne, *G. Accronius* and *C. Pontius* began their charge, when *Macro*s power and credit was grown over great, which he increased more and more with *C. Cæsar*, although before he was never negligent therein. And after *Claudias* death (who as I have already said was married unto that *Cæsar*) he egged and perswaded his owne wife *Ennia*, to allure and draw the young man to her love, & intangle him under promise of marriage, as one which would do whatsover to lay hold on the soveraignty. For although he were of a turbulent and hot spirit: notwithstanding he had as it were sucked out of his grandfathers bosome the art of cunning dissembling, *Tiberius* knew this very well, and therefore was not resolved which of his nephews he should first make successor to the state. Of which the one was *Drusus* sonne neereft unto him in blood, and whom he tendered best; but was under age: and *Germanicus* son the other, in the flower of his youth, and of the people well beloved; and therefore the worse liked of his grandfather. And bethinking himselfe of *Claudius*, seeing he was of staied and settled yeers, and desirous of learning; yet altered his deliberation because he was weake and slender witted. And yet if he should look for a successor out of his house, he feared lest the memory of *Augustus*, and the name of *Cæsars* should be had in reproch and contempt. For he was not so carefull to win the favour of the time present, as ambitious of fame with posterity. But in the end irresolute what to conclude and growing weak and feeble of body, that which was out of the compasse of his power he committed to fate: having notwithstanding cast out speeches, whereby he might be perceived that he had a care of things to come; for not going about the bussh, but in plain termes he upbraided *Marco* that he turned his back to the West, and looked alwaies toward the sunrising. And hapning by chance that some speech was had of *L. Sulla*, whom *C. Cæ-*

* About
781250.
pound.

far was wont to laugh and scoffe at, *Tiberius* foretold him that he should have all his vices, but not so much as one of his vertues. And withall imbracing the youngest of his nephewes with weeping teares, the other looking on with an envious eie, said unto him; thou shalt kill him, and another shall kill thee. Yet his sicknes growing more and more upon him, he omitted not any part of his wanton and uncleane lusts, counterfeiting and putting on a face of courage even in his weaknesse and infirmity: & was wont to mocke at the Physitians skill, that after 30. yeeres space they wanted other mens counsell to know what is good or hurtfull for their owne bodies. In the meane time, at Rome there were certaine seeds of murders sowne, to take effect after *Tiberius* death. *Lælius Balbus* had accused *Acutia*, sometimes the wife of *P. Vitellius*, of treason, who being condemned; when a recompense was to be ordained for the accuser, *Iunius Otho* Tribune of the people withstood it; whereupon they two growing to a jarre, *Otho* was sent into banishment. Then *Albucilla* infamous for loose love with many, and once wife to *Satrius Secundus*, the detector of the conspiracie, was accused of certaine impieties and enchantments against the prince: and with her as confederates, her adulterers *Gn. Domitius*, *Vibius Marfus*, *L. Arruntius*. Of *Domitius* nobility I have spoken before. *Marfus* also was an ancient stock, and endued with many good vertues. But the memoriall sent unto the Senate doth testify that *Macro* had charge of the examination of the witnesses, and torture of the bondmen: and the Emperors letters gave no token of suspicion against them; either because he was weake & feeble; or because he knew nothing of it: and many crimes were forged by *Macro* known enemy to *Arruntius*. *Domitius* therefore premeditating his defence; and *Marfus* as though he had purposed to pine away by famishing himselfe, prolonged their lives. *Arruntius* whilest his friends perswaded him not to be hasty, but linger on; answereth them; That the same things do not besee me all men alike: & that for his owne part, he had lived long enough, & had no other thing to repent him of, but that he had among so many vaine mockeries and perils prolonged his heavy & carefull old age: having beene long hated of *Sejanus*, now of *Macro*; and alwaies of some one of the mightiest: not through any fault of his; but because he could not endure wickednes. True it is, he might linger out during the short time the Prince hath to live: but how should he escape the yong Prince that is to come? If *Tiberius* after such long experience in affaires; by the force of rule and dominion hath changed and altered: it is to be hoped that *C. Cæsar*, who is yet scarce out of his childhood, unexpert and unacquainted with all things; or brought up and trained in the lewdest, should follow a better course, having *Macro* for his guide: who being chosen to oppresse *Sejanus*, because he was worse then he, afflicted the commonwealth with greater calamity. I foresee (said he) a heavier servitude, and therefore I will flee as well from that which is already past, as that which is at hand. Speaking these things as it had been in manner of a prophesie, he cut his veins. It shal appeare by those things which ensued, that *Arruntius* died in good time. *Albucilla* having wounded herselfe with a blow given without effect, was carried to prison. The ministers of her whoredome *Grasidius Sacerdos*, who had bin Pretor, was banished into an Iland, and *Pontius Fregellanus* condemned to be put from the Senate: the said punishments were decreed against *Lælius Balbus*, by these themselves which were glad of it; because *Balbus* was thought to use his eloquence cruelly, as one alwaies at hand and ready against the innocent.

XII. *Tiberius death.*

ABout the same time, *Sext. Papinius* descended of a Consularie familie chose a sudden and ill favoured death, by casting himselfe headlong from a high place. The

far

The cause was attributed to his mother, who having been long before put away from her husband, by flattering speeches & lascivious wantonnes, induced the yong man unto that villany; that to avoid the discredit with her he could find no remedy but death. She being accused in Senat, albeit she prostrated herselfe at her Lords feet & long shewed her common griefe, and womens weaknes, in such desires, and other lamentable and pitifull mournings, witnessing her dolour and griefe; yet was banished the city 10. yeeres, untill her youngest son was past the unconstant slipperines of his youth. Now *Tiberius* body & strength began to forsake him; but not yet his dissimulation. He had the same courage and vigour of mind; his countenance and voice was strong; & desiring sometimes to be pleasant, cloaked his manifest decay of strength. And often changing, at last settled himselfe in a promontory of Misenum, in a house which sometime *Lucullus* had bin Lord of; where it was knowne that his death was at hand by this meanes. There was a Physitian very skilful in his art called *Charicles*; yet never accustomed to govern the prince in his sicknes, but to assist him with his counsel. This phisitian departing from *Tiberius*, as it had bin about some busines of his own under color of duty taking him by the had, felt the puls of his veins: but yet he could not use the matter so cunningly, but the Emperor perceived him. Whether *Tiberius* were offended with him or not, it was uncertain; & if he were so much the more suppressing his anger, caused meat to be made ready, & otherwise then his custome had bin, sitteth down, as it had bin in honor of his friends farewell. *Charicles* nevertheless assured *Macro* that his spirits decayed, and that he could not live above two dayes. Whereupon great debating of matters passed among those which were present; and messengers posted away to the lieutenants & armies. The 17. of the Kalends of April, his breath being stopped, he was thought to have ended his mortall life. Then *C. Caesar* with a great multitude flocking about him, & congratulating his good fortune, went forth to take upon him the Empire: when news came on the sudden that *Tiberius* was come to his speech & sight again, & that meat was called for to put him out of his swooning: upon this they were all stroken into a great feare; & disperfed themselves some one way, some another; every man counterfeiting a sad cheere & ignorance of all this. And *C. Caesar* stroken dombe in the top of his hope, expected his last doome. *Macro* resolute and stout, commanded the old man to be smothered, by casting many clothes on him, & every man to depart from the doore. And so *Tiberius* ended his life, the 78. yeere of his age. He was *Neroes* sonne, and on both sides extracted from the Claudian family; although his mother went by adoption into the *Livian* family, and after that into the *Julian*. He had doubtfull fortunes from his first infancy, for being a banished man, he followed his father, who was proscribed; and being brought into *Augustus* house as his son in law, was greatly malignated at the time that *Marcellus* & *Agrippa*, and afterward *Caius* & *Lucius Caesar* lived. Yea his brother *Drusus* was better beloved then he, of the citizens; but after he had married *Julia*, his slippery estate was tied to two great inconveniences, which was either to endure the incontinency of his wife, or go from her. After that, returning from *Rhodes*, he lived twelve yeers in the princes house which had no children, then possessed the Empire almost 23. yeers. He changeth his manners diversly according to the times. Whilest he was a private man, he was of good life and credit, and had commendations under *Augustus*. He was close and crafty in counterfeiting vertues whilest *Germanicus* and *Drusus* lived: and whilest his mother lived he kept a meane sometimes good and sometimes bad. For cruelty he was infamous; but lascivious lusts, as long as he loved or feared *Sejanus*, secret. In the end he burst into all wickednesse, dishonesty, and reproach; after that having cast away shame and feare, he governed himselfe wholly according unto his owne disposition and nature.

THE

THE ELEVENTH BOOK OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. The death of Asiaticus, and Poppæa.

¶ The beginning of this Book is wanting.

EOr he beleaved, that *Valerius Asiaticus* who had been twice Consul, had in times past committed adultery with *Poppæa*: withall, greedily gaped after those gardens which he bought of *Lucullus*, and beautified and trimmed most stately. *Suilius* was suborned to accuse them both: *Sossius*, *Germanicus* bringer up, was joyned with him; who under colour of friendship, counselleth *Claudius* to beware of such as were strong and rich, as men dangerous unto the state: and that *Asiaticus* the principall author of murdering *Cæsar*, feared not to avouch it in a full assembly of the people of Rome, and challenge the glory of the fact unto himselfe. He was famous in the City for it, and a rumour spread through out the Province, that hee prepared a voyage toward *Germanicus* Army, because that being borne at Vienna, and strengthened with strong and great kindred, he thought it an easie matter to stirre up his Countrey-men. But *Claudius* making no farther inquirie, sent *Crispinus* the Captaine of the Guard with a band of ready souldiers, as though it had beene to suppress a warre: who finding him at Baias, laid irons upon him, and drew him to the Citie, where he was not licensed to be heard of the Senate, but in the Emperours chamber, in the presence of *Messalina*. There *Suilius* accused him, that he had corrupted the souldiers, and wonne them by money and loose life to all wickednesse. Then charged him with adultery with *Poppæa*, and unnaturall dishonesty of body. At that, although hee were commanded to silence, hee burst forth, and said: O *Suilius* aske thy children, and they will confesse me to be a man. And entring into his defence, *Claudius* being wonderfully moved, drew teares likewise from *Messalinas* eyes; who going out of the chamber to wipe them, giveth *Vitellius* warning not to suffer the party arraigned to escape. She maketh halt to overthrow *Poppæa*, sending some through the terrour of prison, to perswade her to kill her selfe: *Cæsar* being so ignorant thereof, that a few dayes after he asked her husband *Scipio* as he sate at table with him, why he had sate downe without his wife? who made him answer, that she was dead. But whilest *Claudius* consulted of *Asiaticus* deliverance, *Vitellius* with teares declaring how long time their friendship had continued, and how they two did reverence and honour *Antonia* the Princes Mother: then running over briefly his services towards the Common-wealth, and that so lately done in Britannia, and what else might seeme to move compassion; left it in the end to his owne choise what death he would choose; *Claudius* yeelding him the like clemency with like words. After this some perswading him, that to die with famine and abstinence was an easie death; he answered, that he rejected such favour: and therefore having done those exercises he was usually wont to doe, washed his body, and fed daintily, saying, that it had been a more commendable death to have died by *Tiberius* flynesse and cunning or *C. Cæsars* violence, then now by the treachery

chery of a woman, and *Vitellius* uncleane mouth: cut his veines, and having first seene the fire wherein his body was to be burned commanded it to be removed to another place, lest the thick ruffed-trees should be marred with the smoke: so small reckoning did he make of death.

II. Certain Romanes accused for a dreame. A treatise of advocates.

After this, the Lords of the Senate were called together, and *Suilius* goeth on, and accuseth certaine noble and renowned Gentlemen of Rome surnamed *Petra*. The cause of their death was, because they had lent their house unto *Mneſter* and *Poppæa*, when they had any cause of conference. But there was a dreame also objected against one of them, which was, that he dreamed he had seene *Claudius* crowned with a crowne of eares of corn, and the eares turned backward, interpreting that vision to signifie a dearth of corne. Some report it to have bene a garland of vine-branches with white leaves; which he saw in his dreame, and interpreted it to foretell, that the death of the Prince should follow at the end of Autumne. Whatsoever the dreame was, it is not to be doubted, but that he and his brother were both put to death. *Crispinus* had given him by decree of Senate *fifteene hundred thousand sesterces; and ornaments of the Pretor. *Vitellius* added *tenne hundred thousand sesterces to be given to *Sosibius*, because he had bene *Britannicus* Schoole-master, and *Claudius* Counsellor. *Scipio* being demanded his opinion, said: Seeing I doe think of *Poppæa* faults, that which all you doe thinke; perswade your selves that I doe say that which all you doe say; which was an excellent moderation and meane, shewing the love he bare her as his wife, and necessitie of giving sentence, being a Senator. *Suilius* never ceased from accusations, but prosecuted them with all crueltie: and many followed his audacities: for the Prince drawing unto himselfe all the duties of Laws and Magistrate, opened the way to robbery. Neither wasthere any merchandise more publicly bought and sold, then the perfidiouſnesse of advocates: infomuch, that *Samius* a worthy Gentleman of Rome, having given *Suilius* *four hundred thousand sesterces, to plead his cause; and after perceiving his prevarication and collusion; ran upon his sword in *Suilius* owne house. Then *C. Silius* Conſull elect (of whose authoritie and fall I will speak in convenient time) beginning to speake, the rest of the Senators rose up, and demanded earnestly that the law *Cincia* might be set on foot: by which it is provided of old, that for pleading of causes, no man should take either money or gift. Then they whom that injury seemed to touch, making a noise; *Silius* was eager and earnest against *Suilius*, contradicted him, alleading the Temple of Orators in times past. "Which esteemed fame with posterity, to be the fairest reward "of eloquence: otherwise, that the Princeſſe of good Arts should be disſtained "with the servitude of base lucre; and that no faith could be sincere and inviolate, "where excesse of gaine is regarded. And if causes should be defended without reward, there would be fewer of them; whereas now, enmities, accusations, hatred, "and injuries are fostered: and that as the multitude of diseases brought the Physicians gain, so the pestilent infection of the Bar, serveth now to enrich the Lawyers. "Let them call to minde *C. Asinius*, and *Messalla*, & of latter memory *Aruntius*, and "*Eſernius*, which were lifted up in the highest degree of dignitie, by their upright "life and uncorrupted eloquence. The Conſull elect uttering these speeches; the others approving the same; they went about to give judgement, that such should be condemned unto the like punishment as they were, who had by bribery and extortion polled and oppressed the Commons. When as *Suilius* and *Cossusianus* and others

* About 11781
pound 15 shill.
* About 7812.
pound 10 shill.

* About 3130.
pound.

others, which perceived that there should be no generall decree set downe, but a punishment for those which had been openly convicted; came about *Cæſar*, and besought him pardon of that which was past. And after a little silence, nodding with his head unto them, they began as followeth. "Who was he so puffed up with "pride, that would presume or hope for eternity of fame? that it was expedient men "should provide for necessary maintenance, lest through the want of advocates, the "poor be oppressed by the rich & mighty. Neither did eloquence come by chance "and gratis unto any without paine and labour: the care of a mans own family was "neglected, if he were occupied in another mans business: many maintained their "life by war; some by tilling the earth; no man laboured to attaine to any knowledge unless he had seen some commodity in it. It was an easie matter for *Asinius* "and *Messalla*, which were enriched with great rewards betwene *Antonius* and *Augustus* warres, to shew a gallant and brave minde: and for *Eſernius* and *Aruntius*, "heirs of rich houses, to doe the like. Examples were as ready for them to shew "for what great rewards *P. Claudius*, and *C. Curio* were wont to plead. As for "themselves, they were but meane Senators, which expected no gaine of the common-wealth, but such as grew of peace. The meanest of the people endeavoured "what he could to better his estate; the reward of studies being taken away, studies "doe also decay, as having neither glory nor honour. The Prince thinking that this was not spoken without ground of reason, moderated the summe which they should take unto *ten thousand sesterces, and that they which passed this sum, should be condemned of extortion.

* About 78.
pound 2.5.0.0.

III. Mithridates recovereth his kingdome. Warres betwene Gotarzes and Bardanes for the kingdome of Parthia.

About the same time, *Mithridates*, who as I have shewed governed Armenia, and was brought to *Cæſar*, returned into his kingdome at *Claudius* perswasion; trusting to the power of *Pharasmanes*, King of the Hiberi; and *Mithridates* brother; who told him that the Parthians were at variance among themselves, doubtfull what would become of the kingdome, and matters of smaller importance utterly neglected. For whilest *Gotarzes* practised great cruelties (going about to kill his brother *Artabanus*; his wife and his sonne; whereby the rest were afraide) they called in *Bardanes*, who being a man of action and able to goe thorow great enterprises, in two dayes invaded three thousand *Stadia, and chased out *Gotarzes*, all amazed and dismayed, not once dreaming of his coming: and without any lingering stayed on the next governments, the Seleucians only refusing to obey him. Whereupon inflamed with greater anger then the present occasion ministred cause, because they had revolted from his father; he besieged their City which was strong, and well fortified with a wall, invironed with a river and furnished with victuals and munition. In the meane time *Gotarzes* strengthened with the Daharian and Hyrcanian power, reneweth the war. And *Bardanes* enforced to abandon Seleucia, removed his campe to the champion country of the *Bracteri*. Then the forces of the Orient being divided and uncertaine which way to leane, *Mithridates* had opportunity offered him by chance to sease upon Armenia; and with the force of the Roman souldier, rase and beat downe the strong fortresses: the Hiberian campe at once waſting and spoiling the Champion. Neither did the Armenians make head at all against them: *Demonastes* their Governour being slaine, who onely durst have waged battle

* Eight Stadia
make an Italian
mile.

battell againſt them. *Cotys* King of leſſer Armenia did ſomewhat hinder them, ſome of the Nobles joyning with him. But afterward being rebuked by *Cæſars* letters, all turned unto *Mithridates* ſide, more cruell then was expedient in a kingdome newly gotten. But the Parthian Emperours making preparation to fight, ſuddenly conclude a peace, having diſcovered the treachery of their ſubjects, which *Gotarzes* bewraied unto his brother. At the firſt meeting they had a jealous conceit the one of the other; then taking one another by the right hand before the Altars of the gods, they promiſed and covenanted to revenge the treaſon of their enemies; and agree and helpe one another. *Bardanes* ſeemed moſt meete to poſſeſſe the kingdome. And *Gotarzes* becauſe there ſhould remaine no ſparkle of emulation went to *Hircania*. And *Bardanes* returning againe, *Seleucia* yeeldeth the ſeventh yeere after her revolt; not without diſcredit to the Parthians, whom one bare city had ſo long deſtroyed. Then he invadeth the ſtrongeſt Provinces, and began to recover Armenia: if *Vibius Marſus* Lieutenant of Syria, had not hindered him by threatening to warre againſt him. In the meane time *Gotarzes* repenting that he had yeelded the kingdome; and the nobility, unto whom obedience in peace ſeemeth hardeſt, calling him back againe, aſſembleth his forces together, whom *Bardanes* met at the river *Erindes*; where ſkirmiſhing long on both parts for the paſſages, *Bardanes* had the upper hand, and with prosperous battels ſubdued all the middle countries, unto the river *Gindes*, which divideth the Dahas from the Arii. There his fortunate ſucceſſes had an end: for the Parthians, although they were conquerours, yet liked not to make war ſo far off. Wherefore building Monuments in token of his wealth and power, and that none of the *Arſucides* had ever before levied any tribute of thoſe Nations, he returned with great glory: and therefore ſo much the more fierce and intolerable to his ſubjects; who having long before laid a ſnare to intrap him, killed him at unawares as he was a hunting, in the prime of his youth: few of the old Kings to be matched in renowne with him; if he had as well ſought the love of his ſubjects, as to be feared of his enemies. By the death of *Bardanes*, the Parthian affaires were in a huly burly; whileſt they wavered, whom they ſhould receive for their King. Many inclined to *Gotarzes*, ſonne to *Meherdates*, ſonne to *Phrahates*, who was given us in hoſtage. In the end *Gotarzes* prevailed; who injoying the Kings ſeat through crueltie and diſſolute life, forced the Parthians to ſend ſecretly to intreat the Roman Prince to releaſe *Meherdates*, and inveſt him in his fathers kingdome.

Meſſalina falleth in love with Silius.

THE ſame men being Conſuls, the playes called *Seculares*, were exhibited eight hundred yeers after the foundation of Rome, and threeſcore and foure yeers after thoſe which *Auguſtus* had cauſed then to be repreſented. I omit the reaſons which moved both theſe Princes, as ſufficiently declared in my bookes which I have compoſed of the acts of *Domitian* the Emperour: for he likewiſe did ſet forth the ſame playes, which I was preſent at, ſo much the more carefully, becauſe I was then one of the fifteene Priests, and Pretor. VVhich I ſpeak not to vaunt or bragge thereof, but becauſe that charge in times paſt was committed to the colledge of the fifteene, and magiſtrates did chiefly execute the office of ceremonies. *Claudius* ſitting to ſee the race, when the noble mens children repreſented on horſeback the play of Troy; and among them *Britannicus* the Emperours ſonne, and *L. Domitius* anon after adopted to the Empire, and ſurnamed *Nero*. The favour of the people

was

was more affectionate to him then *Germanicus*, which was taken as a preſage of his future greatneſſe. And it was rumoured abroad, that in his infancy dragons were found about him in manner of a guard, which are fables not unlike unto ſtrange miracles: for he himſelfe, who never derogated from himſelfe, was wont to report but of one ſerpent which was ſeene in his chamber. But that affection of the people was a relibue of the memory of *Germanicus*, who left no other male behinde him but he: and the commiſeration towards *Agrippina* his mother was increaſed, by reaſon of *Meſſalinaes* cruelty, who alwaies hating her, and now more then ever kindled againſt her, was hindred no way from forging of crimes, and ſuborning accuſers againſt her, ſaving onely by a new love and next coſen unto madnes. For ſhe did ſo burne in love with *C. Silius* the faireſt youth of all Rome, that to content her luſt, ſhe cauſed him to put from him his wife *Iunia Syllana*, an honourable dame, to enjoy wholly to herſelfe the adulterer, now untied from the bands of Matrimony. Neither was *Silius* ignorant how lewde the praſtiſe was, and what perill hee might incur: but if he reſuſed, certaine of his deſtruction; and having ſome hope to bleare the eyes of the world, and inticed with great rewards, he tooke it for the moſt expedient, to expect what might fall, and enjoy the preſent. Shee not by ſtealth, but with a great retinue frequented his houſe; was alwaies at his ſide; beſtowed wealth and honor bountifully upon him, and at laſt, as though fortune had transferred the Empire, ſlaves, freedmen, and all princely ornaments, and preparations were ſeen at the adulterers houſe. But *Claudius* not knowing what rule was at home, uſurped the office of a Cenſor; reprehended with ſevere edicts the overgreat licence the people uſed in the Theater, uſing opprobrious ſpeeches againſt *P. Pomponius* who had bene ſometime conſull (and gave verſes to the ſtage) and other noble women. He made a law to reſtrain the cruelty of creditors, forbidding them to lend money to intereſt unto mens ſonnes ſubject to the fathers power, to be paid after their death. Hee brought water to the citie from the Simbruan hils. Hee added and publiſhed new letters and characters; being a thing moſt certaine that the manner of the Greekes writing was not begun and perfected at once. The Aegyptians firſt of all expreſſed the conceptions of their mind by the ſhape of beaſts; and the moſt ancient monuments of mans memory are ſeene graven in ſtones: & they ſay, that they are the firſt inventers of letters. Then the Phœnicians becauſe they were ſtrong by ſea brought them into Greece, and had the glory of inventing that, which they received of others. For there goeth a report, that *Cadmus* ſailing thither in a Phœnician ſhip, was the inventor of that art among the Greeks, when they were yet unexpert and rude. Some record that *Cecrops* the Athenian, or *Linus* the Theban, and *Palamedes* the Grecian, at the time of the Trojane warre, invented 16. characters; then others, and *Simonides* found out the reſt. But in Italy the Etrurians learned them of *Corinthius Damaratus*, and the Aborigenes of *Evander* the Arcadian: and the faſhion of the Latine letters are like unto the old Greek letters; but we had but a few at the beginning, the reſt were after added. By which example *Claudius* added three letters, which during the time of his reigne were in uſe, and afterward forgotten: and are yet to be ſeene engraven in braſen tables hanged up in temples and places of aſſembly to ſhew the peoples laws. Then he propounded in Senate touching the colledge of Southſayers, leſt that the moſt ancient Diſcipline of Italy ſhould come to nought by ſloathfulneſſe, ſeeing that in the hard and adverſe times of the Common-wealth they have bin ſent for; and by their adviſe the ceremonies have bene renewed, and better afterward looked into. And the chiefeſt Noble men of Etruria, either of their owne motion, or at the perſwaſion of the Lords of the Senate,

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have

have continued their science, and propagated it to their families, which now is very carelessly accomplished by a sloath used towards commendable Artes, and because strange superstitions prevaile and take deeper root. All well for the present, thanks were to be rendred to the goodnes of the gods therfore, and heed taken, that sacred rites in doubtfull times had in reverence, be not in prosperous forgotten. Whereupon a decree of Senate was made, and order taken, that the high Priests should consider what was meet to be retained and established concerning the southsayers.

V. *The Cherusci crave Italus for their King.*

THe same yeere the Cherusci came to Rome to demand a King, all their Nobilitie being extinguished by civill warres, and one only left for the bloud Royall, called *Italus*, then being at Rome. He was sonne unto *Flavius*, *Arminius* brother; his mother was the daughter of *Catumerus* Prince of the Catti; and was of a comely personage; practised in armes and riding, as well according to the manner of our Countrey, as his owne. *Cæsar* therefore having furnished him with money, and appointed him a guard; encourageth him stoutly to take upon him the honor of his house and ancestors: putting him first in minde that he was borne at Rome; where he remained not as an hostage, but citizen: and that now he was to goe to a strange Empire. At the first the Germanes were glad of his coming; and so much therather because hee was not nussed in factions and discords; and therefore would beare like affection unto all. He was revered and honoured of all men; sometimes using curtesie and moderation misliked of none; and oftentimes quaffing and drunkenness with other wanton behaviour, which well pleased these barbarous people. Now he had gotten reputation with his neighbours, and began to be famous among strangers; when as such as bare greatest way in time of factions, suspecting his power and greatnesse, goe from him to the borders of the kingdome, openly declaring that the ancient liberty of Germany was taken from them, & that the Roman strength mastered all. Vvas their countrey so barren, that they could finde none born among them to fill the place of the prince; but that *Falvius* the spies brood must be lifted up above them all? It was in vaine to make *Arminius* the pretence; whose sonne being brought up in the enemies land, might well be feared if he came to be King; as depraved and infected with education, servilitie, attire, and all other strange ulages. And if *Italus* bare the minde his father had done, no man ever hath borne armes more ragingly against his countrey, and household gods then his parents. By such and the like speeches they gathered great forces together; and there did no fewer follow *Italus*: All of them affirming that he had not thrust himselfe among them against their wils; but that he was sent for by them: and seeing he was more noble then the rest, they should make a trial of his vertue; and whether he would shew himselfe worthy of *Arminius* his uncle, and *Catumerus* his grandfather. Neither could his father be a shame and reproch unto him, because he would never violate his faith, which by consent of the Germanes he had promised the Romanes. That the name of libertie was falsely pretended by them, who being base and degenerate of themselves, and dangerous to the whole state, have no hope but in time of trouble and garboile. The common sort came chearefully about him, and the King became victorious in a great battell against the Barbarians: then through his prosperous fortune falling into pride, he was chased out of his countrey; and againe reinforcing his armie with the aide of the Lombards, now with luckie, now with unluckie successe, molested and annoyed the Cherusci.

VI. *The*

VI. *The Chaucans are driven back out of Germany by Corbulo a Romane Capitaine: his severe discipline.*

ABout the same time, the Chauci living in peace at home, and encouraged by the death of *Sanquinius*; whilest *Corbulos* coming was expected, made some incursions upon lower Germany under *Gannascus*: who being a Caninesian by birth; an aide-souldier, and long receiving pay under the Romanes, and afterward become a fugitive with light vessels robbing and piracing; especially wasterh the coast of Gallia, because he knew them wealthy and cowards. But *Corbulo* entering into the Province, first with great care, then credit, especially gotten by that service, thrust into the River of Rhene certaine Gallies, and other shipping as they were fit, into other armes and ditches of the sea. And having with them sunke the same vessels of the enemy, and driven out *Gannascus*: after he had settled the present estate of things, he reduced the Legions which knew not what worke and labour meant, but desirous to hunt after pillage and forreys, to the ancient discipline of service: commanding that none should depart from the campe, nor enter battell without commandement: that the watch and ward; all charges both by day and night should be executed in armes. And it is reported that one souldier was put to death, because he digged at a Trench without his sword by his side: and another, because he had nothing else but his dagger: which being over-hard and rigorous and uncertaine, whether falsely spread abroad; yet had their beginning of the Captaines severitie. Whereby thou mayest know that he was inexorable in great faults, seeing it was thought he used such rigour in small. But that terrour wrought different effects in the souldiers and enemies: we thereby increased our valour; the Barbarians abated their courage. The Frisian nation which rebelled after the overthrow of *L. Apronius*, and ever after shewed themselves enemies unto us, or nothing faithfull, having given hostages, inhabited the countrey allotted and appointed them by *Corbulo*. He gavethem also a Senate, Magistrates and Laws. And because they should not fall from their obedience, left them a strong Garrison, & sent some to draw the chiefeft of the Chauci to yeeld; and withall, by a wile to surprise *Gannascus*. Neither were those wiles employed in vaine, or thought cowardly and ill-beseeming us, against a fugitive and faith-breaker. But the Chauci were much troubled with his death, and *Corbulo* sowed some seeds of rebellion among them: which as some construed to the best; so others reported badly of it: for why should he provoke an enemy? If the successe were bad, the hurt would redound to the Common-wealth: if fortune went on his side, hee was a man to be feared in time of peace; and being valiant and couragious, and under a cowardly Prince, not to be suffered. Whereupon *Claudius* was so fir from forcing Germany anew; that he commanded the Garrisons to be brought back on the higher side of the Rhene. And whilest *Corbulo* went about to encampe in the enemies land, these letters were delivered him. He understanding of so sudden a countermand, although many things at once troubled his braines: feare of the Emperour; the contempt the Barbarians would have him in; the jest his confederates would make at it: yet making no more words, but saying onely, Oh how happy some Romane Captains were! sounded a retreat. Nevertheless left the souldiers should grow lazie, he cast a ditch betweene Mosa and Rhene, three and twenty miles long, to beare off the uncertaine inundations of the Ocean. Yet *Cæsar* granted him the honour of triumph, although he denied him licence to make warre.

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VII. *How*

VII. How souldiers were employed out of warre.

Not long after *Curtius Rufus* had the same honour given him, who in the countrey of *Mattiacum* had found a silver mine, of small profit and short continuance: but to the Legions beside the losse, it was great labour to digge the rivers, and mine under the earth, and draine waters, which in plaine grounds was laborious. The souldiers wearied with these toiles, and because they had indured the like in many Provinces; sent letters secretly to the Emperour in the name of the whole armie, and besought him that from thence forward, he would bestow the markes of triumph beforehand, on such, as he purposed to make Commanders of the armie. As for *Curtius Rufus* birth, whom some have reported to be a Fencers sonne, I will neither utter anything falsely, and am ashamed to tell the truth. After he was come to mansestate, he was a follower of the Quæstor of Africa; and in a Towne called *Adrumentum*, as he walked secretly about midday in a Gallery where were no people, there appeared unto him the likenesse of a woman, greater then the stature of any other, and a voice was heard, saying: *Thou art he, Rufus, which shalt come Proconsul into this Province.* Puffed up with hope of this presage of good fortune, he returneth to the citie, and by the bounty of his friends, and his owne wit and industrie, obtaineth the Quæstorship; and anon after the Prætorship, among many men of note which sued for the same, onely by the suffrage and favour of the Prince; *Tiberius* hiding the baseness of his birth, with these words; *Curtius Rufus seemeth to me to be borne of himselfe.* After this, living untill he was very aged, an odious flatterer to his superiours, arrogant to his inferiours, crabbed among his equals; he became Consull, obtained the honour of triumph, and in the end the government of Africk; and there dying, fulfilled his fatall destiny. In the meane space, for no cause then openly known, nor afterward discovered, *Gn. Novius* a worthy Gentleman of *Rome*, was found with his sword by his side in the assembly of those which came to salute the Prince: for being broken on the torture, he confessed nothing either of himselfe or others; not knowne whether he purposed obstinately to conceale the matter, or whether he were innocent. The same men being Consuls, *P. Dolabella* propounded in Senate, that the shew of Fencers might be every yeer set forth at the charges of those which obtained the Quæstorship. Which was a charge in our ancestors times, given as a reward of vertue; and was then lawfull for all Citizens which trusted to their merits and vertues, to sue for all kinde of Offices, without any regard had of their age; being a thing lawfull for youngmen to be Consuls or Dictators. But the Quæstors were instituted when the Kings bare the sway as the law of *Curies* declare, renewed by *L. Brutus*: and the power of choosing them continued in the Consuls, untill the people would also have a share therein, who first created *Valerius Potus*, and *Aemilius Mamercus*, threescore and three yeers after the *Tarquins* were driven out, to the end they should follow the warres. Then affaires multiplying more and more, two were added for the businesse of the Citie. Not long after, the number was doubled, when Italy and the Provinces were subject to pay task and tallage. After that, by *Syllas* law twenty were created to furnish the Senate, unto whom he had given authority of judgement. And although the Gentlemen of *Rome* had recovered their power of judgement, notwithstanding the Quæstorship was granted according to the worth of the suters, or curtesie of the givers, and that gratis, untill that by *Dolabellæ* advise it was as it were put to sale.

VIII. Cer-

VIII. Certaine gentlemen of Gallia made Senators. How the Senate was purged of naughty men.

Agrippa and *L. Vipsanius* being Consuls, when the matter was debated concerning the furnishing of the number of Senators, and that the chiefe gentlemen of Gallia called *Comata*, who long before were in league with the Romanes, and enjoyed the priviledges of a citizen, desired also the right of bearing offices in the city: great rumors were spread, and the matter was debated before the Prince by men diversly affected: some affirming, "That Italy was not fallen to so low an ebbe, that it could not furnish their city of a Senate; that the home-borne with their kinsmen did in times past supply that want, and no cause why they should be sorry to imitate the custome of the ancient common-wealth. Yea, there might be examples alleadged, by which it might appeare that the vertuous inclination of the Romanes at this day, was not inferiour to the vertue and glory of their ancestors. Is it a small matter that the Venetians and Insulbrians have thrust into the Curia, unlesse a company of strangers be also put in, as it were to keep us in civitie? what other dignitie is there left for the residue of the nobles? or if any of the Latian Senators fall to decay? that those rich men would fill and possesse all, whose grandfathers and great grandfathers being captaines of the enemy nations, have slaine with the sword, and violence our armies, and besieged *Iulius* of famous memory at *Alesia*. These things are fresh in memory. What if we should call those to memory which besieged the Capitoll, and broke down the altar of *Rome* with their owne hands? That it was sufficient to enjoy the name of a citizen: and that the ornaments and markes of the Lords of the Senate, the dignitie of Magistrates ought not to be made common. But with these and the like speeches the Prince was nothing moved, but immediately spake against it, and calling the Senate together, began as followeth. My ancestors (among which the most ancient was *Clausus*, taking his beginning of the Sabians, & was at once made citizen of *Rome* and received into the family of the *Patricians*) gave me counsell to governe the common-wealth with such counsels and cares as they had done, and transfer into it all that is good & commendable, from whence soever it be brought. Neither am I ignorant that the *Iulii* came from *Alpa*, the *Coruncani* from *Camerium*, the *Porcians* from *Tusculum*; and that we may not search out farther antiquities, there have been men called into the Senate from *Etruria*, *Lucania*, and all Italy. At last the civitie was extended even to the *Albes*, in so much that not onely men severally, but countries & nations united themselves to our name, and grew as one whole body. Then had we a sure and firme peace at home, and flourished against forraigne nations, when the *Transpadani* received the freedome of the city; when under colour of leading our legions throughout the world, & adding unto them the strongest forces of the provinces, we eased the weak & wearied Empire. Dost it repent us that the *Balbanians* came out of *Spaine*, and the worthiest men of *Gallia Narbonensis* to us? Their posterity remain with us, neither do they give place unto us in love towards this our countrey. What other thing was the destruction and overthrow of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, although they were strong and puissant in arms, but that they rejected those they conquered, as strangers? But our founder *Romulus* carried himself so secretly, that he had many which the same day were his enemies and citizens. Strangers have ruled over us: offices have been given to the sons of such as have bin freed from bondage, & not as some have beene

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deceived

"deceived as a new president, but it hath been practised by our first people. But we have fought with the Senonians. I pray you, have the Volsci and Aequi never prepared an army against us? we have been taken of the Galli: and we have given hostages likewise to the Tufci, and passed under the yoke of the Samnites. If then wilt reckon up all the wars, none hath bin sooner ended then that against the Galli: since that time we have had a continuall and faithfull peace. Now that in conformity of manners, arts and alliances, they are mingled with our people, let them rather bring to us their gold and wealth, then enjoy it by themselves. All things (Lords of the Senate) which are thought now to be most ancient, have been new. The Patricians had first all offices in their hands; after them the people; after the people, the Latins; after the Latins, all the nations of Italy. This will grow old likewise, although it seeme new; and that which to day we maintaine by example, shall be reckoned amongst examples. A decree of the Senate given according unto the Princes oration, the Eduans first of all received the rights and priviledges of Senators in the city. This was granted them in consideration of their ancient alliance: and because they onely among the Galli, called themselves brothers of the people of Rome. The same time *Cæsar* made the ancientest of the Senators patricians, or such whose fathers were famous; few of those families remaining, which *Romulus* called of the greater; & *L. Brutus*, of the lesser familie: those also being decayed and extinguished, which *Cæsar* the Dictator substituted by the law *Cassia*: and Prince *Augustus* by the law *Senia*. All these things were gratefull unto the people; and done with the good liking of *Cæsar*. It troubled him very much how he might remove such from the Senate, as were notoriously intamous; and at last he thought himselfe of a new and gentle course; yet grounded on the rigour of ancient times: which was to admonish every man to examine his owne conscience: and cravellence to give up his roome, if he thought himselfe touched; which should easily be granted; and promised them to propound together, as well those that were removed, as those that resigned their roomes; that the judgement of the Censors, and the moderation of those which willingly renounced interlaced together, might cover the discredit. For this cause the Consull *Vipsanius* propounded, that *Claudius* might be called the father of the Senate: because that the title of father of the countrey, being common, new merits towards the common-wealth, should not be honoured with old titles. But hee himselfe bridled the Consull as over-much flattering; and appointed a view to be taken of the City which is called *Lustrum*, and the number of the citizens to be inrolled, which came to threescore eight hundred, and foure and fourty thousand. Then began he to have better intelligence how matters went at home: and not long after he was constrained to know, and punish the dissolute and licentious life of his wife, immediately after to burne in an unlawfull desire of incestuous matrimony.

IX. *Messalinae loose loves: her marriage with Silius.*

NOW *Messalina* through the easie injoying of her adulterers, as it were loathing them, grew more licentious in unknowne and strange sensuality: when as *Silius* himselfe, either by a fatall sottishnesse, or thinking dangers themselves to bee the remedy against imminent dangers, began earnestly to urge her "to breake off all dissimulation: and make that knowne, which untill then he went "about to keepe secret: For the matter was not come to that, that they should "expect the Princes death. Harmlesse counsels were good for the innocent; but in "open

"open and manifest villanies there was no hope of safety, but in audacious attempts. "There were others in the same fault and feared the like punishment: he was a single "man without children, ready to marry her, & adopt *Brutianicus*. *Messalinae* authority could continue the same, and with greater securitie, if they could prevent "*Claudius*; as uncircumspect against snares and wiles, so hasty and soon moved to "anger; These speeches she seemed not much to like of: not for the love of her husband; but lest *Silius* having gotten the sovereignty, would reject her as an adulteresse, and fall to a just consideration of her lewd life, which with his danger he had tried. Nevertheless she desired the name of matrimony, because of the greatnesse of the infamy, which with prodigal and dissolute persons is the last contentment. They expected no longer, then *Claudius* went to *Hestia* to do sacrifice, but she accomplished all the solemnities of marriage. I am not ignorant, but it will sound like a fable, that there should be any man so blockish and careless; much lesse that a Consull elect should in a city where all things are known, and nothing kept secret; a day appointed; company assembled to seale the agreement; contract marriage as it were of issue and children, with the Princes wife: and that he should heare the words of the Auspices, or hand-fasters; attire her selfe bride-like, sacrifice unto the gods, sit downe amongst the guests, kisse, embrace; and in the end passe the night in all libertie of marriage. But there is nothing fained, to make the thing seem miraculous, but I will you deliver but that which hath been heard & written by ancient writers. Then the Princes house began to quake for fear; and especially those which were in highest credit and favour: and if there should fall an alteration more afearde; they began now not in secret whisperings, but openly to murmur, saying: "That as long "as the adulterers did use the matter secretly, true it was that the Prince was dishonored; but yet he was in no danger of his estate: whereas now this young man of a "noble birth, of a manly representation, in the prime of his youth and shortly to be "Consul, aspired no doubt to greater hope. For it was easily known what was to be "expected after such a marriage. Doubtlesse a feare possessed them to thinke how blockish *Claudius* was, how thrall unto his wife, and how many murders had beene committed by *Messalinae* commandement. On the other side, the facility of the Princes nature imboldned them, and gave them hope, that they could beat into his head the enormity of the fact, she might as one already condemned, be brought to confusion before she were arraigned. But the danger was that if she should be admitted to her defence, yet the Princes eares would be buttended and deafe, although she should confesse. And first of all *Calistus*, of whom I have spoken in the death of *C. Cæsar*, and *Narcissus* the contriver of *Appius* death, and *Pallas* the greatest favorite at that time, debated: whether dissembling all other matters by secret threats they should dissuade *Messalina* from *Silius* love; but they altered their mindes, lest they should draw on their owne ruine; *Pallas* for want of courage; *Calistus* as practised in the estate of the former Court, and knowing that credit and authority was safelier maintained with circumspect then rash counsell; *Narcissus* persisting in his purpose altering that onely point, which was, to take heede, lest by any word she should have an inckling who was her accuser, and of what.

X. *Narcissus,*

X. Narcissus, Claudius Freed man advertiseth him of the marriage.
The sottishnesse of the Emperour.

Narcissus then earnestly watching all opportunities, during *Cæsars* long stay at Hostia, induced two concubines with whom the Emperour licentiously conversed, by faire promises and gifts, and especially shewing them to what greatnesse and credit they might come unto, if his wife were put from him; to undertake the discovering of this crime. Then *Calphurnia* (for so one of them was called) as soon as she found him alone, falling at *Cæsars* knees, crieth out that *Messalina* had married *Silius*; and withall asketh *Cleopatra* who was there present of purpose to be asked the question; who nodding with her head in token that she had, commandeth *Narcissus* to be called for: he, craving pardon of that which was past, and that he had concealed the adultery betweene *Messalina* and *Vectius*, and betweene her and *Plaucius*; added further, that the best way was not to reproch him of his adulteries, nor demand his house, his servants, and other Princely ornaments embezeled away; but let him (said *Narcissus*) enjoy them, so as he would restore thee thy wife, and cancell the writings of marriage. "Doeft thou know (saith the father) of thy divorcement? for *Silius* marriage the people law, the Lords of the Senate, and the souldiers, and if thou make not haste, the new married-man will be Lord of the City. Hereupon *Claudius* calleth for the chiefeft of his friends, and first of all for *Turranius* chiefe Officer for provision of Corne; then *Lusius Geta* Captaine of the Guard, asking them what they knew of the matter: who confessing it, all the rest came clattering about him, crying that he should hast away to the Camp, strengthen his Guard, provide first for his safety, then revenge. Sure it is that *Claudius* was so surprised with feare that he did eftsoones aske whether he were yet soveraign of the Empire? whether *Silius* were yet a private man without charge? But *Messalina* never more loose & dissolute in lusts, the Autumne being well spent, celebrated in her house the feast of Grape-gathering; the Presses were wrung, the vessels flowed with wine, women danced about kirt with skins, like unto mad women, solemnizing the feast, of *Bacchus*; she her selfe, her haire hanging loofe about her eares, shaking a Javelin wrapped about with Vine-leaves; *Silius* hard by her covered with Ivie, with buskings on his legs, casting the head hither and thither, with a shamelesse companie of dancers shouting and singing about them. It is reported that *Vectius Valens* toying and jesting, climed up a high tree; and being demanded what he saw there, made answer; a cruell tempest coming from Hostia. Whether any such thing did appeare, or whether it were a word slipt by chance; it was turned to a presage of future danger. Not rumor any longer, but messengers come from all parts, bringing them tidings that *Claudius* knew all, and was coming, ready to revenge. *Messalina* then conveyed her selfe into the Gardens which sometimes belonged to *Lucullus*. *Silius* dissembling his feare, went to his businesse in the Forum. The rest, some slipping one way, some another, the Centurions laid hold on and bound with yrons, as they were found either abroad or in corners and lurking places. *Messalina* albeit this sudden crossing had almost put her besides her selfe, yet thought it best as a shift, which never failed at a pinch, to meet her husband, and shew her selfe unto him; and commanded *Britannicus* and *Octavia* to goe before, and cast themselves betwixt their fathers armes; and prayed *Vibidia* the ancientest of the Virgins Vestall to goe to the high Priest, and intreat him he would shew clemency in her behalfe. And in the meane time accompanied with three person onely (so naked was she

she left on the sudden) having gone afoote over all the City, at last in a Tumbrell which carried away the riddings of Gardens, she taketh her away towards Hostia, no one pitying her, because the filthinesse of her wicked life swayed downe all compassion. Neverthelesse *Cæsar* trembled, because he distrusted *Geta* Captaine of his guard, a man as lightly carried to bad as to good. Whereupon *Narcissus*, having taken those with him which had the like feare, assured *Cæsar*, he had no other hope of safety left, then to transfer the whole commandery of the souldiers that one day unto some one of his Freed-men; and offereth himselfe to be the man. And fearing left, whilest he were brought unto the City, he might be induced by *L. Vitellius* or *P. Lægius Gacina*, to repent him, he desireth and taketh a place in the same Chariot with the Emperour. The same was common afterwards, that among divers of the Princes speeches, now blaming his wives lightnesse, now calling to minde the band of matrimony, and infancy of his children; *Vitellius* never used other speech, then of wickednesse, O shame. *Narcissus* urged him to speak plainly, and go no more about the bush; yet he could not win so much of him, but would still answer in doubtfull tearmes, and such as might be construed as every man list to draw them; and *Lægius Gacina* did the like.

XI. Silius and Messalina punished, with others her adulterers.

Now *Messalina* was in sight, and cried that he would heare *Octavia* and *Britannicus* mother: when as the accuser made a noyse on the other side naming *Silius* and the marriage: and withall presented unto him certaine writings, bewrayers of her lusts and lasciviousnesse, to the end he might turne *Cæsars* sight from her. And not long after, the children had betweene them, had been presented unto him, as he entred the City; if *Narcissus* had not commanded them to be conveyed away. But *Vibidia* could not be driven away, but requested importunately with nipping tearmes, that his wife unheard might not be put to death. Hereupon *Narcissus* answered that the Prince should heare her, and that she should have libertie to purge her selfe. In the meane space, that she should depart, and attend her sacrifices. *Claudius* used a wonderfull silence whilest all those speeches past. *Vitellius* was as one that knew little; all obeyed the Freed-men: he commanded the adulterers house to be opened, and the Emperour to be brought thither. And there first of all in the entry he shewed the Emperour the image of *Silius* father, defaced by decree of Senate. Then told him that whatsoever the *Neroes* or *Drusi* had, rich and Princely, had been given to *Silius* for a reward of his reprochfull adultery: then seeing *Claudius* inflamed and bursting into threats, leads him to the souldiers Campes, very ready to heare an Oration: unto whom as *Narcissus* had before advised him, hee used some few words. For although he had just cause of griefe; yet shame hindered him. Immediately all the bands cried together continually, demanding the names and punishment of the offenders. And *Silius* brought to the Bar, neither went about to justifie himselfe, nor crave respire; but intreated that his death might be hastened. The same constancy made other famous Gentlemen of Rome desire the hastening of their death. He commanded *Titius Proculus* guard unto *Silius* and *Messalina*, and *Vectius Valens* offering to detect other crimes, and confessing the same, and *Pompeius Vrbicus* and *Saufellus Trogius*, all of counsell to the fact, to be brought to execution. *Decius Calpurnianus* likewise Captaine of the watch, *Sulpitius Rufus* Overseer of the Playes, *Innus Virgilianus* a Senatour, received the like punishment. Onely *Mneſter* delayed his punishment, renting his cloathes and crying, that

that he would looke upon the markes of the stripes, and call to minde his own words, which were, that he should bee ready to obey *Messalinae* commandments. Alledging that others had offended for rewards & hope of advancement, but hee of necessity: and that no mans cause should have been harder then his, if *Silius* had become Emperor *Cesar* moved with these speeches & prone to mercy, yet the freed-men altered his minde, affirming that seeing so many notable personages had beene put to death, he should not spare a Stage-player: and that it was all one whether constrained or voluntarily he had committed so lewd a fact. *Traulus Montanus* a Gentleman of Romes defence, was not received. This young man being of modest behaviour, and comely feature of body, not thinking on any such matter, was sent for by *Messalina*, who injoying him onely one bare night, would afterward no more of him, being of nature as ready to loath, as to like and lust. *Sulius Cesonius*, and *Plautius Lateranus* only had pardon granted them. This in regard of his Uncles great merits. *Cesonius* through his impurity and unnaturall abusing of his body. All this while *Messalina* in *Lucullus* Gardens, prolonged her life; made her supplications, sometimes with hope, and sometimes with anger: so proudly she shewed her selfe even in her extreamest danger. And if *Narcissus* had not hastned her death, she had turned the mischief upon the accusers head. For *Claudius* being returned home againe, and his choler well cooled in a banquet, after he had waxt warm with wine, commanded that one should go and tell that wretch (for that rearme they say he used) that she should appeare the next day to plead her cause. Which being understood, and fearing lest his anger should relent, and his love, (if they should deferre the matter that night which was already come) and the remembrance of his wives chamber should revive and returne: *Narcissus* rust out, and told the Centurions and the Tribune which were present, that they should put her to death, and that the Emperour had so commanded: and *Euodius* one of his freed-men, was appointed to assist and see it executed. Who hastning to the gardens, found her along on the earth, and *Lepida* her mother sitting by her, alwaies at jarre with her daughter whilest she flourished in prosperity, yet in her last extremities overcome with compassion, perswaded her not to tarry for the executioner; that her life was past, and that she should look for no other honour, then by killing her selfe. But her minde corrupted with filthy sensuality, there was no spark of honesty left; her teares and lamentations were in vain. Then the doores being violently broke open, the Tribune stood in a maze, and in a great dumpe without one word speaking, and the freed-men rebuked her with many servile reproches. *Messalina* then first of all considering of her estate, tooke a sword, which in vain through trembling feare, she put to her throat, and then to her breast; which at last was thrust thorow with a blow which the Tribune lent her, & her body granted her mother. Then word was brought *Claudius* as he was a banqueting, that *Messalina* was dead, not telling him whether by her own hand, or any mans else, neither did he aske so much; but called for the cup, and went forward as he was wont to do at his banquet. Neither the daies following gave he any tokens of hate, joy, anger, sorrow, or of any other humane affection; not when he saw the accusers joyfull; not when his children sad. The Senate helped him to forget her, by giving order, that her name and image should be pulled downe from all publike and private places. It was ordained that the ornaments of the Questorship should be bestowed upon *Narcissus*; the lightest point of his authoritie, seeing he was the chiefeft after *Gallus* and *Calistus*, an honest decree and priviledge; but of which rose very many lewd actions, which escaped unpunished.

THE TWELFTH BOOK OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIUS TACITVS.

I. Three of Claudius Freed-men deliberate upon a wife for him.

THE Emperours house being divided through the death of *Messalina*, his Freed-men fell into contention, which of them should choose *Claudius* a wife, already thundring against a single life, and thrall to his wives will. The women on their side burnt with no lesse ambition, each of them comparing their Nobility, beauty, and wealth, set forth themselves and vaunted they were worthy of so great a match. But the chiefeft doubt was betwixt *Lollia Paullina*, daughter to *M. Paullinus* once Consull, & *Iulia Agrippina*, *Germanicus* daughter: *Pallas* favoured her, and *Calistus* the other. *Aelia Petina* of the house of the *Tuberios* was favoured of *Narcissus*. The Emperour himselfe was easily carried, now hither, now thither, according as he had heard every of their perswasions; and disagreeing the one from the other, calleth them to a consultation; and commandeth each of them to utter and yeeld a reason of his opinion. *Narcissus* beginneth with his old marriage, and family common to them both (for he had had *Antonia* by *Petina*) and that he should have no new change in his house, if his old wife should returne againe; who would not with the eye of a Step-mother, looke upon *Britannicus* and *Octavia*, the neereft pledges unto her owne children. *Calistus* sheweth that being rejected by a long divorcement, if shee should be taken againe, shee would become proud and haughty: therefore it were farre better to take *Lollia* seeing she was without emulation and children; and therefore would be in stead of a mother to her husbands children: But *Pallas* extolled in *Agrippina* above other qualities, that she should bring with her *Germanicus* nephew, worthy in all regards of the imperiall highnesse; extracted of a noble race, and Claudian family, which should unite their posteritie, lest a woman fruitfull in childe-bearing, and in the flower of her youth should carry with her the glory of the *Cesars* to another house. This perswasion with some helpe of *Agrippinae* allurements sunk deepest: who often coming to visite him under colour of kindred, so wonne her Uncle, that being preferred before all others, though yet not his wife, tooke upon her the authoritie of his wife. For as soone as she was assured of the marriage, she began to lay plots for greater matters, and undertook a match betweene *Domitius*, whom she had had by *Gn. Aenobarbus*, and *Octavia*, *Cesars* daughter: which without shame and discredit could not be accomplished, because *Cesar* had betrothed *Octavia* to *L. Silvanus* a young man, besides other vertues, of noble parentage; and on whom *Cesar* had bestowed the markes of triumph, and licenced to set forth a play of Fencers with all pompe and magnificence, to winne the love and favour of the people. But nothing seemed hard to the Princes minde, who had neither judgement nor malice, but what was put into him or commanded. *Vitellius* therefore cloaking under the name of a Cenfor base and servile devises; foreseeing into whose handling rule and dominion would shortly come, to winne *Agrippinae* favour, began to intermeddle and

and thrust himselfe into her counsels, and carry tales against *Silanus*: who had a sister indeed comely, but a shamelesse dame, called *Iunia Calvina*: who not long before had been *Vitellius* sons wife. From hence rose the beginning of his accusation, by drawing her into suspicion, not of incest with her brother, but of other loose loves redounding to their shame and infamie. *Cesar* gave eare unto him, as one ready through the love he bare his daughter, to hearken to all suspicions against his son in law. But *Silanus* doubting nothing what snares were laid for him, and by chance that yeer Pretor, was on the sudden by an edict published by *Vitellius* put from his Senators roome; although the roule of the Senators were made up, and the number taken not long before. *Claudius* thereupon brake off his alliance with him; and *Silanus* was forced to renounce his office by oath; and the rest of the time of his Pretorship was bestowed upon *Eprius Marcellus*.

II. *Vitellius Oration for the marriage of the Vncle and the Neece. The marriage between Claudius and Agrippina. The death of Silanus.*

C *Pompeius*, and *Q. Veranius* being Consuls, the marriage was concluded betwene *Claudius* and *Agrippina*, and held as certaine in every mans mouth through tokens of unlawfull loves, though they durst not as yet celebrate the solemnities, having no president that the brothers daughter should be brought into the Uncles house as wife, for it was incest: and if not looked into, it was to be feared that it would turne to a publike mischief. Neither was that doubt out of *Cesars* head, untill *Vitellius* by his drifts and sleights undertooke the matter. And asking the Emperour whether he would yeeld to the commandment of the people, or authoritie of the Senate? and he answering that he was one of the Citizens, and not able to withstand their agreement, *Vitellius* willed him not to stir out of his Palace, but goeth himselfe to the Curia, and protesting that he had a matter to debate which touched the welfare of the whole State, craveth licence to speake first, and began as followeth. That the heavy and great toyles of the Prince in governing the whole world, wanted support; that being unburdened of domesticall cares, hee might the better provide for the comon good. And what honest solace of a Censors minde, then to take unto him a wife, a companion in prosperous and doubtfull fortune? unto whom he might impart his inward thoughts, commit his small children; he especially not nuzled up in riot and wanton lusts, but who had beene obedient to Lawes from his first youth. After he had made this preamble with a glosing speech, and that it was accepted with great flattery of the Lords of the Senate, hee began anew and said. Seeing that all of them did exhort the Prince to marry, it was convenient a wife were chosen for him, renowned for her nobilitie, childe-bearing, and honesty of life. Neither was it needfull to goe far for such a one, seeing *Agrippina* did excell the rest in noblenesse of bloud, and had given a prooffe of her fruitfulness, and was indued with other honest qualities. That was a matter worthy remembrance, that by the providence of the gods, a Widow should be joyned to a Prince, who had tried no matrimony but his owne. They had heard of their forefathers, and seene themselves, mens wives to have beene taken by force at the will of the Emperour; a thing farre from the modesty of the present time: yea hee should be a president how hereafter the Emperour should take a wife. But it is a strange president to marry our brothers daughters but an usuall matter among other Nations, and by no Law forbidden. And marriages between couzen germanes a long time not known, in progresse of time grew common. A custome is to be applied

plied according as it is profitable and expedient: and this marriage likewise in time to come will be among things commonly practised. There wanted not some which protested, if *Cesar* would protract his resolution, they would force him to it, and for ruth who first might out of the Curia: and afterward by multitudes flocked together, crying that the people of Rome desired the same. *Claudius* expected no longer, but went and met them at the Forum, and shewed himselfe to such as were glad thereof. And entering into the Senate, demanded that a decree might be enacted, by which, marriage betwene the uncles and neeces, daughters to their brothers, should from thence forward be accompted just and lawfull. Yet for all that onely one there hath been called *Taliedius Severus*, a Gentleman of Rome, who hath greatly desired to marry in that sort, whom most men think to have done it to winne *Agrippinaes* favour. By that marriage all was turned upside downe in the City, and all men obeyed this woman; yet not as when *Messalina* abused the government through licentiousnesse: but as it were with as great and severe subjection, as if they had been under a man. Openly she shewed severitie, and often pride; nothing done in her house dishonourably, unlesse it were so expedient for the furthering of rule and government: her exceeding greedinesse in raking money had a cloake, which was the maintenance of the state. The day of the marriage *Silanus* killed himselfe, either because untill that time he had hope of prolonging his life, or else chose that day to make the marriage more odious. *Calvina* his sister was expelled Italy. *Claudius* added certaine sacrifices according to the laws of King *Tullus* and certaine satisfactions by the chiefe Priest in *Dianaes* wood; all men laughing *Claudius* to skorne, that punishment and purging sacrifices of incest should be fought at that time.

III. *Betrothing of Domitius Agrippinaes sonne with Octavia, Claudius daughter. Seneca is recalled out of exile. The Parthians demand that Meherdates may be their King.*

B *Ut Agrippina*, lest she should be famous onely for infamous actions, got remission of *Annaeus Senecaes* banishment, and withall obtained him the Praetorship; perswading her selfe it would be gratefully accepted of the communitie, by reason of his great fame in learning, and because *Domitius* childhood might be trained up under such a master, and use his advise and counsell to attaine to the Empire which shee hoped after. Because it was thought *Seneca* would be trusty to *Agrippina*, for the remembrance of this benefit received of her, and an enemy to *Claudius* for the griefe of his injurie. Then thinking it convenient not to delay the matter any longer, *Memmius Pollio* Consull elect was induced through great promises to propound, and perswade *Claudius* to hand-fast *Octavia* to *Domitius*, a thing nothing inconvenient, both their ages considered, and might be an entrance to greater matters. *Pollio* gave his opinion in words, not unlike to those which *Vitellius* of late used, and thereupon *Octavia* was betrothed. Now *Domitius* besides the kindred which was between them before, being betrothed and sonne in law to the Emperour, beganne to be made equall to *Britannicus*, by his mothers practises, and policie of such as feared the sonne would revenge upon those which procured *Messalines* accusation. About the same time the Embassadors of the Parthians sent, as I have said before, to demand *Meherdates* for their King, entered into the Senate, and began to utter their charge as followeth. "They came thither not ignorant of the league between them and the Romans, nor disloyall to the family of the Arsa-

"cides."

"cides; but to aske for *Vonones* son, *Phrahates* nephew; against *Gotarzes* tyranny, a like intolerable to the nobility and communaltie. Now that his brothers are extinguished by murder, his neereft kinsmen, and such as were farthest off; he would do the like to women with child, and small children: thinking it a means being unfortunate in wars abroad, to cover with that cowardlinesse his crueltie at home. That their amity with us was ancient, and publikely confirmed; and therefore reason we should aide our allies, which might in strength compare with the Romanes, but in deed yeeld for reverence. Therefore the Kings children were given for hostages, that if they grew weary of their domestickall government, they might have recourse to the Prince and Lords of the Senate, under whose manner of living the King being brought up, should be presumed to be the better. Whē they had uttered these and the like speeches, *Cæsar* began his Oration with the greatnesse of the Roman Empire, and dutifullnesse of the Parthians, and maketh himselfe equall to *Augustus*; declaring that a king had been demanded of him also, not mentioning *Tiberius* at all, notwithstanding he had sent aide likewise. He gave certaine Precepts to *Meherdates*, who was there present, advertizing him that he should not think himselfe a Lord and master to command over his subjects as slaves; but a guide; and they Citizens: and that he should use clemency and justice, vertues so much the more gratefull unto these Barbarians, by how much the lesse knowne among them. Then turning himselfe to the Embassadors, he highly commended the youth which had beene brought up in the Citie, as one, whose modestie had beene well tried: that the dispositions of Kings were to bee borne withall, because often changes are not profitable. That the Romane estate was growne unto that height with fulnesse of glory; that it desired peace and quietnesse even to forreine nations. After he had thus said, he commanded *C. Cassius* governor of Syria, to conduct the young man to the river of Euphrates. *Cassius* at that time did excell the rest in the knowledge of the laws. For military skill is unknowne in time of rest and quietnesse: and peace esteemed alike of the coward and courageous. Nevertheless as much as those quiet times gave him leave, he renewed the ancient discipline; kept the Legions in practise with care and foresight, as if the enemy had beene at hand; thinking it a thing worchy of his ancestors, and *Cassian* familie, renowned among those people. Having therefore sent for them, through whose consentment the king was demanded, and planted his campe at Zeugma, where the river is most passable: after that the noble men of Parthia, and the King of the Arabians called *Abbarus* was come, he shewed unto *Meherdates*, that the first brunt of the Barbarians was fierce and hot: but by delay and lingring became cold, or turned into treason; and therefore hee should courageously goe through his interprise. But his advite was contemned through *Abbarus* fraud, who detained him like an unexperienced young man in the towne of Edeffa; as though the highest degree of fortune and princely felicitie had consisted in riot and wantonnesse. And when *Carrhenes* called them in, and assured them, that all was in a good readynesse if they would make haft, they did not march straight to Mesopotamia, but turned to Armenia in an unseasonable time, because the winter was begun. Then wearied with snowes and mountaines, coming neere to the plaine, they ioyned with *Carrhenes* forces. And having passed the river of Tigris, they entered into the cuntry of Adiabeni; whose King *Iuliates* in open shew professed himselfe a confedrate of *Meherdates*, but under hand was more faithfully bent to *Gotarzes*.

III. Gotar-

III. Gotarzes overcometh Meherdates, and cutteth off his eares: Mithridates usurpeth the Kingdome of the Dandarides: and goeth about to drive out Cotys.

NEverthelesse in passing by, *Meherdates* tooke the citie of Ninos, the most ancient seat of Assyria, and a famous Castle; because that in the last battell betwixt *Darius* and *Alexander* there; the Persian power was brought to utter ruine. In the meane time *Gotarzes* at a hill called Sambulos, offered vowes to the gods of the place, among which *Hercules* was chiefly honoured: who at a certaine time admonisheth his Priests in a dreame, that neere unto the Temple, they should have horses ready prepared for hunting: the horses loaden with quivers full of arrows prawnfing up and downe the woods, returne at night, breathing and panting with their quivers empty. The god againe declareth to them in a dreame, what woods they have coursed up & down in; whither they goe and finde wilde beasts killed in many places. But *Gotarzes* not having sufficiently strengthened his army, useth the river Corma for a defence. And although he were summoned by divers messengers and hard speeches to battell: yet he sought delayes; changed place; & sent some to corrupt the enemy, & draw them to forsake their obedience. Among which *Ezates* *Adiabenus*, and anon after *Abbarus* King of the Arabians, with their army began to shrink through a certain lightnesse incident to that nation: and because it is tryed by experience that the Barbarians had rather come to Rome to demand a king, then when they have him, keepe him. Now *Meherdates* seeing himselfe stripped of his strongest succour, and suspecting lest the others would betray him, determined for his last refuge to commit his matter to chance, and hazard it in a maine battell. *Gotarzes* being very fierce, that his enemies forces were diminished, refused not to fight. They met with great slaughter and a doubtfull issue; untill *Carrhenes* making cleare way before him, and driving and pursuing the enemies too farre, was compassed behinde with a fresh company and flune. Then all hope being lost, *Meherdates* trusting the promises of one *Parrhacis* a follower of his father, by his falsehood was taken prisoner, and delivered to the Conquerour. Who intreated him not like a kinsman, or one of the *Asiatic* stocke; but reviled him like a stranger and a Roman: and having cut off his eares, gave him his life, as a shew of his clemency; and dishonour and reproach unto us. Not long after *Gotarzes* dyed of a disease; and *Vonones* then governour of the Medes, was called to be King. There happened nothing in his reigne either prosperous or unprosperous, worthy the telling: he lived but a short and an inglorious time; and the kingdome of the Parthians was translated to his sonne *Vologeses*. But *Mithridates* the Bosphoran wandering up and downe after hee had lost his forces; understanding that *Didius* the Roman Captaine with the strength of his army was departed: and that not onely *Cotys* a raw and rude youth, was left in the new kingdome with some few bands under the conduct of *Iulius Aquila* a gentleman of Rome; contemning both of them, began to sollicite the countries about him, and allure fugitives: and at last, having assembled an army, chafeth out the King of the Dandarides, and injoyeth his kingdome. Which being understood, and looking every houre that he would invade the Bosphoran: *Aquila* and *Cotys* distrusting their owne forces, because *Zorines* King of the Soraci had taken armes againe, sought for forreine ayde, and sent Ambassadors to *Eunones* King of the Adorsian nation: being no hard matter to drawe him to their fellowship.

fellowship, after he had declared what odds there was betweene the Roman forces, and the rebell *Mithridates*. Whereupon they agreed that *Eunones* should have charge of the horsemen, and the Romans besiege townes. Then having mustered their armie in order, they march in battell array; the *Adorfi* defended the front and the rereward; the cohorts and *Bosphorani* the middle battle, armed after our fashion. And so driving back the enemy, we came to *Soza* the cheife towne of *Dandarica*, which *Mithridates* forsooke; where we left a garrison, as being doubtfull of the inhabitants fidelitie. From thence they marched to the *Soraci*: and having passed the river *Panda*, they besieged the city *Vipe*, situated on a high place, & fortified with wals and dirches, saving that the wals not being made of stone, but of hurdles ioyned together, and earth in the middle, were too weake against the besiegers: who having erected towers higher then the wals, with fire and darts disordered the besieged: and had not the night broken off the battell, the towne had bene assaulted and taken the same day. The next day they sent Ambassadors to treat for the freemen; but of slaves they offered ten thousand, which the Conquerours refused. And because that to slay such as yeelded would be a cruell part; and to keepe so great a multitude hard; they thought it best to hold on the siege, and kill them by right of warre: and thereupon the signe was given to such souldiers as had scaled the wals to put them to the sword,

V. *Mithridates being forsaken by Zorfines King of the Soraci, yeeldeth to Eunones King of the Adorfi, and came to Rome after he had made a peace.*

THE slaughter of the *Vspensians* stroke the rest into a feare, thinking now that there was no safety in any thing: seeing their armes, their fortresses, high and hard places, rivers and townes, were forced alike. *Zorfines* then long waighing with himselfe, whether he should succour *Mithridates* desperate case; or provide for his fathers kingdome: at length the love of his countrey swaying him, having given pledges, he prostrated himselfe before the image of *Cæsar*, to the great glory of the Roman army; which without any losse of bloodshed on his side came (as it is most manifest) victorious, within three dayes journey of the river *Tanais*. But in returning fortune was not alike; because some of the shippes carried on the *Taurian* shores, were by the Barbarians surpris'd, and the prefect of the cohorts, and most of the Centurions slaine. In the meane time *Mithridates* finding no safety in armes, dabareth with himselfe whose mercy he should trie: He feared his brother *Cotys*, because he betrayed him once, and was now his enemy. There was none of the Romans of such authoritie, that their promises should greatly be regarded: in fine, he addressed himselfe to *Eunones* his enemy for private grudge; but great, and of better credit through the friendship newly contracted with us. Therefore composing his countenance, and attiring himselfe futable to his present estate, goeth to the Kings palace, and casting himselfe at his knees saith: Behold here *Mithridates*, whom by sea and by land you have so many yeeres fought. Behold I am here of my owne voluntary will. Vse as thou wilt the sonne of great *Achemenes*, which is the onely thing which the enemies have not taken from me. But *Eunones* moved with the nobility of the man and the change of his fortune; at his prayer which argued no base minde, listeth up the suppliant, and commendeth him that he had chosen the *Adorfi* nation, and his right hand for obtaining of pardon. And withall sendeth Ambassadors and letters to *Cæsar* with these contents. That the first friendship, be-

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twist the Emperours and Kings of other mighty nations, proceeded of conformity and likenes of fortune: but *Claudius* amity and his, of a victorie common to them both. That the end of warre were most notable, when peace was made with pardoning. So when *Zorfinus* was conquered nothing was taken from him: for *Mithridates* although he had deserved worse; no power, no kingdome was entreated for; but onely that he might not be lead in triumph, and lose his life. Nevertheless *Claudius*, although he were milde and gentle towards forraigne nobilitie; yet doubted, whether it were best for him to receive the captive under condition of life, or demand him by force of armes. For on one side the griefe of injuries received, and desire of revenge pricked him; and on the other, reasons to the contrary: That he should take a warre in hand in a hard countrey, and a havenlesse sea: with all that the Kings were firme and the people scattered, and the soile fruitlesse and needy of victuals; then that lingring would bring tediousnesse, and haste danger: the praise should be small to the conquerors, the infamy great if they took the repulse: therefore it were best to take the offer, & keepe the exiled: who being poore, how much the longer he lived; so much the more punishment he should indure. Moved with these reasons he wrote to *Eunones*. In very truth, that *Mithridates* deserved exemplary punishment; neither wanted he power to execute it: nevertheless it hath seemed best unto our predecessors, to use as great benignity towards humble suppliants, as hard and rigorous dealing towards the enemy: for triumphes were gotten of whole nations and kingdomes. Then *Mithridates* was delivered and carried to Rome by *Iunius Cælo* Procurator of Pontus; and thought to have spoken more boldly to *Cæsar* then his estate required. His speeche was carried to the people in these termes. I am not sent back unto thee, but am come; and if thou beleve me not, let me goe and try. There appeared no signe of feare in his countenance, when as guarded with keepers neere unto the court, he was shewne unto the people. The Consular ornaments were given to *Cælo*, and the Pretorian to *Aquila*.

VI. *The death of Lollia Paulina, through Agrippinaes jealousy. Calphurnia driven out of Italy.*

UNDER the same Consuls *Agrippina* boiling with deadly hatred and malice against *Lollia*, because shee had contended with her for the marrying of the Prince, left no meanes untought, untill shee had stirred up some to accuse her of conference had with the Chaldeans, and Magicians, and counsell asked of the idoll of *Apollo Clarius*, concerning the Emperors marriage. Hereupon *Claudius*, the defendant unheard, having spoken much before the Senat of her noblenes of birth, that she was *L. Volusius* sisters daughter; that *Cotta Messallinus* was her great uncle, and shee once wife to *Mennius Regulus*, (for of purpose shee left out that shee had bene married to *C. Cæsar*) added in the end; that he had practised dangerous things, against the state; and that all occasion and matter of evil was to be taken away: therefore he was of advice that shee should lose her goods, and depart out of Italy; leaving the banished woman of the infinite wealth which shee was mistress of, but * fiftie hundred thousand sesterces. And *Calphurnia*, a woman of great birth was overthrowne, only because the Prince had praised her beautie; not for any amorous affection, but by chance: yet *Agrippina* stretched not her malice to the uttermost against her, but sent a Tribune to make away *Lollia*. And *Cadius Rufus* was condemned for bribery, and extortion, at the instance of the Bithynians. And in consideration of the great reverence the inhabitants of *Gallia Narbonensis* bare the

* About
39062 pound,
10. shillings.

Lords of the Senate, it was granted to the Senators of that Province, that without licence of the Prince they might go visite their houses, and dispose of their goods with the like priviledge, as they which were of the Province of Sicilia. The Ituræi and Jews, after their Kings *Sobemus* and *Agrippa* were dead, were joyned to the Province of Syria. It was ordained that the ceremonies of the auguration of health, intermitted five and twentie yeers, should be renewed, and continued from thenceforth. *Cæsar* enlarged the circuit of the citie, according to the ancient custome; by which licence was given them which had enlarged the bounds of the Empire, to enlarge the bounds of the citie. Neverthelesse none of the Romane captaines, *L. Sylla* and *Augustus* accepted, although they had subdued mightie nations, had undertaken to do it: but whether the Kings which then ruled the citie did it for ambition or vain-glory, these run divers reports. But it shall not be impertinent, as I thinke, to lay down the beginning of the foundation of Rome, and what circuit *Romulus* first assigned. He therefore began the circuit at the oxen market called *forum boarium*, where he set up a picture of a brazen Bull (because that kinde of beast is broken to the plough) from thence drawing a furrow as a plat of the circuit of the citie, which contained within it the great altar of *Hercules*. From thence by certaine distances stones were put by the foot of the hill Palatine, unto the altar of *Consus*; then to the old Curies; then to the chappell of the household gods. For some have thought, that the *forum Romanum*, and the Capitoll, were not added to the city by *Romulus*, but by *T. Tatius*. After that, the circuit or pomerium was augmented, according to the fortune and riches of the Kings. And for the limits that *Claudius* then put, they are easily knowne, and are written in the publike actes.

VII. Domitius sonne of Agrippina is adopted by Claudius. The Catti send hostages to Rome. Vannius driven out of his countrey, goeth to Rome.

C Antistius, and M. Silius being Consuls, the adoption of *Domitius* was hastened through *Pallas* credit, who being wholly at *Agrippina's* devotion, as a principall meane of working the marriage between *Claudius* and her, then bound unto her, for unlawfull company of her body, urged *Claudius* to provide for the common-wealth, and strengthen *Britannicus's* estate whilest he was young. "So *Augustus's* wives children did flourish, although he had nephewes of his owne for a stay to his house: and *Tiberius* having issue of his owne, adopted *Germanicus*: therefore that he should also strengthen himselfe with this young man, who would take part of the care upon him. *Claudius* yeelding to his perswasion, prefereth *Domitius*, being but two yeeres elder, before his owne sonne; and maketh an oration before the Lords of the Senate, which he received of his freed man *Pallas*. The skillfull and wise did note, that there had never been any adoption before that time in the Patrician family of the *Claudians*, and that the succession had never failed from *Atta Clausus*. Neverthelesse great thanks were rendered the Prince, and exquisite flattery used to *Domitius*, and a decree set downe, by which he should be accounted one of the *Claudian* family, and be called *Nero*. *Agrippina* also was magnified with the surname of *Augusta*. Both which done, there was no man so void of pity, which was not grieved and sorry for *Britannicus's* fortune: for by little and little he was abandoned and scorned of his basest servants, by shewing an unseasonable duty to his stepmother, which he well perceived, as not dull witted, but of good conceit, as it is reported, either because he was so indeed, or attributed to him in his distresse, the same and opinion continued without triall. *Agrippina* to make her credit

credit and power known among the confederates also, commanded the old souldiers, and a Colony to be brought to the City of *Ubiom*, where she was borne, which was afterward called of her name *Agrippina*. It hapned by chance, that when that Nation passed the Rhene, her Grandfather *Agrippa* took them into his protection. About the same time upper Germany quaked with feare, through the coming of the Catti, which robbed and spoiled all where they came. Whereupon *L. Pomponius* Lieutenant, gave advertisement to aid the Vangiones, and Nemetians, adding unto them a company of horsemen, to get before those Forragers, or if they slipped away, compasse and surprize them on a sudden. The diligence of the soldiers followed the Captains counsel, and dividing themselves into two companies, those which took the left hand came upon them, and slew them, as they newly returned from pillage, riotously abusing their booty, and heavy asleep. Their joy was increased, because they had delivered from servitude some of their fellowes, which forty yeeres before had been taken when *Varus* was defeated. But those which took the right hand, and the neere way, meeting the enemy in the face, & daring to encounter, made a greater slaughter and loaden with booty and fame, returned to the hill *Taanus*; where *Pomponius* was expected with the Legions, if the Catti desiring a revêge, would offer occasion to fight. But they fearing lest the Romanes would set on them on one side, and the Cherusci with whom they are alwaies at jarre, on the other, sent Embassadors and hostages to Rome, where the honour of triumph was awarded *Pomponius*, a small part of his fame with posterity, being more renowned for skill in Poetry. About the same time *Vannius* made king of the Suevians by *Drusus Cæsar* was driven out of his kingdome: in the beginning of his rule well liked & accepted of the people; but in the end growing proud, partly by the hatred of the borderers, and partly by civill discords, was put to the worst. The authors of this practice were *Inbillius* King of the *Hermunduri*, and *Vangio*, and *Sido*, *Vannius's* sisters children: yet *Claudius* although often intreated, whilest these barbarous people were together by the eares, would no way intermeddle, onely he promised *Vannius* refuge if he were driven out: and wrote unto *P. Atilius Histrus* Governor of Pannonia, to lodge a Legion, and all the aid he could levy in the province, on the bank of *Danubius*, as an aid to the conquered, and a terror to the conqueror, lest puffed up with prosperous fortune, they would so disturbe our peace. For an infinite power of the Ligians and other Nations were coming, drawn with the fame of the wealth of *Vannius's* kingdome, which for thirty yeeres space he had enriched with pillages and tributes. *Vannius's* owne forces consisted in footmen, his horsemen were of *Sermates*, called *Jazygines*, unable to encounter the multitude of the enemies power, & therefore defied himselfe in fortresses, and purposed to protract the war. But the *Jazygines* not able to endure to be besieged, but wandring and wasting the Champion adjoining, drove *Vannius* to a necessity of fighting, because *Ligius* and *Hermundur* were pressing in on the backs of them. *Vannius* therefore issuing out of his Fort, lost the battell, but not without honour, even in his distresse: because in person he shunned not the battell, and face to face received wounds in his body; and at last fled to his shipping which waited for him in *Danubius*: by and by his Vassals following him, having received land to dwell in, planted themselves in a part of *Hungaria*. The kingdome *Vangio* & *Sido* parted between them, shewing great loyalty towards us. Their subjects either for their desert, or such being the disposition of those which are kept under, whilest they were yet a getting the kingdome, shewed them all tokens of love and affection: but after they had gotten it, as the greater their love before, so the greater their hatred after.

VIII. Ostorius

VIII. Ostorius governour of great Britannia, gaineth a battell against the Icenī, and tooke Caractacus King of the same countrey, and sent him to Rome. The warres of the Romans against the Siluri.

Postorius Propretor of Britannia, at his landing found all in an uprore: the enemy ranging the allies countrey, and using so much the greater violence, because he thought the new captaine as unacquainted with his armie, and the winter also begun, would not come forth to encounter him. But he knowing well that the first successe breedeth either feare or confidence, gathered with speede his readiest cohorts, made toward the enemy, slaying those which made head against him; pursued the residue stragled abroad, for feare lest they should joyne againe: and lest a faithlesse and cloked peace should neither give the captaine nor the souldier any rest, he disarmed those he suspected, and hemmed them in with garrisons betweene Antona & Sabrina^(a). Which the Icenī^(b) first of all refused, a strong people, and unshaken with warres, because that of their owne motion they had fought our alliance and amitie: and at their instigation the people adjoyning chose a place to fight, compassed in with a rude and common trench, and narrow entrance, to hinder the comming in of horsemen. That fence the Roman Captaine, although he wanted the strength of the legions, went about to force with the ayde of the allies alone: and having placed his cohorts in rankes, setteth the troops of horsemen in a like readinesse to their businesse: then giving the signe of battell brake the rampire, and disordered the enemies in their owne fortresses. Who stroken in conscience with a remorse for their rebellion, and seeing all passages of escaping stopped up, shewed great courage and valour in defending themselves. In which fight *M. Ostorius* the Lieutenants sonne, deserved the honour of saving a citizen. But by slaughter of the Icenī, those which wavered betweene warre and peace were quiered, and the army lead against the^(c) Cangi. Whose countrey they wasted and spoiled; the enemy not daring to shew himselfe in field: or if privily and by stealth they attempted to cut of any which dragged behind, they payed for their coming. Now the Roman army was come neere unto the sea coast which looks towards Ireland, when as certaine tumults sprung up among the^(d) Brigantes brought backe the Captaine, certainly resolved not to attempt any new matter, untill he had settled the old. But as for the Brigantes, some few put to death which first began to take armes, the residue being pardoned, all were quieted. The^(e) Siluri could neither by cruelty nor faire meanes bee hindred from making warre: and therefore no remedy left to keepe them under, but with a garrison of legionary soldiers. The which to performe more easily, a colonie called^(f) Camalodunum, of a strong company of old souldiers, was brought into the subdued countrey, as an ayd and safegard against the rebels, and inducement to the confederates, to the observation of lawes. From thence they marched against the Siluri; besides their owne courage trusting to *Caractacus* strength, who having waded thorow many dangers and in many adventures prosperous and luckie, had gotten such reputation, that he was preferred before all the Brittish Captaines. But in craft, and skillfulnesse of the countrey, having the advantage on us, but weaker in strength, removeth the war to the^(g) Ordovices: and there all those joyning to him which feared our peace, resolved to hazard the last chance, chusing a place for the battell, where the coming

^a Nam, at Northampton and Severne. Vide Cambd. ^b Suffolke, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire.

^c Whether Somersetshire man or the shore. Consul Cam. ^d Toke, Lancashire, B. of Durham, Westm. land, Cumberland. ^e Southwales, as Herefordshire, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, Monmouthshire, and Glamorganshire. ^f Maldon in Essex. ^g Northwales, Montgomeryshire, Merionethshire, Carnarvonshire, Denbighshire, and Flintshire.

in and going out was very incommodious to us, and to his great advantage. Then they got to the top of a hill: and if there were any easie passage unto them, they stopped it up with a heape of stones, as it were in manner of rampire. Not farre off, ranne a river with an uncertain foord, where a great troop of his best souldiers were ready in order before the rampire. Besides this, the leaders went about, exhorted and encouraged the souldiers, taking all occasion of feare from them, and putting them in hope, with all other inducements of warre. And *Caractacus* couring hither and thither, protested: "That that day, and that battell should be either the beginning of the recovering of their liberty, or perpetuall servitude. He called upon the names of his ancestors, which chased *Cæsar* the Dictator out of the Ile, by whose valour they were delivered from hatchets, and tributes; and enjoyed freely their wives and childrens bodies undefiled. Whilst he uttered these or the like speeches, the people made a noyse about him, and every man swore according to the religion of his countrey, that he would yeeld, neither for wounds nor armes. That courage and cheerefulnesse greatly astonied the Roman Captaine: and considering the river before his face; the fort they had cast up; the high hills which hanged over them; all things deadly to them, and commodious for the enemy, drove him into a doubt of the successe. Neverthelesse the souldier demanded battell, crying that there was nothing which valour could not overcome. The Prefects and Tribunes using the like speeches, greatly incensed the ardour and courage of the rest. Then *Ostorius* having viewed what places were of hard passage, and which of easie, leadeh his army boyling with choler, with small difficulty over the river. But when we were come to the rampire, as long as wee fought with throwing of darts, wee received most wounds, and many of our men were slaine, but after we had made our target fence^{* 17. de annot. 2. 9} thicke, and broken downe those rude compacted heapes of stones; and that the fronts of both the armies came close to handy strokes, without ods: the Barbarians fled to the hill tops. But thither also aswell the light harnessed soldiers, as the coftlets brake in: after whom the one galding them with darts and Javelins, and the others marching thicke and close together, brake the rankes, and disordered the Brittaines, having neither head-peece, nor coat of fence. If they thought to resist our ayd-souldiers, they were beaten down with swords and Javelins by the legionaries; if they turned to make head against them, they were slaine with the pikes, and two handed swords of the auxiliaries. That victory was famous; *Caractacus* wife and daughter were taken, and his brothers yeelded themselves. He himselfe (as generally all succor failes in adversity) craving defence & protection of *Cartismandua*, Queen of the Brigantes was by her taken prisoner and delivered to the Conquerours nine yeeres after the warre was begun in Britannia. Whereupon his fame being carried over the Ilands, and spread abroad throughout the Provinces adjoyning, was also renowned in Italy: and they desired to see who hee was, that so many yeeres had contemned our forces. Neither was his name meanely esteemed of at Rome. And whilest *Cæsar* extolled his owne worth, hee made the conquered more glorious. The people was assembled, as to see a notable spectacle. The Emperors guard was all in armes, and good order, in the field before their Campe then *Caractacus* vassals and retinue going before, the Capariffons, his Chaines and all other things gotten in warre against strangers, were brought after; then his brothers, his wife, and daughter; and last of all, he himselfe was shewne to the people. The prayers of the rest were base for feare: but *Caractacus* neither hanging downe the head, nor in words craving mercy, when he stood before *Cæsars* tribunall, spake as followeth.

"If my moderation in prosperity had been as great as my nobility & Fortune, I had come rather as a friend into this City, then a captive: neither wouldest thou have disdained to have received me with covenants of peace, being descended of ancient progenitors, and commanding over many nations. My present lot, as it is to me dishonourable, so is it to thee magnificent. I have had horses, men, armes, wealth: What marvell is it if unwillingly I have lost the? for if you will command all men, it followeth that all men become bondmen. If presently I had yielded and been delivered into thy hands, neither my fortune, nor thy glory had been renowned, and oblivion would have followed my punishment. But if thou keepe me alive, I shall be for ever an example of thy clemency. Having spoken these words, *Cæsar* pardoned him, his wife, and his brothers. And being all unbound, they did their reverence likewise unto *Agrippina*, who sat aloft in another high chaire, and gave her the like praises and thanks, as they had given the Prince. Surely a new and strange thing, and of our ancestors never used, that a woman should sit and command the Roman ensignes; but she carried her selfe as a fellow and associate of the Empire gotten by her ancestors. After this the Lords of the Senate being called together, they made long and glorious discourses touching *Caractacus* captivity: affirming it to be no lesse honourable then when *P. Scipio* shewed *Siphaces* unto the people, and *L. Paullus Perseus*; or if any other had exhibited to the view of the people Kings vanquished and overcome. Then publike honors of triumph were ordained for *Ostorius*, his fortunes untill then prosperous; but not long after doubtfull: either because that *Caractacus* being removed, as though thereby all had beene vanquished and subdued, service was carelessly intertained; or else because that the enemies having compassion of so mighty a King, were more fervently enflamed to revenge. For they environed the Camp master, and the Legionary Cohorts, which were left behinde to build fortresses in the Silures country: and if they had not beene speedily rescued by the Villages and Ports adjoining, they had beene put to the sword every man. Nevertheless the Camp-master, and eight Centurions, and the forwardest common souldiers, were slaine: and anon after they put to flight our Forragers, and the troopes of Horse-men which were sent to rescue them. Then *Ostorius* sendeth abroad certaine light harnesssed Companies, which yet could not stay their flight, if the Legions had not undertaken the battell. By their strength they fought with small odds on either hand, till at length we had the better of it, and the enemy be-rooke him to his heeles with small losse, because the day began to faile. After that time they had divers skirmishes, though for the most part in woods and marishes, according as occasion was given, in manner of roades, either by chance, or of valour; sometimes by their Captaines commandement, and sometime without warrant: but principally by the obstinacy of the Siluri, exasperated with a speech which the Roman Emperour should have used: which was, that as the Sugambri were destroyed, and transported into Gallia, so the name of the Siluri should utterly be extinguished. And in this heate they intercepted two ayde-bandes, encircumspeccy waiting and spoyling through the avarice of the Captaines; and by distributing the spoyles and prisoners, drew the residue of the Nations to revolt; when as *Ostorius* wearied with care and travell yeelded up his Ghost: the enemy rejoycing thereat, as at the death of a Captaine not to be despised, though not in battell, yet spent by reason of the warre. But *Cæsar* being advertised of the death of his Lieutenant, lest the Province should be destitute of a Governour, sent *A. Didius* in his place. He being gone thither with great speed, yet found not all quiet.

quiet: *Marcius Valens* in the meane space having had with a legion committed to his charge an unluckie fight. The fame whereof the enemy made greater then it was, to terrifie the Captaine which was coming: and he used the like policie, and augmented the fame of that which he had heard, to win more praise by appeasing the sturres, or if he could not, to purchase pardon more easily. The Siluri did therein eudamage us, and waste and spoile far abroad, untill by *Didius* coming they were driven backe. But after that *Caractacus* was taken, *Venutius* a very expert man in military affaires, borne at the city of the Iugantes*; and as I have sayd before, a long time trusty unto us, and defended by the Roman power, as long as the marriage betwixt him and *Cartismandua* continued; rebelled against us, by reason of a divorce and warre betweene them. But at the first the strife was onely betweene them two, untill *Cartismandua* by bolice had taken prisoner *Venutius* brother and neereft kinsmen. Whereupon the enemies kindled with rage, and ignominy pricking them forward, lest they should be brought under the yoke of a woman, they invaded her kingdome with a strong power of armed and choise youth. Which was foreseene by us, and the cohorts sent to second her, fought a hot battell, which at the beginning was doubtfull, though the end more joyfull. A legion also which *Cæsius Nasica* commanded, fought with the like successe: for *Didius* being stroken in yeeres, and having received many honours, thought it sufficient to execute his charge, and drive away the enemy by the helpe of others. These exploits although they were achieved by two Propretors, *Ostorius* and *Didius* in many yeeres; yet I thought good to joine together, lest being severed, they should not so well have beene remembered.

IX. Nero Agrippinaes sonne, is preferred before Britannicus
sonne to Claudius.

NOW I will returne to the order of times. *Tib. Claudius* being the fifth time Confull, and *Ser. Cornelius Orfitus*, great hast was made to make *Nero* of full yeeres, * that he might seeme more capable of the government. And *Cæsar* willingly yeelding to the flattery of the Lords of the Senate, consented that *Nero* should be Confull at twenty yeeres of age: and being elect, in the meane season, have the Proconsular authority out of the city; and be called prince of youth. There was also given in his name a donative to the souldiers, and a liberality to the people. The Circensian playes being exhibited to win the favour of the people, *Britannicus* in his pretext, and *Nero* in triumphing attire; because the people should see the one in the magnificence of an Emperour, and the other in the habit of a child; thereby to presume what fortune to either of them should hereafter fall. Withall, if any of the Centurions or Tribunes bewailed *Britannicus*, hap, they were removed either by fained pretences, or under colour of preferment; yea of the freedmen, if any were faithfull, he was not suffered about him. As these twomet upon occasion, *Nero* saluted *Britannicus* by his name, and *Britannicus* rendered him the like by the name of *Domitius*. VVhich *Agrippina* taking hold of, as a beginning of a quarell, carrieth to her husband with a grievous complaint, saying that the adoption was nought set by, the decree of senate, the ordinance of the people broken and abrogated in his owne house: and if such contemptuous forwardnesse of *Britannicus* teachers were not severely looked unto, it would burst out into some publike mischief. *Claudius* moved with these complaints, as though they had beene faults indeed; either banished, or put to death the chiefe bringers up

* E civitate Britannum, sayth *Claudius*.

* Toga virilis in opposition to *prætexta*, which noble mens children wore till 17. then rooke togam virilem: s. utique memoria quantum censoris gaudium, cum prætexta posita, simul virilem togam. Senec.

of his sonne, and placed such over him as his stepmother would appoint. Nevertheless *Agrippina* durst not levell at her chiefest marke, which was that her son should succeed in state, unlesse *Lusius Geta*, & *Rufus Crispinus* captaines of *Cæsars* guard were first discharged; whom she thought would be mindfull of *Messalinae* favors towards them, and therefore bound unto her children. *Agrippina* therefore beareth the Emperour in hand, that the guard was devided into factions through ambition of the two captaines striving for superiority; that the discipline of service would be better kept if the souldiers were commanded by one alone. The charge of the cohorts was transferred unto *Burrhus Afranius*, a man of great fame for matter of service, yet knowing well by whose practise and favour he came to the place. *Agrippina* began also to raise her owne estate to a higher degree, by entering into the Capitol in a Chariot, which in times past was a custome only lawful for the priests in sacred rites; which augmented the more the state of this woman, because she was the only example unto this day of any one, who being daughter of an Emperour, hath bene also sister, wife, and mother of an Emperour. In the meane season her chiefest buckler *Vitellius*, being in highest favour, and very old (so slippery is the state of great personages) was accused by *Tunius Lupus* Senator, of treason, and aspiring to the Empire; and *Cæsar* ready to give eare to the accusation, if he had not rather changed his opinion by *Agrippinae* threats then intreaties, and so to banish the accuser, which was the punishment *Vitellius* best liked. That yeere many prodigious sights hapned: as that many birds portending evill lucke lighted upon the Capitol; many houses ruined by often earthquakes, and the feare spreading among the astonied people, many in throngs were smothered. The want of corne, and the famine which insued thereof was also construed as a preface of evill lucke. Neither did they complaine in secret onely, but came about *Claudius* as he gave audience, with turbulent clamors, & having thrust him to the end of the forum, followed him, untill that with a band of souldiers he brake through the prease. It was most certaine that the city was not victualled for above fiftene dayes: but by the great goodnesse of the gods, and mildenesse of the winter, the city was releevd in necessity. But truely in times past provision of corne hath bene transported out of Italy into other provinces farre distant. And at this present we stand not in want through the barrennesse of the country, but wee doe rather manure Africke and Egypt, and hazard the life of the people of Rome by sea, whereof depends want or abundance.

X. Warres betweene the Romans and the Parthians.

THE same yeere a warre begun betweene the Armenians and Hiberi, was cause of great troubles betwixt the Romans and the Parthians. *Vologeses* was King of the Parthians, descended by his mothers side of a Greeke concubine, yet got the kingdom by consent of his brothers. *Pharasmans* had a long time possessed the Hiberians country as a King: and his brother *Mithridates* the Armenians through our forces. *Pharasmans* had a sonne called *Rhadamistus* of a comely tall stature, and of a very strong and able body, trained up in the qualities and practises his father before him had bene, and greatly renowned among his neighbours. He was wont to say that the kingdom of Hiberia was small, and yet kept from him by his father, who was very old: and so oft he did cast forth those speeches, and so fiercely, that it was easily seene how greedy a desire he had to reigne. *Pharasmans* then seeing this young man so desirous and ready to rule, misdoubting the peoples affection bent towards him, by reason of his declining yeeres; thought it best

best to feed him with some other hope and set Armenia before his eies, telling him that he had given that kingdom to *Mithridates*, having first expelled the Parthians. Yet that it was not his best course to set on it by force; but use policie against *Mithridates*, and intrap him when he least looked for it. *Rhadamistus* under colour of some discontent with his father, through the insupportable dealing of his stepmother, goeth to his uncle: where being intreated with all curtesie as if he had bene his own child, soliciteh the cheife Noble-men of Armenia to rebellion: *Mithridates* knowing nothing, but still entertaining him with all favor and kindnesse. *Rhadamistus* under colour of reconciliation returned unto his father, and declared unto him to what a forwardnesse he had brought matters by policy; and that the rest was to be accomplished by armes. In the mean time *Pharasmans* seeketh occasions of warre: and faineth that when he made warre against the King of the Albani, and demanded succour of the Romanes, his brother was against him, which injurie he would revenge to his utter ruine and overthrow. And therewithall giveth his sonne a strong power, who having terrified *Mithridates* with a sudden irruption and driven him out of the field, forced him to flee into a Fort called Gorneas, strong by situation, and girded with a Garrison of souldiers: *Calius Pollio* being their captaine, and *Casperius* their Centurion. The barbarous people knew nothing lesse then engines and subtile devises in besieging and assailing of fortresses: and to us that part of service is most familiar. And *Rhadamistus* in vaine, yea with his losse having tried to approach the Fort beginning the siege; and seeing how little good was to be done that way, tryeth what marchandise he could make with the captaine for money: although *Casperius* protested that a King confederate, or Armenia the gift of the people of Rome, ought not to be bought and sold by corruption and money. In the end, because *Pollio* pretended the multitude of enemies, and *Rhadamistus* his fathers commandement; *Casperius* having agreed to a suspension of armes, departed: with intention that if he could not with-draw *Pharasmans* from making warre against *Mithridates*, he would informe *T. Vinidius Quadratus* President of Syria in what estate Armenia stood. By the departure of the Centurion, the prefect being as it were delivered of a keeper, began to exhort *Mithridates* to make a peace: "Shewing him the unity that should be betweene brothers, that *Pharasmans* was his elder brother, with other respects of freindship & alliance; as "he had married *Pharasmans* daughter, and how he was *Rhadamistus* father in law. "The Hiberi refused not to make a peace, although at that time they were strong, & "the perfidiousnesse of the Armenian well knowne; and *Mithridates* had no other "refuge but the Castle destitute of munition: & therefore that he should not doubt "rather to accept conditions of peace without blood, then try the hazard of warre. "*Mithridates* resolved not on the sudden, suspecting the captains counsels; because "he had lewdly behaved himselfe with the Kings Concubines, was a man easily corrupted with money to all lewdnesse. *Casperius* in the meane space goeth to *Pharasmans*, and is very instant that the Hiberi should depart from the siege of Gorneas. But the King giving openly uncertaine answers, and for the most part gentle and milde; by secret messengers advertiseth *Rhadamistus* by all possible meanes to hasten the assault. The price of the treason is augmented, and *Pollio* secretly corrupting the souldiers, perswadeth them earnestly to demand a peace, and threaten that they would abandon the Fortresse. Through which necessity *Mithridates* taketh a day and place to treat of a peace, and goeth out of the Fortresse. *Rhadamistus* running immediatly to embrace him; faineth great obedience; calleth him father in law, and father; and sweareth hee would use no violence to-

wards him, neither by sword, nor poison. And withall draweth him into a wood hard by, saying: that there he had caused a sacrifice to be provided to conclude and confirme the peace in the presence of the gods. The custome of those kings is that when they make any atonement, to joyne their right hands, and bind their thumbs together, and draw them hard with a knot; then when the blood is run to the outward parts, with a small pricke let it out, & then lick the one the others: that atonement is counted sacred, as it were hallowed with their mutuall blood. But he which should have tyed their thumbs together, faining as if he had fallen, catcheth holde of *Mithridates* knees, and overthroweth him: immediatly many ran in and bound him in chaines and fetters, and so drew him away, which the Barbarians repute a great ignominy and dishonour. The common people whom he had rigorously tyrannised, reviled him, and offered to strike him. But contrariwise there were some which had compassion of so great a change of fortune: and his wife following with her little children filled all with lamentation; who were all thrust into sundry covered wagons, untill *Pharasmanes* pleasure was knowen. But the Kingdome was dearer unto him, then his brother and daughter; and therefore his minde was ready bent to all wickednes: onely he tooke order that they should not be murdered in his sight. And *Rhadamistus* as it were mindfull of his oath, used neither sword nor poison against his sister and uncle; but laying them on the ground covereth and stiflenth them with a heavy burden of clothes. And *Mithridates* children were slaine likewise, because they wept and bewailed the murdering of their parents. But *Pharasmanes* understanding that *Mithridates* was betrayed, & that the murderers enjoyed the Kingdome, calleth a counsell, and declareth the matter, and consulteth whether he should revenge or not. Few had care of the publicke credit; most were of opinion that they should embrace the surest way. That they should be glad of all wickednesse committed among forraine Nations: yea, that they should cast seedes of sedition and hatred among them: as oft the Roman Princes had bestowed the same Armenia under colour of liberalitie now to one, now to another, as an occasion to put those Barbarians together by the eares. That *Rhadamistus* might enjoy his ill gotten Kingdome, so as withall he be odious and infamous: seeing that it was better so for the Romans, then if he had gotten it with credit. They all condescended unto this advice. And yet lest they should seeme to approve that wicked fact, and lest *Cesar* should command the contrary, messengers were sent to *Pharasmanes*, advising him to depart Armenia, and withdraw his sonne away likewise. At that time *Tullius Pelignus* a dastardly coward, and no lesse despicable, a jesting stocke for mishap and deformitie of body, was Procurator of Cappadocia; but of inward familiarity with *Cesar*; which being a private man in times past, in his company he spent his idle time with delight and contentation. This *Pelignus* having gathered together the forces of the Provinces, as if he would recover Armenia, but wasting and spoiling the allies more then the enemies; his owne revolting from him, and the Barbarians making incursions; being without succour came to *Rhadamistus*, who with gifts so wonne him, that of his owne motion he exhorted him to crowne himselfe King, and assisted him as the Author and approver of the action. Which dishonest fact being bruited abroad, lest the credit of the rest should be measured according to this fact of *Pelignus*: *Helvidius Priscus*, Lieutenant was sent with a Legion to redresse those sturres as the present occasion required. Who having with all convenient speed passed over the hill *Taurus*, and settling the affaires there rather with moderation, then force, was commanded to returne to Syria; lest he should be a beginning of warre against the Parthians. For *Vologeses* thinking there had fell out just occasion

occasion of invading Armenia, which possessed of his Ancestors, a forraine King now occupied by a lewde practise, assemblenth his power: and because none of his house should live without rule and soveraigntie, goeth about to invest his brother *Tiridates* in the Kingdome. By the coming of the Parthians, the Hiberi were driven out without stroke striking: and the Cities of the Armenians, *Artaxata*, and *Tigranocerta*, submitted themselves to the yoke. But the sharpe and hard winter, or else scarcety of victuals and other provision, and the sicknesse proceeding of both, constrained *Vologeses* to forsake his pretended enterprise: and *Rhadamistus* invadeth Armenia afresh, having none to resist him; more cruell then before, as against rebels, ready at all times to rebel if occasion were offered. In so much that they, though accustomed to bondage, yet brake all patience, and besieged the Kings house; *Rhadamistus* having no other refuge, then the swiftnesse of his horses, saved both himselfe and his wife. But his wife being great with childe, endured the first flight so so, for feare of the enemy and love of her husband: afterward by continuall hast and overmuch jogging and shaking, she began to pray her husband that with an honest death she might be delivered from the reproch of captivity. He at the first embraced her, comforted her, encouraged her; then admiring her stoutnesse, then sick with grief, lest leaving her behinde him, any should enjoy her: at last overcome with love; and being no babe in wicked attempts, draweth his Cymeter; and having given her a wound, drew her to the banks of *Araxis* and committed her to the river, lest her body should be carried away; and posteth himselfe to *Hyberia* his fathers kingdome. In the meane time the Shepheards espied *Zenobia* (for so was *Rhadamistus* wife called) drawing breath and alive, upon the quiet shore of the river: and judging her by the comelineesse of her person, of some Noble race, bound up her wound, and applied such medicaments as the countrey affordeth. Then understanding her name and chance carried her into the Citie *Artaxata*: from whence at the charge of the common purse she was conducted to *Tiridates*, who entertained her with such curtesie as befemed a Kings wife.

XI. A decree against the Mathematicians. Cumanus and Fœlix, Governours of Iudea at variance: Warre against the Clites.

WHEN *Fasellus Sylla*, and *Salvius Otbo* were Consuls; *Furius Scribonianus* was banished, as searching out by the Chaldeans the time when the Prince should die. And *Iunia* his mother who before exiled was touched with the same crime, as bearing impatiently her former fortune, *Camillus Scribonianus* father had heretofore stirred up wars in Dalmatia: & therefore *Cesar* thought it a point of clemency to keep alive the progeny of his enemy. Nevertheless the banished man enjoyed not any long life after this: but ended his daies, either by naturall death, or by poison; every man giving out as he beleevd. Of banishing the Astrologers out of Italy there was a straight decree of Senat made, but tooke no effect. After this the Prince commended such in an Oration, who knowing their own estate decayed gave up their Senators roome of their owne accorde; and those put from it, which continuing in it, joynd impudency to their poverty. Among other things the matter was debated in Senat touching the punishment of such women as married with slaves: and an order set downe that shee who without the privitie of her Lord, had salne into that folly, should as if she had consented thereto, become herselfe a bond-slave, and the children borne of them be taken as Libertini. And *Pallas* whom *Cesar* publicly

publicly confessed to have been author of this relation, was by the advice of *Ba. rea Soranus* Consul elect, honored with the Prætorian ornaments, and received further * a hundred and fifty hundred thousand sesterces: and it was added by *Scipio Cornelius*, that thanks should be publicly given him, that being descended from the Kings of Armenia he would prefer the public good before his ancient family, and vouchsafe to be accounted one of the Princes officers. *Claudius* affirmed that *Pallas* was contented with the Prætorian dignitie onely, and would continue in his former povertie. Whereupon a decree of Senate was publicly engraven in Brasse in commendation of this freed-man, who being possessor of there hundred millions of sesterces, was content to live according to the provident manner of sparing of our ancestors. But his brother surnamed *Felix* of late made Governour of Judæa, used not the same moderation; but bare himselfe upon his authoritie as a sufficient warrant for all lewdnesse whatsoever. The Jewes made shew of a rebellion through a sedition * after they understood of the death of *Caius*: they were still afeard lest some other Prince should command them the like things. In the meane season, *Felix* going about to redresse all by unseasonable punishments, exasperated them the more. And *Ventidius Cumanus* unto whom part of the Province was committed, and was his secret enemy, egged him forward. For the countrey was so divided, that the Galileans were governed by *Cumanus*, and the Samaritans by *Felix*, enemies of old; and now more then ever shewing themselves through the contempt of the Governours. And therefore made inroades one against the other, set in Companies to robbe and spoile; laide ambushes: and sometimes they met in battell, and carried the booties and spoiles to their Governours. Who at the first were glad of it; but in the end perceiving the mischief to grow greater, they sent in souldiers to quiet them, which were all slaine. And the whole Province had beene in an uproare; if *Quadratus* the Governour of Syria had not found meanes of redresse: who stayed not long untill he had revenged the death of the Roman souldiers, which the Jewes had slaine. *Cumanus* and *Felix* drew the matter at length, because *Claudius* having understood the occasions of the rebellion, had given authority to the Governour to determine, and punish the Procurators *Cumanus* and *Felix*, if their demerit had so required. But *Quadratus* caused *Felix* to sit among the Judges, and received him into the Tribunall to him, to the end the heat of the accusers should thereby be cooled: and condemned *Cumanus* for all the misdemeanour which both of them had committed, and by that meanes he set the Province at quietnesse. Not long after the Peasants of the Cilician Nation surnamed *Clites*, which at divers other times had rebelled, having *Trosobor* for their Captaine, encamped on a rough and high hill. And from thence running downe to the sea shores and Cities, ventured on the husbandmen and Citizens; and often set on Marchants and Sea-men. And then having besieged the city of the *Anemurien*ses; the horse-men sent out of Syria to aide them were put to flight with *Curtius Severus* their Prefect, by reason of the difficulties and uncleannes of the place round about fit for foot-men, was most incommodious for horse-men to fight. Then *Antiochus* King of that quarter, using faire words to the Countrey people, and craft and subtilty towards the Captain, when he had severed the forces of the Barbarians having slaine *Trosobor* and a few of the ring leaders; appeased the residue by clemency. The same time betwene the lake *Fucinus* and the river *Lyris*, the better to behold the fight and magnificence of the spectacle, a Mountaine was cut thorow, and in the very lake a Sea-fight was represented. *Augustus* in times past had done the like, by making a standing poole on this side *Tibris*, but with light boates and few in number. *Claudius* armed Gallies with three and

* About 11738
pound 15 shill.

* About
2343750 lib.

four

four oares on a seate, and nineteene thousand men, and environed the Lake with frames of timber-work, because they should not run out at randome, yet left space enough for the rowers and Pilots to shew skill, and such encounters as had been accustomed in a sea fight. On the buildings about the Lake stood certaine companies of foot-men and troopes of horsemen of the Emperours guard, with fences before them to shoot with warlike instruments & engines. The rest of the Lake, sea-souldiers occupied with covered ships: the shore and small hil tops as it had been a Theatre, an infinite number of people filled, as well out of the townes adjoining, as the City, through desire of seeing the pastime, or to please the Prince. He himselfe in a rich and princely coat-armour, and *Agrippina* not farre off seate aloft, in a garment wrought with gold. They fought although they were malefactors and condemned persons, with great courage and valor; and after many wounds were parted and hindered from killing one another. But after that the shew was ended and the water let out: the insufficiency of the worke which was not thrust down, nor digged deepe enough to the bottome was discovered. Whereupon not long after the ditches were digged deeper, and to draw the people againe together, a shew of Fencers was made on bridges built over the Lake to represent a land fight. And at the mouth of the Lake a banquet prepared, drove them all into a great feare through the violent gushing out of the water, which carried with it all that was by, and things farther off breaking downe, with the crash and noise, strooke them all into a maze. Whereupon *Agrippina* taking advantage of the Princes feare, rebuked *Narcissus* who had charge of the worke, of covetousnesse and theft. And he for his part held not his tongue, but cast in her teeth her intolerable pride, and over haughty hopes.

XII. Nero marrieth with Octavia: the inhabitants of *Cous* exempted from subsidies: the like is granted to *Byzance*.

VHen *D. Iunius* and *Q. Haterius* were Consuls, *Nero* at the age of fixteene married *Casars* daughter, *Octavia*. And to win credit and reputation by honourable studies and glory of eloquence, undertaking the *Iliesen*ses cause, declared that the Romans were descended from *Troy*, & that *Aeneas* was the roote of the *Julian* family, and many other matters, not farre unlike old fables; which being delivered with a good grace and fit words, obtained that the *Iliesen*ses should be released from all public duties and charges. He pleaded also for the *Bonian* Colony which was wasted with fire, and obtained for their reliefe * tenne millions of sesterces. The inhabitants of *Rhodes* were restored to their liberty, often taken from them, or confirmed, according as they had merited by service abroad, or demerited by sedition at home. The *Apameans* ruined by an earth-quake were discharged of tribute for five ycers. *Claudius* was incensed to much cruelty by *Agrippinaes* practises; who gaping after *Statilius Taurus* Gardens, esteemed very rich, never ceased untill she had overthrowne him, *Tarquitius Priscus*, being his accuser. This *Priscus* had been *Taurus* Lieutenant, when he was Proconsull in *Africke*: and when they returned, objected that in some things he had used extortion and bribery; and withall, that he consulted with Magicians. But he not able to endure such an indignitie by a false accuser, slew himselfe before the Senators had given sentence: yet notwithstanding all the suite *Agrippina* could make, this *Tarquitius* was expelled the Curia: so odious he was to the rest of the Lords of the Senate. The same yeare the Prince was often heard to say, that the causes adjudged by his Procuratour, should be of the same validity, as if himselfe had given sentence.

* About
78125.
pound.

P 3

And

And lest those words might seeme to have escaped him by chance, a decree of Senate was enacted thereon, fuller and ampler then before any had been conceived. And *Augustus* of famous memory had granted, that all causes might be heard before the gentlemen which governed Egypt; and commanded that the sentences set down by them should be kept, as if they had bin given by a magistrate of Rome. After that, in other Provinces, and in the citie, many things were granted, which in times past belonged to the hearing only of the Pretor. *Claudius* yeelded them all their right and jurisdiction, for which there had been such warres and sedition: as when the order of gentlemen by the Sempronian lawes, were established in the possession of Judicature; or when the Servilian lawes on the other side, had given the Senate power judicially to determine causes: and for which *Marium* and *Sylla* in times past more then all the rest, made warres the one against the other. But in those daies factions reigned among the citizens; and the conquerors bare publike sway, having all power in their hands. *C. Oppius* and *Cornelius Balbus* were the first, which with authoritie from *Cæsar* could handle conditions as well of peace, as of warre. It were to small purpose to speake of the Matians and Vedians after these, which were gentlemen of marke, and of noble families: seeing that *Claudius* hath made freedmen: unto whom he had committed the charge of his household affaires equall to himselfe, and to the laws. After that, *Cæsar* propounded, whether those of Cous should be releas'd of tributes, alleadging many things concerning their antiquitie: as that the Argivi, and Ceus, *Latonaes* father, were the old inhabitants of the Ile; and that after by *Aesculapius* arriving there, the Art of Physicke was brought in; a man highly esteemed of posteritie; naming them by their names, and in what age every one of them flourished. Further, he affirmed that *Xenophon* whose skill himselfe used in Physicke, descended from the same family; and that in regard of his desire, the Ile of Cous devoted to the service of so great a god, should be discharged of all tributes. Neither was it to be doubted, but there might be alleadged many merits of theirs, towards the people of Rome; and many victories obtained by their alliance. But *Claudius* according to his accustomed facilitie and simplicitie, went not about to shadow that with externall helps, which he had bestowed in favour of one alone. The Byzantines having obtained audience, delivered how grievous their impositions and tributes were, and desired they might be releas'd; and ripped up all reasons they could, even from the first alliance which they made with us, when we warred against the king of Macedonia, who for baseness of minde, and want of courage, was called the false *Philip*. How after that, they had sent their power against *Antiochus*, *Perses*, *Aristonicus*: and how they succoured *Antony*, in the wars against the Pirats: calling to minde likewise that which they offered *Sylla*, or *Lucullus*, or *Pompey*: then the late good turnes and services done to the *Cæsars*, when they came into those parts; where there is a most convenient passage both by land and by sea, for the captaines and armies with all carriages of necessary provisions. For the Greeks situate Byzance in the utmost part of Europe, in a very narrow straight, which divideth Europe from Asia: for having consulted with *Pythius Apollo*, in what territory they should build their citie; the oracle answered them that they should seeke out a feat which was opposit to the land of blindmen. By that darke speech, the Chalcedonians were pointed at; because that having first arrived in that place, not judging aright of the commodiousness of it, made choise of the worst: for Byzance is seated in a fertile soile, and a plentiful full sea; because great abundance of fish going out of Pontus, and fringed ith the rocks and stones under the water, forsaking the creekes of the other

theor,

shore, is brought all to these havens. Whereby first all the City became rich and wealthy: but then oppressed with charges and impositions: and therefore intreated they might either have an end or a mean of so heavy a burden. The Prince was ready to do them good, alleadging that they were to be helped, as people wearied with late wars against the Trachians and Bosphorans: and thereupon they were exempted in tributes for five yeeres space.

XIII. *Why Agrippina seeketh Claudius death: the Emperour dieted imprisoned by the Physician Xenophon.*

WHEN *M. Asinius*, and *M. Acilius* were Consuls, a change of state to the worse was portended, and fore-knownne by many prodigious signes. For the ensignes and souldiers Tents were burnt with fire from heaven. A swarme of Bees lighted on the top of the Capitol: monsters and children born with two shapes: and a Sow brought forth a Pigge with talons of a Hauke. It was accounted a Prodigious matter, that the number of Magistrates was so small; a Quæstor, Aedill, Tribune, Prætor, and Consull dying but a few moneths before. But *Agrippina* of all others was most afeard, by reason of a word which *Claudius* cast forth being drunk; which was, that it was fatall unto him, first to beare the lewdness of his wives; then to punish them. Thereupon she bestirred her selfe and that with all speed: but first having made away *Domitia* for light cause, and womens quarels. For *Domitia Lepida*, being daughter to the younger *Antonia*, and Neece to *Augustus* and cousen germane to *Agrippina* and sister to *Gn. Agrippinaes* first husband; thought her selfe to be of as great nobility as *Agrippina*, and as well descended: neither was there any great difference betweene them in beauty, age and wealth. And being both unchaste, infamous, peremptory and proud; they no lesse hated one the other for their vices, then for the graces and gifts of fortune. The ground of this bitter and deadly hate was, which should have more credit, and greater interest in *Nero*, the Aunt or the Mother. For *Lepida* had won the young mans heart by gifts, and faire words: *Agrippina* contrariwise cruell and threatning, could give her sonne the Empire; but not indure that he should rule. The crimes imputed to her were, that she went about to destroy the Princes wife by incantations, and devilish invocations: and that by not bridling and punishing her swarmes of slaves in Calabria, she had disturbed the quietness of Italy: for these causes she was commanded to die. *Narcissus* mightily repenting and grudging at it, who began more and more to suspect *Agrippina*; and was said to have uttered unto his neere friends, "that he was sure to dye, whether *Britannicus* or *Nero* came to be Emperour. Yet he "had received so much good at *Cæsars* hands, that he esteemed more of the Prince's safety then his own life: *Messallinus* and *Silius* had been convicted; the like occasions of accusations will be offered againe, if *Nero* should reign. If *Britannicus* "should succeed, he had deserved no favour of him; and the whole house would be "shaken, and utterly overthrown, with the devilish devices of his Step-mother; "and with more wicked practices, then if he had concealed the impudicity and unclean life of his other wife: although the house be as shamefully defiled by *Pallas* "adultery as then it was; because no man should doubt what small account she "made of her credit, reputation, shame, body and all whatsoever, so as she might "rule and command. After he had uttered these or the like speeches he embraced *Britannicus*, wished he were come to ripe yeeres, lifteth up his hands sometimes to the gods, sometimes to him; praying that he might grow in yeeres, drive out his

his fathers enemies, and revenge on the murderers of his mother. *Claudius* in this great heape of cares was stricken with sicknes, and to recover his strength with the temperatenesse of the city, and wholefomnesse of the waters, went to *Sinuessa*. Then *Agrippina* long before resolved in her villanous designement, and desirous to hasten the occasion offered, wanting no ministers, began to thinke with her selfe what kinde of poison she were best to use: for by a speedy and quick working poison, she feared lest her wickednesse should be discovered; yet if she should choose a lingering slow working one, lest *Claudius* drawing by little and little to his end, and understanding the treachery, should turn his minde and shew love and affection to his own sonne: in the end she resolved to thinke on some singular thing which should trouble his braines, and not worke his death over-hastily. A Schoole mistress of such practises was chosen of purpose, called *Locusta* of late condemned of empoisoning, and long reserved among other instruments of State. The poison was prepared by this womans skill, and the minister to give it was *Holotus*, an Eunuuch, one accustomed to carry in and taste his meate: all came afterward so cleerely to light, that the Writers of those times have affirmed, that the poison was infused into a Mushrome which *Claudius* tooke pleasure to eate of: which then hee perceived not, either by reason of his blockishnesse, or over much quaffing of wine; and having a solublenesse of body withall, it was thought the receipt would not worke his effect. Whereupon *Agrippina* greatly astonied, and fearing her utter destruction, nothing regarding what envy she might presently incurre, conferreth with *Xenophon* the Physitian, whose conscience before-hand she had wrought to serve her turne. He as though he would helpe the Prince, endeavouring to vomit, was thought to have put downe his throat a feather dipped in a strong and speedy poison; knowing well that foule attempts are begun with danger, and accomplished with reward. In the meane time the Senate was assembled, and the Consuls and Priests made vowes for the health of the Prince; and being already dead, he was covered and cherished with cloathes, whilest things necessary to assure the Empire upon *Nero* were a preparing. And first of all *Agrippina*, as one overcome with griefe, and seeking comfort, held *Britannicus* betweene her armes, calling him the very image of his fathers face, and by divers policies entertained him, for feare he should goe out of the chamber: and with like practises held *Antonia* and *Octavia* his sisters; and at every doore and passages placed a strong Guard: and often gave out that the Prince waxed better and better, to the end the souldier should live in good hope, and she enterprised her attempt at such a time as the Magicians should think lucky and prosperous. Then about the middest of the day, the third before the Ides of October, the Palace gates being suddenly laid open, *Nero* accompanied with *Burrhus*, goeth forth to the Cohort, who kept ward according to custome; where at the commandement of the Captaine of the Guard hee was received with shoutes, and acclamations of joy; and put into a Chariot. It is reported that some were in a doubt, and looking about them, and asking where *Britannicus* was? then seeing no beginner of any attempt to the contrary, they followed that which was offered: and so *Nero* being brought to the rest of the Guard, and having made a speech fit for the time, and promised a donative according to the example of his fathers largesse, was saluted Emperour. A decree of Senate confirmed the sentence of the souldiers; neither was there any doubt made of it in the Provinces. After that honour due to the gods was ordained for *Claudius*, and the Funerals as solemnly celebrated as when *Augustus* of famous memory was buried, *Agrippina* imitating the magnificence

cence of her grandmother *Livia*. *Claudius* Testament was not publikely read lest the people should bee incensed to disdain, and envy against *Nero*, by seeing him who was onely a sonne in law, to bee preferred before the Emperours naturall sonne.

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THE THIRTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. Silanus is put to death, and Narcissus. Neroes good beginning.



HE first whose death was contrived in this new government was *Lucius Silanus* Proconsull of Asia, and that without the privy of *Nero* by *Agrippinae* treachery and malice; not because he had by any seditious demeanour procured his own ruine: for he was so heauie and dull spirited, and the other Emperours did so finally regard him, that *C. Caesar* was wont to call him a golden sheepe. But *Agrippina* having wrought the ruine of his brother *L. Sillanus*, feared revenge; being a common speech among the people that this deserved to be preferred to the Empire before *Nero*, yet scarce out of his childhood, and having gotten it by wicked means, for he was a man of a settled age, sincere and just in his dealing, noble of birth, and (which at that time was greatly esteemed) descended of the *Caesars*, being in the fourth degree to *Augustus*. This was the cause of his death, the ministers being *P. Celer*, a Gentleman of Rome, and *Aelius* a freed-man, both having charge of the Princes peculiar reuenues in Asia. By them the poison was given the Proconsull in his meate, and that so openly, that it could not be denied. With no lesse speed *Claudius* freed-man, *Narcissus* (of whose jarring with *Agrippina* I have already spoken) was brought to his end, by hard imprisonment, and extreame necessitie, against the Princes will; whose vicious humours yet unknowne he did exceedingly well fit in covetousnesse and prodigalitie, and had gone forward in murders, if *Afranius Burrhus*, and *Annaeus Seneca* had not stayed them. These two were the young Emperours guides and governours; and in equall authority, well agreeing, bare equall stroke in divers faculties. *Burrhus* in military discipline and gravity of manners; *Seneca* in precepts of eloquence, and courteous carriage, helping one the other in their charge, the easier to bridle the youths slippery age with honest and lawfull pleasures, if he contemned vertue. Their care was both alike in keeping under *Agrippinae* fierce humour, who boyling with all desires of wicked rule and dominion, had *Pallas* for her counsellor; by whose advice *Claudius* through his incestuous marriage, and pernicious adoption, wrought his owne ruine. But *Neroes* disposition was not to be ruled by a slave; and *Pallas* with an odious arrogancy exceeding the moderation of a freed-man, bred his owne dislike. Nevertheless, all honours were openly heaped upon *Agrippina*, and the Tribune according to the order of service asking the watch-word, had this given him by *Nero*, of the very good mother. The Senate decreed she should have two sergeants, and *Claudius* a Colledge of Priests called *Claudians*: and withall, that he should have the funerals of a Censor and be after deified and put among the gods. The day of his funerals, *Nero* made the oration in his praise, and as long as he spake of the antiquitie of his stock, of the Consulships and triumphs of his ancestors, he and the rest were attentive: and likewise whilst he spake of the love he bare to liberal sciences, & that during the time of his government the common-wealth was not molested by foreign power, all men gave good eare: but after he descended to his providence and wisdom

dome, no man could forbear laughing; although the oration composed by *Seneca* shewed the exquisite skill of that mans pleasant vaine, fitted and applied to the eares of that time. The old men (which were at leasure to compare things past with the present) noted that *Nero* was the first Emperour that needed another mans eloquence. For *Caesar* the Dictatour, was equall with the famous Orators: and *Augustus* had a ready, fluent and eloquent speech, such as well becommen a Prince. *Tiberius* had great skill in weighing his words, uttered much in few words, but was obscure of set purpose. Yea, *C. Caesar* troubled mind hindred not his eloquence: neither wanted *Claudius* elegancy when he had premeditated. *Nero* in the beginning of his childish yeers bent his lively spirit to other matters, as to ingrave, to paint, to sing, to manage horses, and sometimes in composing a verse he shewed some smattering of learning. When the funerals were ended, he entered the Curia, and having first spoken of the authority of the Lords of the Senat, love and concord of the souldiers, he reckned up certaine designments and presidents he intended to follow in the governing of the Empire, adding: that not having beene nuzled up in civill warres, nor domestick discords, he would bring with him neither hatred, nor grudge, nor desire of revenge. Then he layd downe a platforme of his future regiment, especially avoyding those things, the hate whereof did yet freshly boyle in mens hearts; that he would not be the judge of all matters, lest the accusers and defendants being as it were shut up in one house, the power of a few might have full sway to work their will: there should nothing be set at sale in his court, or exposed to ambition; his house should be divided from the Common-wealth; the Senate should retain his old preheminance; Italy and publicke Provinces should make their appearance before the Consuls tribunall, and they give audience like Lords of the Senat, and he himselfe would looke to the Army committed to his charge. Neither did he faile in his promise. For many things were ordayned by the arbitrement of the Senate: As that no man should be bought for reward or gift to plead a cause. That the Quæstor elected should not be constrained to set forth the shew of Fencers, which was a matter the Senators obtained contrary to *Agrippinae* will, under colour that *Claudius* acts were thereby infringed. And thereupon he caused the Senate to be called to the Palace, to the end that she might stand in a secret place, separated from the Lords by some vaile, which might not hinder the hearing of them, and yet not be seene. Yea, when the Embassadors of Armenia came to plead the cause of their Nation before *Nero*, she was ready to pearch up to the Chaire of audience, and by this side to give answer with him, if (the rest surprised with a great shame) *Seneca* had not advised him to meete his mother, as shee came; and so under colour of doing his duty, prevented the discredit.

II. *Neroes* preparatives to defend Armenia.

IN the end of the year, it was a common rumour that the Parthians had burst out againe, and wasted Armenia, driven out *Rhadamistus*, who having beene first King, and after a fugitive, had then given up this war. Whereupon in the City greedy of talke, they began to enquire, how the Prince which was yet scarce past seventeene yeeres of age, could either undertake or acquit himselfe of so great a burden: what helpe could be expected at his hands, who was led by a woman: whether battels and warres also, and besieging of townes, and other duties of service, could be accomplished by his masters? Contrariwise others said it had fallen out better, then if *Claudius* a weake and cowardly old man, should have beene called

"called to the labours of war, ready to obey the commandments of his slaves. Yet Burrhus and Seneca had been proved by experience of many matters: and what wanted to the Emperors full strength, seeing that Cn. Pomponius at eighteen yeeres of age, and Caesar Octavianus at nineteene, sustained civill wars? Most things in high fortune are achieved rather by good luck, conduct, and counsell, then weapons and hands. That he should give an evident prooffe, whether he used honest freinds or not, if he would rather make choise of a notable & valiant Captain, envy layd aside, then a rich, graced and favored by ambitious sute. Whilst the people thus discoursed, Nero commanded a muster to be made of the youth in the Provinces bordering upon the Parthians, to supply the Legions of the East; and the Legions themselves to be planted neere unto Armenia: and withall, wrote to the two old Kings Agrippa and Iocchus, to prepare their forces, and enter the bounds of Parthia, and make bridges over the River Euphrates: and gave charge of lesser Armenia to Aristobulus, and the Sophenian Nation to Sobemus, honouring them both with royal marks and ornaments. And in very good time it fel out that Vardanes son began to rebell and beard Vologeses, which caused the Parthians to depart Armenia as though they would defer the war. But all things were made more then they were to the Senat, amplified by those who gave advise that processions should bee made in honour of the Prince: and that that day he should weare a triumphall garment, and enter into the City ovant: and that his image of the same greatnesse that Mars the revengers was, should be placed in the same Temple; being besides their ordinary flattery, joyfull and glad, that he had made Domitius Corbulo Governour of Armenia: perswading themselves, that the way was now made open to vertue. The forces of the East were so divided, that part of the ayd souldiers with two Legions should remain in the Province of Syria, with the Lieutenant Quadratus Vinidius: and that the like number of Citizens and Allies should bee under Corbulos charge, with other Cohorts and Coronets of horse-men, which wintered in Cappadocia. The Kings which were confederate with the Romans, were warned to be in a readinesse as occasion of warre should require. But their affections were bent more upon Corbulo, who to purchase fame (which in new enterprises is of greater importance) making away with all speed at Agas a City of Cilicia, met Quadratus; who was come so farre, lest if Corbulo should have entered into Syria to receive the forces, all mens eyes would have beene cast upon him, being of a comely and tall stature, magnificall in wordes; and besides his experience and wisdom, in shew of vaine hope and promises, wonne the people to what hee lusted. In fine, both of them by messengers admonished King Vologeses to desire rather a peace then warre, and giving hostages, continue the like reverence to the people of Rome as his predecessours had done. And Vologeses to make preparations of warre with more advantage, and such as might match the Romans, or to remove those he suspected as concurrents under the name of hostages, delivereth the noblest of the Arsacides family, whom Hostorius the Centurion sent before by Vinidius for other occasions received. Corbulo understanding this, commandeth Arius Varus, Capitaine of a company of Foote-men, to go and receive them: from whence grew a quarell betweene the Capitaine and Centurion (which because they would no longer be a jesting stocke to the strangers) they referred to the arbitrement of the pledges themselves, and Lieutenants which conducted them: who preferred Corbulo before the other, partly through the fresh renowne which was yet in every mans mouth; and partly through a certaine inclination which the enemies themselves bare him. Hereupon grew a jarre betweene the Capitaines,

Vinidius

Vinidius complaining, that, that was taken from him which was compassed by his advise: Corbulo protesting on the contrary part, that the King was never drawn to offer pledges, untill that he being chosen capitaine of the war, had turned his hopes into feare. Nero to set them at one, caused it to be published, that Quadratus and Corbulo, for their prosperous successses, should have bayes added to the bundle of rods, which was carried before great captaines of warre. I have joynd these things together, although they were done under other Consuls. The same yeere Caesar demanded of the Senate that there might bee an image dedicated to his father, and the Consular ornaments given Asconius Labeo, who had beene his tutor; and forbad that any image of massive gold or silver, should be offered in honor of himselfe. And although the L.L. of the Senat had decreed, that the yeere should begin on that day of December that Nero was borne, yet he retayned the old ceremony of beginning the yeere the Kalends of January. Neither were Carinus Celer a Senator, accused by allave, or Iulius Densus gentlemen, called into question, although it was layd to their charge, they favoured Britannicus.

III. Nero beginneth to hate his mother, and falleth in love with Acte.

Claudius Nero and L. Antistius being Consuls, when the magistrates tooke an oath of observing the ordinances of the princes; he would not suffer Antistius his fellow officer to sweare to the observation of his; which the L.L. of the Senat did highly commend in him; to the end, that the youthly minde of the Prince being stirred up with the glory of small things, should continue in matters of greater moment. After this followed his lenity towards Plautius. Lateranus who being removed from the order of Senators, for adultery committed with Messalina, was restored by him to his room; binding himselfe to continue this clemency, with many orations: which Seneca, to testifie in what honest precepts he instructed him, or for a bragge of his owne wit, published by the voice of the Prince. But Agrippinae credit and authority by little and little began to waine: and Nero cast a liking to a freed woman called Acte: two comely youthes, Orho descended from a Consular house, and Claudius Senecio, sonne of one of Caesars freed men, being partakers of his counsels, his mother being at the first a stranger to the matter, and in vaine at last striving to the contrary. So far she had possessed him by dissolute behaviour and riot and secret conversation, that his greatest friends and severest seemed not to knowe it: considering that this woman satisfied his lusts, without the offence of any. For Octavia his wife, a woman of noble birth, & of approved good life, either by some secret destiny, or because things unlawfull are most greedily desired, he utterly disliked. And some feared also that if he were bridled of that love, he would lust after the desiling of noble women. But Agrippina fretted and fumed that a freed woman should beard her, & a bond-woman become her daughter in law, with other such like womanish complaints; not having patience to see whether her son would either repent or be filled: and the more opprobriously she upbraided him the more she inflamed him; till at last overcome with the rage of love, he shaked of all duty and reverence towards his mother, & committed himselfe wholly to Seneca. Amongst his familiars was Annem Serenus, who faining love to the same freed woman, covered & cloked with his owne name, the first heats of this young prince: and such things as the prince had bestowed on her by stealth, he openly advouched to be his gifts. Then Agrippina changing her style seeketh to win the young man by faire

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faire alluring speeches, offereth rather her owne chamber and bosome to hide those things which his youth and high fortune desired. Yea she confessed her untimely severity, and offered him the use of all her wealth, which was little inferior to the Emperors: as before too severe in correcting her sonne, so now unreasonably humbled and cast downe in courage. The which chaunge did neither deceive *Nero*, and gave his nearest freinds cause of feare, and prayed him to beware of the treachery of this woman alwaies fell & cruell, and then false and dissembling. *Nero* having by chance seene the wardrobe where the apparell lay, which Princes wives and parents were wont to shine in, made choise of a garment and jewels, and sent them his mother most bountifully: seing he sent of his owne the chiefe, and which by others were most of all desired. But *Agrippina* exclaimeth that these ornaments were not so much given her to adorne and trim her selfe, as to exclude her from the rest; and that her sonne would divide those things with her, which came wholly from her. Neither wanted there some to carry these speeches, and make them worse then they were. Whereupon all such growing odious unto *Nero*, upon whom this womans pride chiefly relied, displaceth *Pallas* from the charge which *Claudius* had given him; in which he carried himselfe as if he had bene chiefe Lord and master of all. It is reported that when *Pallas* departed with a great retinue following him, *Nero* very aptly sayd that *Pallas* went to resigne his office. True it is, that *Pallas* had covenanted with the Prince not to be called in question for any act past; and that he had made even with all accounts of the common wealth. *Agrippina* after this, more mad and wilfull then ever, gave out threatening and thundring speeches: yet not forbearing the Princes eares, but crying, that *Britannicus* was now grown to mans estate: a true and worthy plant to receive his fathers Empire, which a grafted son by adoption now possessed by the injury and trumpery of his mother. There should be no let in her, but that all the villanous practises of that unfortunate house should be layd open: and first of all her own marriage, and her im poisoning of *Claudius*. That only thing was provided by the gods to her good, that her sonne in law was alive. Shee would go with him to the camp, where on one side *Germanicus* daughter should be heard: on the other side that base companion *Burrhus* and *Seneca* the banished: the one his hand cut off, and the other with his professors eloquence quarelling and debating of the rule and government of the whole world. In uttering of this she bent her sight towards him; heaped one injury upon another, called *Claudius*, and the infernall ghosts of the Silaniens: and so many fruitlesse wicked attempts, which she had bene author of. *Nero* troubled with these speeches, and the day now at hand, on which *Britannicus* had accomplished the full age of fourteene yeeres, began to ponder with himselfe, sometimes the violence of his mother, sometimes the rewardlesse of *Britannicus* knowne of late by good prooffe: and which hath wome him great favour and good will. On a festivall day dedicated to *Saturne*, amongst other pastimes of his equals, drawing lots who should be King, the lot fell to *Nero*, who commanding divers things unto others, which could not turne to their shame; commanded *Britannicus* to rise up and stand in the middle and begin a song, hoping the child should be laughed to skorne, as one ignorant how to carry himselfe in sober company, much lesse in drunken. But hee very constantly began a verse, which signified that *Nero* had thrust him from his fathers seate, and government of Empire: which moved them all to open compassion, because the night and lascivious wantonnesse had taken away all dissimulation.

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IIII. *Britannicus empoisoned. Agrippina chased from the Emperors house.*

Nero feeling himselfe toucht, augmented his hatred; and incensed with *Agrippinaes* threats, because he could lay no iust cause against him, nor openly durst not command the murdering of his brother, practiseth secret meanes, and commandeth poison to be prepared, *Poltio Iulius* Tribune of the Pretorian cohort being his minister in the action. Under whose charge *Locusta*, a woman infamous for lewd practises, and before condemned for empoisoning, was kept prisoner. For it was long before provided that such as were neere about *Britannicus* should have no regard either of honesty or faith. He tooke the first poison of his bringers up; which not being strong enough, he voided by siege, or els because it was tempered, lest it should worke immediatly. But *Nero* impatient of lingring and long working wickednes, threatned the Tribune, commanded the poisoneresse to be put to death, because that whilest they respect the rumour, and forge excuses for their own safety, they drove off his security. They the promising as speedy a death, as if he should be slaine with a sword, neere unto *Cæsars* chamber, a poison was so strong and violent, by prooffe of poisoning. The custome was for princes children to sit with other noble mens, of the same age, in presence of their neere kindred, with spare diet at a table by themselves: *Britannicus* there taking his repast, because one of the servitours did taste his meats and drincks, lest the custome should be omitted, or the villany disclosed by both their deaths, this policy was devised: A drinke yet not hurtfull, but very hot, and tasted of, was presented *Britannicus*, then that being refused by reason of the heat, the poison was powred into cold water, which so spread throughout all the parts of his body, that his speech and spirit were at once taken from him. Those which sate about him were in amaze; the other which knew nothing ran away: but they which were of deeper judgement stirred not, but looked *Nero* in the face; he leaning on the table like one that knew nothing of the practise, sayd: he was often wont to fall into such fits, through the falling sicknes, which *Britannicus* had been grievously afflicted with from his infancy; and that his sight and speech by little and little would come to him againe. But *Agrippina* was possessed with such a great fear, and an astonishment of senses, although she indeavored to hide it in countenance, that she was easily judged to be as ignorant of the fact, as *Britannicus* sister *Octavia*: for she saw that she was bereaved of her greatest stay, & perceived well that it was a beginning of parricide. *Octavia* also although of young yeeres, yet had learned to hide her griefe, her love and all affections; and so after a little silence, the mirth of the banquet began againe. *Britannicus* body was burnt the same night he dyed, all funerall preparation having bene provided before hand, which was but small: nevertheless he was buried in *Campus Martius*, in such storms and showers, that the people beleaved that portended the wrath of the gods against so hainous a fact: which yet many excused in *Nero*, calling to mind the ancient discord of brothers in termes of soveraignty, and how Kings admit no companions. Many writers of that time doe deliver, that *Nero* many daies before had abused *Britannicus* body; and therefore that now his death could not seeme neither untimely or cruell, although it happened in the sacred liberty of his table, his sister not having so much as time to imbrace him, hastned before his enemies face against the last of *Claudius* blood, and his body defiled before he was poisoned. *Cæsar* excused the hastines of the obsequies by an edict, saying that the custome of ancient times

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was

“was celebrate in secret manner, and not openly dolefull and bitter funerals, without either solemnities or praises. As for himselfe having lost the ayd and comfort of his brother, the rest of his hopes were anchored wholly in the common-wealth “and that the Lords of the Senat & people should so much the more favor and main- taine that Prince, which was only left of the family borne to rule and absolute do- minion. Then he enriched with gifts the cheifest of his friends. Neither wanted there some which blamed men pretending gravity, that they divided houses and possessions; as though they had bene booties. Some thought the Prince forced them thereto, as guilty of his fact, and hoping for pardon if he could bind unto him the mightiest and strongest in power. But his mothers wrath could by no munifi- cence be appeased, but she embraced *Octavia*, and had often secret conference with her friends: and besides her naturall coverousnes, scraping money together of all hands as it were for some purpose to pinch, she entertained the Centurions and Tribunes with all curtesie: she honoured the names and vertues of the nobility which then were in towne, as though she had fought for a head to make a faction. *Nero* perceiving that, commandeth the guard of souldiers which heretofore was appointed to guard the Emperors wife, and now her, as his mother, to be taken from her; and certaine Germans which she had, besides the former appointed to guard her, to depart and be gone. And lest she should be frequented with multitudes of saluters, he divideth his house, and sendeth his mother to that which was *Antonius*; and as oft as himselfe came thither, guarded with a company of Centurions, utter a short salutation, departed againe.

V. Agrippina accused for conspiring against Nero. Silana punished. Pallas, and Burrhus accused.

There is no mortall thing more mutable and fitting, then the fame of great- nesse, not sustained by his owne force and strength. *Agrippina*s house was now utterly forsaken; no man went to comfort her; no man to visite her, leav- ing a few women and uncertaine of them whether for love or hatred. Among which *Iunia Silana* was one, who as I have already declared, at *Messalina*s instigati- ons was separated from her husband *C. Silius*; a woman of great parentage, of allur- ing and wanton beauty, and a long time welbeloved of *Agrippina*. Yet afterwards there was a privy grudge betweene them two, because *Agrippina* had dehorted *Sext. Africanus* a noble young gentleman from marrying of *Silana*: saying, she was unchast and growne into yeeres; not because she meant to reserve him for her- selfe; but fearing lest he should enjoy *Silana*s goods if she died without issue. *Silana* having a hope of revenge offered, solicited *Iturius* and *Calvisius*, followers of her owne, to accuse *Agrippina*: yet not for any old and stale matter, as that she be- wailed the death of *Britannicus*, or published the injuries done to *Octavia*; but that she intended to stir up *Rubellius Plautus* (by the mothers side, as neere to *Augustus* as *Nero* was) to new enterprises against the state, and by marrying of him, and empire gotten by her meanes, afflict and invade the common-wealth afresh. These things *Iturius* & *Calvisius* discovered to *Atimetus* a Freed-man of *Domitia*, Aunt unto *Nero*. Who glad of the occasion offered (for betweene *Domitia* and *Agrippina* there was deadly hatred) urged the stage player *Paris* a Freed-man likewise of *Domitia* to goe with all speed to *Nero*, & informe most bitterly against her. The night was well spent and *Nero* well tippled, when *Paris* entereth as one accustomed at other times to entertaine the Prince with sports and jests: but then his countenance seried to

fadnes,

fadnes, and declaring the whole order of *Atimetus* tale, did so terrifie and daunt the Prince, that he determined not onely to kill his mother, and *Plautus*; but dis- charge *Burrhus* of his office as advanced by *Agrippina*s favour; and ready therefore to require her with as good a turne. *Fabius Rusticus* reporteth, that letters were writ- ten to *Senius Tuscus* to come and take charge of the Guard; but that *Burrhus* credit was saved, and kept in his office by *Seneca*s meanes. *Pliny* and *Cluvius* seeme there was noe doubt made of *Burrhus* loyalty: and in very deed *Fabius* inclineth much to the commendation of *Seneca*, as one of his preferment. But our meaning is to fol- low the consent of Authours; and if any affirme contrary, we will deliver it under their names. *Nero* trembling for feare, and exceeding desirous of the death of his mother, could not indure the delay, untill *Burrhus* had promised to performe it, if she were convicted of the crime. But every man might alleadge what he could for “his defence, much more a mother. Neither was there any accusers present & no- “thing to ground on but one mans report out of an enemies house. He was to confi- “der that it was night, and that spent in banquetting; and therefore all would seeme “to smel of rashnes & folly. The Princes feare somewhat lightened by these speeches and the day come, one went to *Agrippina* to let her understand of the accusation, and to purge her selfe or looke to suffer. *Burrhus* was to doe the message in presence of *Seneca*, with some Freed-men as witnesse of the speeches. Then *Burrhus* having declared the accusation, and the Authors of it, used threatenng tearmes: and *Agrip- “pina* not forgetting her old fiercenes, returned him his answer: saying, I marvell “not if *Silana* never having had child, know not what the affections of mothers are: “neither are children changed by their parents, as adulterers by shamelesse women: “neither of *Iturius* and *Calvisius*, having wasted their substance, bestowed this their “last labor in undertaking this accusation: therefore I am to sustain the infamy of “patricide, or *Cesar* have scruple of conscience, that I would commit it: as for *Dom- “itia* I would thank her for the hate she beareth me, if she would likewise in good will “and love towards my *Nero*, strive with me. Now by her concubine *Atimetus* & *Paris* “the stage plaier she doth as it were compose fables for the stage. She was busie a- “bout her fish pooles of Baia, when by my counsels, *Nero*s adoption; proconsulary “authority, election to be Consul, & other steps, to mount to the Empire, were pro- “cured. Or else let some one be brought forth to make it appeare, that I have prac- “tised with the City-cohorts; corrupted the loyalty of the Provinces, or solicited “bond-men, or freed men to rebellion. I might have lived if *Britannicus* had bene “Soveraign: but if *Plautus* or some other should get the rule of the common wealth, “forsooth there should want accusers to lay to my charge, not words sometimes un- “advisedly escaped through fervency of love; but such crimes also from which I “could not be acquitted, but as a mother by her son. The assistants moved with these speeches and endeavouring to appease her anger; she requireth to speake with her sonne: before whom she spake nothing in defence of her innocency, as if she had distrusted; or of her benefits, as to upbraid him: but obtained revenge of her accu- sers; and rewards for her friends. The charge and office of provision of corne was given to *Senius Rufus*; the commission of playes which *Cesar* was a preparing, to *Arantius Stella*; Egypt to *C. Balbillus*: Syria was appointed to *P. Anteius*, then abused with diverse devises, and in the end detained in the City. But *Silana* was banished; *Calvisius* also and *Iturius*: *Atimetus* was executed: *Paris* being in greater credit (by reason of pleasures ministred to the Princes) then that he should be put to death. *Plautus* was sent away for the time with silence. *Pallas* after this and *Bur- rhus* were accused to have practised to call *Cornelius Sylla*, for noblenesse of birth

and affinity with *Claudius*, whose sonne in law he was by marriage of *Antonia*, to the Empire. The author of that accusation was one *Petius*, a man infamous, by causing debtors to forfeit their goods: and then manifestly convicted of vanity and falshood. Neither was *Pallus* innocency so gratefull, as his pride insupportable: for when some of his Freed-men were said to have bene privy to the practise, he made answer that in his house he appointed nothing to be done, but with a nod of his head or hand; or by writing, if he had much to say, lest if he should have spoken unto them, he should seeme to have made them his fellowes. *Burrhus* although accused, yet gave sentence among the Judges. *Petius* the accuser was banished, and the writings burnt, by which he went about to renew the records of the treasury already cancelled. In the end of the same yeer, the guard of the souldiers which was wont to be at the plaies, was taken away, for a greater shew of liberty: and because the souldier being absent from the disorder of the Theater, should be lesse corrupt; and the people shew by prooffe, whether they would use modesty if the guard were away. The Prince hallowed and purged the City with sacrifices, by advice of soughtraiers, because *Iupiters* and *Minervas* temples were set on fire with lightning.

VI. *Neroes disorders: the case of the franchised debated: an order for certain magistrates.*

Q *Volusius* and *P. Scipio* being Consuls, there was peace abroad, and stillyh-sciviousness at home: during which, *Nero* gadded up and down the streets, to infamous brothell houses, & by-corners, in slaves attire, to be unknown, accompanied with such as snatched away wares from mens stalls, wounded such as met them, and with such small regard whom, that *Nero* himselfe hath received and carried away blowes and markes on the face. And when it was known to be *Cesar* which played those pranks, the disorder grew greater against both men and women of accompt; and with like licentiousnes abusing *Cesars* name, many practised the same intolencies, gathered together in particular companies, and so spending the night as it had been raking a town, and captivity. One *Iulius Montanus* a Senator, who had not yet taken upon him the dignity, by chance coping with the Prince in the darke, and rudely thrusting him back as he offered him violence, then knowing him and craving pardon, was enforced to die, as though thereby he had reproched him of folly. *Nero* more wary and fearfull after that, went not without a rabble of souldiers and sencers, which meddled not at the first, and whilst the prince made his party good: but after, if he were overmatched, by such as he abused they laid hands immediately on their weapons. He turned the disordered licence at plaies, and part-taking in favour of stage players, almost to a mutiny, by giving impunity and rewards, himselfe privily or for the most part openly looking on; untill the people growing to sedition, and fearing greater stirres, no other remedy was found then to expell the stage players out of Italy, and place a guard of souldiers again on the Theatre. At the same time the deceit and ungratefull behaviour of Freed-men was debated in Senat, and instant sute made that the patrons might have authority to revoke the Freedome given to such as deserve it not: for many there were of that opinion. But the Consuls not daring to determine the matter, without the privy of the Prince; yet wrote the common consent unto him: And that he should be the authour of the decree, few being of a contrary opinion, and some grudging that the irreverence of their late bondmen, by reason of liberty was

growne

“growne to that, that they cared not whether they carried themselves towards
“their patrons dutifully or not: nothing at all weighing what they said unto them:
“yea, bend their fists towards them: thrust and elbow such as would have any law
“made to bridle them. For what other redresse was there granted unto patrons of-
“fended, but to banish his Freed man above twenty miles off, to the coast of Campa-
“nia: all other actions were indifferent and equall to both. Some weapon therefore
“should be given the patron, which the freed man should not despise. Neither could
“it seeme hard if the manumised should with the same obedience keepe their liber-
“ty, by which they got it. And such as were openly convicted of crimes, were wor-
“thily brought again to servitude; that such might be bridled by fear, whom bene-
“fits could not change. Some spake to the contrary, saying: That, that fault of a few
“should be prejudiciall but to themselves; and not derogate from the priviledges,
“common to them all; because it was a body farre spread abroad. From them were
“taken many Tribes and Decuries, fit men for magistrates and priests & city cohorts
“and many gentlemen and Senators could derive no beginning but from thence. If
“the freed men should be severed from the rest, the number of the free born would
“appeare very final. Not without cause our auncestors when they divided the citi-
“zens into degrees and callings, left liberty in common. Yea they had instituted
“two kinds of manumising their bondmen, because it might be in their choise to
“repent or yeeld new favour. Those whom the patron did not manumise *Vindicta*
“before the magistrate, remained still as it were in the bonds of servitude. That
“every man would looke into the merits of his slave; and grant that slowly, which
“being once given could not be taken away. This opinion carried it away. And *Cesar*
“wrote to the Senat that they should privately examine the cause of the Freed-men
as oft as they were accused by their patrons: and derogate nothing from the whole
body of them. Not long after, *P. Paris* the late bondman was taken from *Domitia*,
Neroes Aunt, under colour of civill law; not without a disgrace to the Prince:
by whose commandement judgement of free condition was given him. Neverthe-
less there remained a certaine shew of a free common-wealth. For a contention be-
ing growne between *Vibullus* the Prætor, and *Antistius* Tribune of the people, for
releasing out of prison certaine unruly favourers of the Stage players, committed by
the Prætor: the Lords of the Senate approved the Prætors fact, and blamed *Anti-*
stius boldnesse. Whithall the Tribunes were forbidden to usurpe any thing belong-
ing to the Prætors or Consuls authority; or call such before them out of Italy,
whose right was to be determined by law. *L. Piso* Consull elect added further, that
they should not exercise their authority in punishing of any in their own houses: and
that the Quæstors of the treasury should not enter into record before foure months
were past, the mercements adjudged by them: and that in the meane time it might
be lawfull to speake against them; and the Consuls determine the matter. The au-
thority of the Aediles is also restrained, and order set down how much the Curules,
and the people might take to pawne, and how farre they might punish. Thereupon
Helvidius Præscus, Tribune of the people, shewed his privat grudge against *Obulstro-*
mus Sabinus Quæstor of the treasury, as though he had too severely enforced the
execution of open sales of goods against the poore. Then the Prince transferred the
records of publicke debts from the Quæstors to the Provosts of the city: albeit,
the forme of that office had bene diversly used, and often changed. For *Augustus*
gave the Senate licence to choose the Provosts; then canvassing of voices being
suspected, they were drawne by lot out of the number of the Prætors. Neither
did that long continue, because the lot fell oft upon the unmeetest. Then *Claudius*
restored

restored againe the Quæstors to the office, and bestowed extraordinary promotion upon them, lest for feare of offence they should be slacke in their duty. But because there wanted authority of age in many which were in that office, as being the first they were possessed of; *Nero* chose such as had beene Provosts, and tried by long experience. *Vipsanius Lenus* was condemned under the same Consuls, for behaving himselfe too ravenously in the Province of Sardinia. *Cestius Proculus* was acquitted of extortion, his accusers, letting fall the suite. *Clodius Quirinalis*, Captaine of the gally-slaves at Ravenna, accused for molesting Italy with riot and cruelty, as the least of all nations, prevented his condemnation by poisoning himselfe. *Aminius Rebins* a principall man for the skill of the lawes and of great wealth, escaped the griefes of sickly old age by letting himselfe bloud in the veines, although he was thought to be too cowardly to kill himselfe; by reason he was given too effeminately to lusts. But *L. Volusius* died with great fame, having lived ninety three yeeres very rich by good meanes, and never once hurt by any of those unjust Emperors, under whom he lived.

VII. What Annales ought to intreat of: playes forbidden.

Nero being the second time Consull, and *L. Piso*, few things happened worthy of memory; unlesse some would thinke it well done to fill up volumes in praising the foundations and timber employed by *Cæsar* in the huge building of the Amphitheater in Campus Martius, seeing it is meete for the dignity and honor of the people of Rome to commit famous acts to their Annales, and such as those to the diurnall of the city. Capua and Nuceria both colonies, were reenforced with a supply of old souldiers. There was bestowed a gift of * forty sesterces by poll to the people, and * foure hundred thousand sesterces to the publicke treasury to maintaine the people faithfull unto him. The tribute of the first & of the twentieth for the sale of slaves was releated in shew rather then in deed: for when the seller was commanded to pay it, he enhanced the price still to the buyers losse. *Cæsar* commanded by an edict, that no magistrate, procurator of any province, should set forth a shew of fencers, or wild beasts, or any other pastime. For heretofore the subiects were no lesse endamaged by such liberalities, then by taking their mony from them; whilst they cloaked with favor gotten by such spectacles, their faults committed by robbing the people. A decree of Senate was made as well for revenge as security, that if any man had beene slaine by his bondmen, those also who being manumised by testament, & continued in the same house, should be punished as the other bond men. *L. Purius* sometimes Consull was restored to his dignity, removed before for covetous dealing and extortion. And *Pomponia Græcina* a noble woman, and wife to *Plautius*, who returned with a small triumph out of Britannia, and accused of strange superstition, was remitted to the judgement of her husband; and he according to the ancient custome, in the presence of her neere kindred heard her cause of life and death, and pronounced her innocent. This *Pomponia* lived long, and in continuall sorrow: for after that *Tulia*, *Drusus* daughter, was murdered by *Messalinae* treachery, she was not teene forty yeeres but in mourning apparell, and very sad and dolefull. Which she might lawfully do whilst *Claudius* reigned, & after ward turned to her glory. Many citizens were accused that yeer, of which number *P. Celer* being one, at the information of the inhabitants of Asia, because *Cæsar* could not acquit him, he prolonged his cause till he died of age. For *Celer* (as I have already said) having bestirred himselfe in the murdering of *Silanus* the Proconsull, cloaked,

cloaked all other villanies under the greatnes of that lewd action. The *Cilicians* accused *Cossutianus Capito*, criminally noted and discredited with many vices, thinking he had had the same privilege of using insolent behaviour in the province, as he had done in the city. But turmoiled and molested with an overthwart accusation, in the end letting fall his defence, was condemned of extortion. Great suings prevailed so much for *Eprius Marcellus*, of whom the Lycians demanded restitution, that some of the accusers were banished, as though they had indangered an innocent man.

VIII. A liberality of Nero towards certaine decayed gentlemen. The warre of Armenia renewed. Tiridates departs the countrey.

When *Nero* was the third time Consull *Valerius Messalla* entered the same office, whose great grandfather *Corvinus* an orator, some old men remember to have beene companion in office with *Augustus* of famous memory, *Neroes* great grandfathers father. But the honour of this noble family was bettered by giving *Messalla* by yeer * five hundred thousand sesterces to relieve his harmlesse poverty. To *Aurelius Cotta* likewise, and *Haterius Antonius*, the Prince graunted that an annuall sum of money should be given, although they had wasted riotously the wealth their ancestors had left them. In the beginning of that yeere, the warre which was drawne at length with soft and mild beginnings untill then, betweene the Parthians and the Romans for obtaining of Armenia, was now hotly pursued: because *Vologeses* would neither suffer his brother *Tiridates* to be deprived of the kingdome in which he had invested him, nor that he should enjoy it as a gift from another Lord; and *Corbulo* thought it worthy of the greatnesse of the people of Rome to recover that which by *Lucullus* and *Pompey* had been once gotten. The Armenians being doubtfull, and faithfull to neither side, invited both: yet by the site of their countrey & conformity of conditions, being more neere unto the Parthians, and intermingled with them by marriages; and not knowing what liberty was, inclined rather to that servitude. But *Corbulo* had more adoe with the slothfulness of the souldiers, then perfidiousnes of the enemies: for the legions removed from Syria, by a long peace grown lazy and idle, could hardly endure the labour and paines of the Roman discipline. Certaine it was there were old souldiers in that campe, which had never kept watch nor ward; a rampire or trench they gazed at, as at a new and strange devise: without head peices; without curasses; neate and fine; hunting after gaine; having spent all their service in townes. Wheteupon the old and feeble being dismissed, he desired a supply, which was had out of Galatia and Cappadocia. And to them was added a legion out of Germany with wings of horsemen, and all the army kept in campe; although the winter were so hard, and the earth covered with yce, that they could not pitch their tents, unlesse they had first digged the ground. Many of their limmes were starcke with extremity of cold; and many died in keeping the watch. And there was a souldier noted carrying a fagot, whose hands were so stiffe frozen, that sticking to his burden, they fell from him as though they had been cut from his arme. *Corbulo* slightly apparelled, bare-headed, was with them when they marched: when they laboured, praised the stout; comforted the feeble; and gave example to them all. Then because many refusing to indure the hardnes of the season, and such rigor of discipline, forsooke him; he sought a redresse by severity: for he did not pardon the first and second fault as in other armies, but he suffered death presently who forsooke his ensigne

* Sixe sili. 3 d.
* About 31250
pound.

* About 3906.
pound 5 s.

signe: by which experience proved more profitable, then clemency. For fewer forsooke that campe, then where there was much mercy shewne. In the meane season *Corbulo* having kept the legions in campe untill the spring, and disposed the aid-cohorts in convenient places, charged them not to give the onset. The charge of the garrisons he committed to *Pacitus Ophius*, once Captaine of the first ensigne: who although he wrote to *Corbulo* that the Barbarians were carelesse and disordered, and a fit occasion offered ofatcheiving some exploit; yet was he commaunded to keepe within his garrison, and expect greater power. But breaking his commandement when he saw a few troups of horsemen issue out of a castle hard by, and unskilfully demand battell, he encountred the enemy, and went away with the losse. And those which should have seconded them, terrified with that discomfiture, fled as fast as they could every man to his hold; which to *Corbulo* was an exceeding grieve. Who rebuking *Pacitus*, and the Captaines, and the souldiers, commanded them all to pitch their tents out of the campe: and there kept them in that disgrace, until they were delivered by the intercession & suite of the whole army. But *Tiridates* besides his own followers, succoured by his brother *Vologeses*; not now by stealth, but with open warre molesteth *Armenia*, spoiling all such he thought faithfull tous; and if any forces were brought against him, he deluded them, by flying hither and thither; terrifying more by fame then sight. *Corbulo* therefore seeking occasion to joyne battell, but in vaine; and constrained to make war now in one place, now in another, as the enemy did; severed his forces to the end that the Lieutenants & Captaines might invade divers places at once. Withall, he advertised King *Antiochus* to set on the government next adjoining to him. For *Pharasmanes*, his sonne *Rhadamistus* being slaine, as a traitor towards him, to testifie his loyalty towards us, shewed more willingly his inveterate hatred against the Armenians. Then the Isichians, a nation never before confederate with us, being now brought to our side, invaded the hardest passages of *Armenia*; whereby all *Tiridates* designments were crossed. He sent Embassadors to exhortate in his owne, and "the Parthians name, Why having of late given hostages, & renewed amity, which "opened the way to new benefits, he should be driven from the ancient possession "of Armenia? therefore *Vologeses* was not yet moved to war, because he had rather "debate the matter by reason, then by force. But if they would persist in warre, the "Arsacides should neither want courage nor fortune, often experimented to the "losse of the Romanes. Hereupon *Corbulo* knowing well that *Vologeses* was troubled with the Hircanians rebellion, perswadeth *Tiridates* to deale with *Cesar* by intreaty; that he might obtaine a firme possession of a kingdom without bloodshed; if leaving off along and slow hope, he would embrace that which was present and more sure. Then they resolved, because by entercourse of messengers they profited nothing, for the full knitting up of peace, to appoint time and place for a parly. *Tiridates* sayd, that he would come with a thousand horse for his gard: how many of whatsoever sort of souldiers *Corbulo* should bring, he weighed it not; so as they came without curasses & helmets, as a better shew of peace. The barbarous treachery was palpable to all men, much more to an old circumspect captaine; therefore a small number was limited on one part, and a greater permitted to the other, that the treason might be the better effected: for to oppose against practised horsemen archers, unarmed men, the multitude would avails nothing. Yet *Corbulo* making as though he had not perceived the treason, answered, that publicke affaires would better be debated in the face of both the whole armies. And for the purpose chose a place whereof the one part had hills of an easie ascent fit for rankes of footmen.

men; the other stretched out into a plaine, convenient to display troopes of horsemen. And the day agreed on, *Corbulo* appeared first in this order: He placed the cohorts of allies, and succours sent by Kings, in the wings: and in the middle, the sixt legion; among which he had intermingled three thousand of the third, sent for by night from other garrisons, with one ensigne, as if all were but one legion. *Tiridates* the day being well spent, shewed himselfe aloofe, where he might better be seene then heard: so the Romane captaine without parly, commandeth his souldiers to depart every man to his owne campe. The King either suspecting fraud, because our men went at once to divers places, or to intercept our provision of victuals, coming from the sea of Pontus, and the towne Trapezunt, maketh away with all speed. But he could not hinder the coming of the victuals; because it was brought through mountaines possessed by our owne garrisons; and *Corbulo* because the warre should draw to an end, and the Armenians constrained to defend their owne, goeth about to toraze their Castles.

IX. *Corbulo* having taken the Castles, destroyeth *Artaxata* the chiefe towne of the country.

Corbulo chose to himselfe the strongest place of the country called Volandum to assault; the lesser hee committeth to *Cornelius Flaccus* Lieutenant, and *Isticus Capito* camp-masters. Then surveying his forces, and seeing all things in a readinesse for the assault, encourageth his souldiers to unneestle the vagabond enemy, neither ready for peace nor warre; acknowledging by his fleeing away his perfidiousnesse and cowardise; and so win at once both glory and wealth. After this, having divided his armie into foure partes, he ledde some close and thicke ranked together, for a target fence to undermine and beate downe the rampire: others to scale the walls: others to let flee fire and darts out of engines of warre: the sling-casters and stone-throwers had a place appointed them, from whence they might a farre off throw pellets of iron and stone, that the besieged might have no refuge or comfort one of another, all places being full of like feare. The courage of the assailants was so great, that within the third part of the day the walles were naked of defendants: the gates broken downe; the fortresse scaled; and all of lawfull yeeres put to the sword; no one souldier lost on our side, and very few hurt: the weake and unable people were sold in a portsale and made slaves; the rest of the booty fell to the Conquerours share. The Lieutenant and camp-master had the like fortune, three castles taken in one day: the rest for feare and by consent of the inhabitants yeelded: which encouraged the Romans to set on *Artaxata* the chiefe towne of the country. Yet the Legions were not brought the next way, because that passing the river *Araxis* which washeth the walles, by the bridge they should have come under the danger of blowes; but went over a farre off at broad foords. But *Tiridates* assayed with feare and shame, lest if hee should suffer the besieging, he might seeme not to be able to succour it; if hinder it, encumber himselfe and his horsemen in dangerous and difficult places, resolved in the end to shew his army in battell array, and a day appointed, give the onset; or making as though he would flee, dresse an ambush. Whereupon on a sudden hee environeth the Romans; our Captaine not ignorant thereof, who had marshalled his army in such array, that it might both march on, and fight. On the right side the third legion, on the left the sixt marched; in the middle a company chosen out of the tenth; the carriages betweene the rankes, and a thousand horsemen in the rereward, with

commandement that they should resist and make head against the enemy if they passed in; but if they fled, not to follow. In the wings went the footmen archers with the residue of the horsemen; the left wing stretched somewhat longer to the bottome of the hills; that if the enemy should enter on them, he should have beene received both in the front and middle. *Tiridates* on the contrary side, came about the Romans freely; yet not within a darts cast; now threatening, now making as though he were afraid; and so retiring, to see whether we would open or breake our ranks to follow, and so intrap us being scattered. But not seeing any thing disorder, or any ranke broken by rashnes; and only one under-Captaine of horsemen venturing boldlier then the rest to have beene slaine with an arrow, and the rest by his example to obey, the night being almost come, he departed. *Corbulo* having pitched his campe in the same place, considered with himselfe, whether he should goe by night to *Artaxata*, and besiege it with light and uncumbred legions, supposing that *Tiridates* had retired thither. Then the scouts having brought intelligence that the King had taken a longer journey, doubtfull whether to the Medes or Persians, he stayed untill it was day: sending before a company light armed, to environ the wals and begin the assault a farre off. But the townsmen opening the gates of their owne accord, yeelded themselves and al they had to the Romans, wherby their lives were saved. But *Artaxata* was burnt & razed to the ground, because it could not be kept without a strong garrison, by reason of the compasse of the walls; and our forces were not so great that we could leave there a sufficient garrison, and withall keep the field: or if she should be left standing and ungarded, there would be neither profit nor glory that she had been taken. There is a miracle, reported, as it were by some divine power happened: for all things out of the houses, were lightened by the sun, but that which was invironed with the wals, was on such a sudden covered with a darke cloud and separated with lightning, that it seemed the will of the gods was it should be destroyed. Hereupon *Nero* was saluted Emperour, and processions made by decree of Senate, and images and triumphall arches set up, and the Consulship continued on him: and ordained that the day the victorie was gayned, the day of the newes, the day wherein they talked of in Senate, should bee kept holy, and other such like; so farre beyond measure, that *G. Cassius* consenting unto the rest of the honours given him, touching the processions; sayd, that if they would give the gods thanks for so many favours of fortune, all the yeere would not bee enough to make them processions. And therefore they should distinguish working dayes from holy dayes, in such sort that the gods might be honoured, and temporall businesse not hindered.

X. *Suilius is banished. Octavius tribune of the people killeth Pontia, with whom he was in love.*

ABOUT that time, *P. Suilius*, a man crossed with many adversities, and justly incurred the hatred of many, was called in question, and condemned; not without some touch of *Senecaes* credit. This *Suilius* in *Claudius* reigne was both cruell and corrupt, and by alteration of times brought low, though not so much as his enemies desired; and who rather would seeme culpable, than as a suppliant crave pardon. For it was thought that the penalty of the law *Cincia*, against such as pleaded causes for mony, was set on foote againe, onely to subvert and overthrow him. Yet *Suilius* never forbore complaints and hard speeches, besides his natural fiercenes, more free by reason of his old age, laying in *Senecaes* dish that he was

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“an enemy to *Claudius* friends, under whom he had sustained a most just banishment: withall, that with his idle and dead studies, applying himself to the unskilfulnesse of raw youth, he envied such as used a lively and uncorrupt eloquence in defending the citizens. He had been *Questor* to *Germanicus*; and *Seneca*, and adulterer of his house. Was it to be judged a grievous offence to receive a suiters reward freely offered for a mans honest travell, then to defile the beds of Princes wives? with what wisdom, with what precepts of Philosophers within foure yeeres friendship with the King, had he gotten *three thousand times three hundred thousand sesterces? At Rome he couened men of their Legacies, & such as died without children, as if he had laid a snare to intrap him. Italy and the Provinces were drawn drie by his excessive usury. As for himself, he had but small store of wealth gotten by his labour and sweare. He would suffer the accusation, perill, and what else might fall, rather then subject his old credit and estimation to a new upstart. Neither wanted there such as reported these or worse speeches to *Seneca* againe: and other informers were found, which accused *Suilius* that he had polled and pilled the allies when he was governour of Asia, and purloyned the common treasure. Then because he had obtained a yeeres space for to make enquiry of these matters, it seemed to be the shorter course, to begin with crimes committed neare about the City, because of such, witnesses were at hand. They objected against him, that the bitterness of his accusation drove *Q. Pomponius* to a necessity of civill war: that he had brought *Julia* the daughter of *Drusus*, and *Sabina Poppaea* to destruction; and falsly accused *Valerius Asiaticus*, *L. Saturninus*, and *Cornelius Lupus*: yea a great company of Gentlemen of Rome had been condemned by his meanes: in fine, all *Claudius* cruelty was imputed to *Suilius*. He for his defence answered, that he had undertook none of those things of his own will, but to obey the Prince, untill *Cesar* caused him to hold his tongue, saying, that he was assured by his fathers memoriall, that he never enforced any man to accuse another: then he pretended *Messalinaes* commandement, and his defence began to fail him. Why was there no other chosen to speak for that cruell unchaste dame? the instruments of evill actions are to be punished, when as having received the reward of their lewdnesse, yet goe about to lay it to others charge. Therefore part of his goods being taken from him (for part was left his soune and his neece, and that also was excepted which was given them by their mothers or Grandfathers testament) he was banished into the Ilands of *Baleares*, never loosing courage either in the time of his danger, or after condemnation. And it is reported that he suffered that separation from company, living both abundantly and delicately. The accusers had overthrown his sonne *Nerulius*, for the envy they bare the father, and his own extortions, if the Prince had not opposed himselfe, as though the revenge had been sufficient. About the same time *Octavius Sagitta*, Tribune of the people, mad in love with *Pontia* a married wife, by great gifts bought her unlawfull love, and use of her body; then to forsake her husband, promising her marriage, and inducing her to the liking of him. But when this woman was free from her husband, she began to finde delays, shifting it off that her father was unwilling, and in the end finding a hope of a richer husband, went from her promise. *O. Savius* on the contrary side sometimes complained, sometimes threatened, protesting his credit was lost, and his mony consumed, finally put his life which only remained in her hands. But being rejected, craveth one nights pleasure for his satisfaction, then promised he would desist. The night was appointed, and *Pontia* gave charge of watching the chamber to a maid which was privy to their dealings. He with one freed-man conveyeth in a weapon under his garment:

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Then as the maner of lovers is, sometimes angry, sometimes chiding, sometimes intreating, sometimes upbrayding and spending some part of the night in voluptuous pleasures, at last kindled with grief and complaints, with his sword ran thorow this woman, which feared no such thing, and wounded the maide which ran in, and so rusheth out of the Chamber. The next day the murder was known, and the murderer not doubted of, being known manifestly that they had been together. But a Freed-man protested it was his doing, in revenge of the injuries done to his Patron, and moved some with the strangenes of that example to beleieve him, until the maide recovered of her wound, discovered the truth. Then *Octavius* accused of the murder before the Consuls by *Pontius* father, at the end of his Tribuneship was condemned by the Senate, according to the Law *Cornelia* against murderers.

XI. Nero taketh away Sabina Poppæa from her husband.

THE same yeere, an untemperate life, no lesse infamous then the former, was a beginning of greater mischiefs in the common-wealth. There was in the city one *Sabina Poppæa* daughter of *T. Ollius*: but she had taken the name of *Sabinus Poppæus*, her Grandfather by the Mothers side; a man of worthy memory honored with the Consular dignity, and ornaments of triumph: for *Sejanus* friendship did overthrow *Ollius* before he came to any dignities. This woman was graced with all things saving an honest minde: for her mother surpassing other women of her time in beauty, gave her both glory & beauty: wealth she had sufficient to maintain her nobility: her speech affable and gracious, nor no grosse wit; but knowing well how to pretend modesty and live lasciviously: she came little abroad, and then part of her face covered with a veile, either not to fill the eie of the beholder, or because it becomed her best: of her credit regard she had never: making no difference between her husbands and adulterers: neither subject to her own will, nor anothers; but where profit was offered, thither she carried her affection. This woman then being wife to *Rufus Crispinus*, a Gentleman of Rome, by whom she had a sonne; *Otho* seduced through his youth and riot; and because he was most inward in friendship with *Nero*. It was not long but they joined marriage to adultery. *Otho* either because he was un-circumspect in love, or because he would enflame the princes lust; praised his wives beauty and comely feature in his presence; that both enjoying one woman, his credit and authority might by that bond grow greater. He hath bin often heard to say, as he hath risen from banketing with *Cæsar*, that he would go to her in whom was all beauty and nobility, & to her who kindling all mens desires, was able to make them most happy. Through these and the like provocations, there was no long delay made. *Nero* then finding acceffe unto her, *Poppæa* at the first by allurements and cunning, began to inveigle him, saying, that she was not able to withstand his love, and that she was overcome with his beauty. Then perceiving the Princes lust to be grown hot; she began to grow proud; and if she entertained him above a night or two, it was all she could afford him; saying, she was a married wife, and that she could not abandon her husband as being bound unto *Otho*, for his manner of carriage and behaviour, which few came neare unto: that he was in courage and demeanour magnificent; and in all respects worthy of highest fortune. As for *Nero* using a bondslave for his Concubine, and tied to *Actes* familiarity, he had learned nothing of that servile company, but baseness and niggardice. *Otho* after this was barred of the accustomed familiarity with the Prince; then of his company and retinue: and last of all, lest he should be his concurrent in the City, he made

made him Governour of the Province of Portingall. Where he lived untill the civil warres, not as before disorderly, but honestly and uncorruptly, as one loosely given when he had little to doe; but in office and rule more stayed and temperate. All this while *Nero* sought to cloake his vitiousnesse and licentious life. Afterward he began to be jealous of *Cornelius Syllaes* dull and heavy disposition, interpreting it contrary to that which it was, deeming him a crafty and subtile dissembler. Which jealousie *Graptus* a freed-man of *Cæsar*s by age, and experience, and time, untill then well practised in Princes houses, augmented with this lie. The Milvian bridge in those daies was notorious for a haunt of dissolute and unruly persons in the night. Whither *Nero* resorted also to enjoy his licentious persons more freely, being out of the town, and returning back by the Flaminian way; *Graptus* put him in the head that there had beene wait layd for him, which he escaped by destiny, because he went another way to *Sallustius* Gardens, and falsely accused *Sylla* to be the authour thereof: Because that some of the Princes servitors returning that way by chance, were, by some licentious behaviour of youth, which in that place was very common, put in greater fright then danger. Yet there was no one of *Syllaes* servitors or vassals known. His faint heart and not daring any enterprise being well known to be far from any such fact: yet neverthelesse as though he had been convicted, he was commanded to depart his Country, and live within the walls of Marfiles. Under the same Consuls the Embassies of the Putcolanians were heard, which the Senators on one side, and the communalty on the other, sent to the Senate: the Senators charging the communalty with insolency; and the people charging the magistrates and chiefe Gentlemen with covetousnesse. And when the sedition was already grown to throwing of stones, and threatening to fire one another, and like to draw on murder and war, *C. Cassius* was chosen to order the matter: but knowing that they could not endure his severity at his request, that care was committed to the brothers the Scribonians, with a band of the Emperours guard: through the terror of which and punishment of a few, the Townesmen were set at quietnesse again. I would not speak of the very common decree of Senate, by which the City of *Syracusa* was licensed to exceed the number prefixed in the shew of Fencers: If *Petius Thrasca* had not spoken against it and given matter unto backbiters to reprehend his judgement: For said they, if he beleaved that the Common-wealth wanted the liberty of Senators, why did he meddle in such trifles? He should rather have perswaded or dissuaded matters of war or peace; of tributes, of lawes, and other things wherein consisted the estate of Rome. It was lawfull for the Lords of the Senat as oft as they thought convenient to give their opinion, to propound what they listed, and ask for a consultation upon it. Was it onely worthy of correcting, that at *Syracusa* the Playes should not be so long? Be all other things in the Empire, as well as if, not *Nero*, but *Thrasca* had the government thereof? The which if they were let passe with great dissimulation; how much more should they forbear vaine trifles? *Thrasca* on the contrary, his friends demanding him a reason why he contradicted the decree, made answer; that he did it not as being ignorant of the present estate of things; but for the greater honour of the Lords of the Senate: and shew manifestly that they would not dissemble in important affaires, which would look into such small matters.

XII. *Matters of policy redressed. The Senators withstand Nero touching Subsidies.*

THE same yeere, through the often and importunate suit of the people, blaming the covetousnesse of the Farmers of the common rents, Nero doubted whether it were best to command that there should no more subsidies and tributes be levied; and give so faire a gift to the world. But this sudden pang having first commended the bounteousnesse of his minde, the LL. of the Senate stayed, affirming it to be the dissolution of the Empire, if the renewes by which it was sustained should be diminished: for if custome were taken away, it would follow that the abolishing of tributes would be demanded. Many societies of tributes and tallages were established by the Consuls and Tribunes of the people, even when the Commualty had greatest liberty. Things afterward were so proportioned, that the receipts and renewes should be answerable to the laying out. Indeed the covetousnesse of the Farmers was to be moderated, lest things tolerated so many yeers without complaint, should turn to further mischief and hatred, by their strange greedinesse. The Prince therefore by edict commanded, that the taxation of every custome which hitherto hath been concealed, should not be published: and that the Farmers should not after the yeere was expired demand any thing let slip or forgotten during that time: that in Rome the Prætor, in the Provinces those which supplied the places of the Prætors and Consuls, should extraordinarily determine against the Farmers of common rents: that souldiers should keep their immunity, those things excepted wherein they trafficked: and many other just things, which observed a short time, afterward came to nothing. Nevertheless the abolishing of one in forty and one in fifty continueth, and what other names the Farmers had invented for their unlawfull exactions. The carriage of Corne to parts beyond the seas was moderated: and ordained that Merchants ships should not be valued in the generall estimate of their goods, nor tribute paid for them. *Cæsar* discharged *Salpicius Camerinus*, and *Pomponius Silvanus*, who had been Proconsuls in Africk, and accused by the Province, objecting against *Camerinus*, rather cruell dealing against a few private men, then extortion in generall. A great number of accusers came about *Silvanus*, and required time to produce witnesses; but the defendant desired his defences might presently be heard: which being rich, childelesse, and old, he obtained; and overlived those by whose suite he had escaped. The estate of Germany was quiet untill then, through the industry of the Captaines, who seeing the honour of triumph common, hoped for greater glory if they could continue peace. *Paullinus Pompeius* and *L. Vetus* had charge of the army at that time; yet lest they should keep the souldier in idlenesse, *Paullinus* finished a bank begunne threescore and three yeares before by *Drusus*, to keep in the river of Rhene. *Vetus* went about to joyne Mosella and Araris by a ditch cast betweene them, that the Armies conveyed by sea, then by Rhodanus and Araris by that ditch, anon after by Mos into Rhene, in the end should fall into the Ocean; that all difficulties of the passages taken away, the West and North seas might be navigable from the one to the other. *Aelius Gracilis* Lieutenant of Belgia envied the work, dehorting *Vetus*, lest he should bring the Legions into an others Province, and seek to win the hearts of the Gallois, affirming it to be dangerous to the Emperour: a pretext which often hindereth honest indeavours. Through the continuall rest of the armies a rumour was spread, that the Lieutenants were forbidden to lead them against the enemy.

enemy. Whereupon the Frisians placed their youth in the woods and marishes, sent their feeble old men to the banks of Rhene, planting them in void grounds appointed out for the use of souldiers; *Verritus* and *Malorigis* being the authors thereof, who then governed the country which the Germans were Lords of. Now they had built houses, sowed the ground, and tilled it, as though it had been their native country, when *Dubius Avitus* having received the province of *Paullinus*, threatening to send the Roman forces, unless the Frisians would return to their old homes, or obtaine a new place of habitation of *Cæsar*, enforced *Verritus* and *Malorigis* to fall to intreat. And taking their journey to Rome whilest they attended for Nero, busied in other matters, among other things wont to be shewne to barbarous people, they went to *Pompeius* Theater to behold the multitude of people. There at their leisure (for being unskilfull in those plaies, took no great delight in them) whilest they inquired of many things touching the assembly, skaffolds, differences of degrees, which were gentlemen, where the Senators sate, they perceived some in a strange attire in the Senators roomes: and asking who they were, when they understood that that honour was done to the Embassadors of those countries which excelled in vertue, and friendship with the Romans; they cried that *There were none in the world more valiant and faithfull then the Germans*; and so went and sate among the Lords of the Senat, which was courteously taken of the beholders, as a forwardnes of their old good nature, and a commendable emulation of vertue. Nero gave them both the priviledges of a citizen of Rome, and commanded the Frisians to depart the country they had possessed: who refusing to obey, a troupe of aid horsemen sent on the sudden forced them to it, and those taken and slaine which most obstinately resisted. The Ansbarians entred the same territory, a stronger nation then the other: not onely by their own strength, but by the pity their neighbours take on them; because they being driven out by the Chauci, and wanting dwelling places, they desired they might have it as a sure place of exile. They had for their conduct a man of great reputation in that country, and unto us likewise trusty, called *Boiocalus*: who declared, how by the commandement of *Arminius* he had been taken prisoner when the Cherusci rebelled: then how he had served the Romans fifty yeeres under *Tiberius* and *Germanicus*. He said further, He "would put his nation under our dominion. What need was there of such spacious "waste grounds, to put at sometimes only the souldiers herds and cattell to feed? "That they might reserve those grounds they had received for their flocks (albeit "it men died with famine) so as they desired not rather a wilderness then an habitation of people their confederates. In times past those fields belonged to the Chauci, "mavorians; then to the Tubantians; and in the end to the Usipians. As the heaven was given the gods, so the earth to mankind; and that which was not possessed, as common. Then beholding the sun, and calling upon the rest of the stars, "he asked as it were in their presence, whether they would see the land naked? That "they would rather overwhelm the takers away of the earth with the sea. *Avitus* moved with these speeches; answered that the commandement of their betters was to be obeyed. It was the will of the gods whom they called upon, that the arbitrement should belong to the Romans, what they should give; and what take away; neither would they suffer any judges but themselves. These things he answered the Ansbarians in publike, to *Boiocalus* he would give grounds in memory of his friendship. Which as if it had been a reward of treason contemning added: We may want land to live in; but to die in we cannot: and so they departed both discontented. They called the Bructeri, and Tencteri, and other nations further off, their

confederates to joine in warre with them. *Avitus* having written to *Curtilius Mancina* Lieutenant of the upper Army, that he should passe over Rhene, and shew the forces behinde them; conducted the Legions himself into the Tencterans Country, threatening their destruction unlessse they would break with the Ansibarians. These therefore desisting, the Bructeri daunted with the like fear, and the rest fleeing from other perils, the Ansibarian Nation alone retired back to the *Uspians* and *Tubantians*: from whose Territories being expulsed, as they went to the *Catti*, then to the *Cherusci*, by long wandering strangers, poore, enemies, in a strange Country, that youth that was left was slain: those that for age were unfit for warre, divided for a prey. The same Summer there was a great battell fought betweene the *Hermunduri* and *Catti*, each side striving by force to be master of a River which yeelded abundance of salt, sited in the confines of both their Countries. And besides a desire of ending all strifes by warre, they had a religion rooted in them, that those places are above others neere heaven; and the praiers of mortall men nowhere sooner heard, then from thence. For they were of opinion, that by the goodnes of the gods in that River, and in those Woods came increase of salt, not as in other Countries, of the wooses of the sea, when the water is dried up; but by that water cast upon a pile of wood set on fire, by the vertue of two contrary elements, fire and water, which becommeth thick and congealed. The warre was prosperous on the *Hermundurians* side, but the utter ruine of the *Cattians*, because of a vow then made, that if they were conquerours, they would dedicate the contrary Army to *Mars* and *Mercury*, protesting, horses, men, all things overcome, should be put to the sword; and truly those deadly threats were turned against themselves. But the City of the *Iuhonians* confederate with us, was afflicted with a sudden dyslaster: for fires issuing out of the earth, burned townes, fields, villages every where, and spread even unto the walls of a Colony newly built; and could not be extinguished, neither by raine, nor River-water, nor any other liquor that could be employed, untill for want of remedy, and anger of such a destruction, certain Peasants cast stones afar off into it; then the flames somewhat slackning, drawing neare, they put it out with blowes of clubs, and other like, as if it had been a wilde beast. Last of all, they threw in clothes from their backs, which the more worne and fouler, the better they quenched the fires. The same yeere, the Figge-tree called *Ruminalis*, in the place of assemblies, which above eight hundred and forty yeeres before had covered *Remus* and *Romulus* infancy, having his boughes dead, and the body beginning to wither, was held as a prodigious signe, untill it began to flourish again and thrust out new shootes.

THE

THE FOURTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. Nero abused by Poppæa, determineth to put to death Agrippina his mother.
Agrippinaes unchaste life to maintain her greatnesse.



N *Vipsanus* and *Fonteius* being Consuls, *Nero* deferred no longer his long before intended wickednesse, his boldnesse by long rule being increased, and his lust to *Poppæa* more and more enflamed: who casting off all hope of marrying *Nero*, or seeing a divorce between him and *Octavia* whilst *Agrippina* lived, sometimes tauntingly, and sometimes merrily, began to finde her self grieved with the Prince, and calling him a Ward, and subject unto others controulement, said he was so far from the government of the Empire, that he wanted his own liberty. For why was the marrying of her desired? forsooth her beauty did not please his eye, nor the noblenesse of her Grandfathers, who had so oft triumphed? Or did he misdoubt her child-bearing and true affection? or lest being his wife, she should discover the injuries done to the Senat, and the anger of the people against the pride and covetousnesse of his mother? But if *Agrippina* could indure no daughter in law but such as her sonne content withall, let her be restored again to *Oscho* her husband. She was content to go any whither, where she should rather heare of the contumelies done to the Prince then see them, and take part of his dangers. These and the like pearcing speeches with teares and cunning by the adulteresse uttered, no man hindered: all men desiring that the mothers authority were taken lower; and no man beleeving that the sons hate would extend to her death. *Cluvius* doth report that *Agrippina* through a burning desire of continuing her authority and greatnesse grew to that shamelesnesse, that in the midst of the day, when *Nero* was well tyled and full of good cheere, she offered herself to him drunk as he was, trimly decked, and ready to commit incest: and the standers by noted her lascivious kisses and other allurements, messengers of her unchaste meaning: And how *Seneca* having recourse to another woman for a remedy against their inticements, sent *Aëte* a freed-woman privily to him; who carefull as well of her own danger as *Neroes* infamy, gave advertisement, that the incest was commonly spoken of, by reason his mother bragged thereof; and that the souldiers would not indure the government of so profane a Prince. *Fabius Rusticus* reported that not *Agrippina*, but *Nero* lusted after that; but was discouraged by the cunning of the said freed-woman. But what *Cluvius* had reported, is confirmed by other authors: and the same inclineth that way; either because *Agrippina* had indeed conceived so hainous a fact in her minde, or that an intention of strange lust seemed more credible in her, who in her young yeeres blinded with hope of rule, forfeited her honesty with *Lepidus*; and with the like lust abandoned her body even to *Pallas* will, as one hardened and shamelesse in all loosenesse of life, by marrying her own Uncle. Therefore *Nero* eschewed her secret company. And when she went to her Gardens, or to *Tusculanum*, or *Antiatres*, he praised her that she drove away idlenesse. At last, wheresoever she bestowed her

her self, thinking her troublesome to him, determined to make her away, whether by poison or by the sword, or any other violence, that only was his doubt, and first he resolved to do it by poison. But if it should be given her at his table, it could not be attributed to chance, *Britannicus* already dying the same death: and to sound the mindes of her servants seemed dangerous, and being a woman long practised in wickednesse, as alwayes armed against the like, and by taking counterpoisons before hand, it was to be feared it would take no effect. To kill her with the sword, there was no invention how to conceale the murder; and *Nero* feared lest any chosen to so dangerous attempt, should refuse to obey.

II. *Anicetus worketh a meanes how to make away Agrippina
Neroes mother.*

A*n**cetus* a Freed man, Captaine of the Navy at Misenum, one which had brought up *Nero* in his childe-hood, hating, and hated of *Agrippina*, found out an invention for the purpose: which was, that there might a Gally be made loose by art in the bottome, that should let her fall into the sea when she suspected least. There is nothing more subject to chance then the sea, and if she should perish by shipwracke, who is so unreasonable as to ascribe that to any ungracious invention, which was the fault of the windes and waves? And to colour the matter with all the Prince should build a Temple in honour of the dead, erect Altars, and institute other ceremonies, to shew a love and reverence towards her. This subtilt invention pleased the Princes humor, and fell out at a fit time, because *Nero* then celebrated the feast of *Minerva* five dayes together at Baias. Thither by faire words he brought his mother, affirming, that the displeasure of parents was to be borne with, and meanes to be sought to pacifie their anger: which he did to give out a reconciliation betweene them, and so receive *Agrippina* (as women by kinde are of easie beliefe) willing enough to see the sport. Then going to meet her on the shore of Antium, took her by the hand and imbraced her, and led her to Baulos, which was a countrey house betwixt the Promontory of Misenum and the Baian Lake, hard by the sea side, where a gally trimmer and the rest was ready prepared, as a thing among others to honour his mother: for she had beene accustomed to the Gally, and to be carried by force of Rowers. After that, she was invited to a banquet, because the night might the better cloke the device. But sure it was some one or other had bewraied the plot, and *Agrippina* understanding the practise, and doubtfull whether she should beleeve it, caused herselfe to be carried to Baias in a bearing chaire: there *Neroes* careffes lessened her feare, being courteously entertained, and placed about him; entertained her with much communication; sometimes with a youthfull familiarity, again as it were recalling himselfe, and interlacing it with serious talke, made the banquet hold a long time: and his eyes fixed on her as she departed, embraced her more straightly then he was accustomed; either because he would omit no complement of dissimulation; or else because the last sight of his mother even ready to perish, did mollifie his heart though fell and cruell. A bright Starre-light night and quiet with a calme sea, as it were to manifest the wicked practise, the gods themselves did yeeld. The Gally not farre gone, *Agrippina* having only two of her own persons with her, the one *Creperius Gallus*, which stood not farre from the sterne, and *Aceronia* lying at *Agrippinaes* feet, with great joy discomfited of her sonnes repentance, and the favour she had recovered. But the watch-word being given, the covering of the place heavily

loaden

loaden with lead, fell downe upon *Creperius* and prest him to death immediately: *Agrippina* and *Aceronia*, the uppermost bearing of the covering, by fortune being stronger then the rest, though it shrunk with the waight, were saved, and the vessell not loosed asunder: all being amazed; and some which were ignorant of the practise, hindered others which were given to it. Then the Rowers thought best to way the Gally on the side, and so to sink her. Yet they could not agree upon so sudden an advise; but some swaying to the contrary way, caused the vessell not to sink on the sudden, but by little and little. But *Aceronia* unadvisedly crying that she was *Agrippina*, and that they should help the Princes mother, with poles and oares, and such implements in the Gally as came first to hand, was slain. *Agrippina* not speaking a word, therefore not known, received onely one wound in the shoulder: then swimming towards the bank, was succoured by small Barkes, and carried by the Lake *Lucrinus* to her own house. There casting in her minde how she had been sent for by craft and false letters, entertained with especiall honour: how the vessell neither tossed by windes, nor carried upon rocks, the upper part fell as it had beene a Land-frame: noting *Aceroniaes* death, and beholding her own wound, thought it the onely remedie against the treachery, to make as though she perceived it not. And thereupon sent *Agerinus* a Free-man to tell her sonne, how by the goodnesse of the Gods and his good fortune, she had escaped a great danger; and prayed him, that although he were affrighted with his mothers danger, yet that he would forbear a time from visiting her, because that for the present she had need of rest. And in the meane while making shew of securitie, healeth her wound, and chearifieth her body. And commanded *Aceroniaes* testament to be sought for, and her goods to be sealed up, which was the onely thing wherein she shewed no dissimulation. But whilest *Nero* expected messengers to certifie him that his plot had taken effect; tidings came that she had escaped lightly wounded, but passed through great danger; the Author of it not once doubted. *Nero* stricken dead with feare, and crying she would revenge out of hand, either by arming her slaves, or stirring up the souldiers, or run to the Lords of the Senat or people, there complain of the ship-wrack, her wound, and the murder of her friends; knew no shift, unlesse *Burrhus* and *Seneca* would bestir themselves, whom immediately he sent for, doubtfull whether they had understood the matter before or not. They stood mute a long time, fearing lest their perswasions should take no effect; in the end concluded, that unlesse *Agrippina* were prevented, *Nero* should perish. Then *Seneca* hitherto forwarder of the two, looked upon *Burrhus*, as though he should have asked, whether the souldier should be commanded to exocate the murder? But he answered, that the Guard being bound to all *Cesars* house and so mindfull of *Germanicus*, would not undertake so cruell an enterprise against his progeny, and that *Anicetus* should accomplish his promise. He nothing at all staggering, demandeth the whole charge of the execution. At which speech *Nero* professed openly, that that day the Empire was bestowed upon him, and that the Author of so great a gift was his freed man, and therefore that he should make speed, and take with him such as were readiest to fulfill his commandement. He hearing that *Agerinus Agrippinaes* messenger was come, maketh a colour of his enterprise in this sort: Whilest *Agerinus* delivered his message, *Anicetus* let fall a sword between his legges, and as it were taking him in the manner, as though he had come to kill the Prince, commandeth him to be cast in prison, that he might make the world beleeve, that the mother had pretended her sonnes death, and killed her selfe for shame that the plot was discovered. In the meane season *Agrippinaes* danger being spread abroad, as though it had happened by

by

by chance, every man as he understood it, ran to the sea shore; some clammered up the sea dams, some gate into the next boates, some waded as farre as they could into the sea, some stretched out their hands to her. The coast was filled with complaints, vows and cries, or such as either asked divers questions, or answered doubtfully. And a great multitude flocked thither with torches, who understanding that she was escaped, set themselves in a readinesse, as it were to have welcomed her, untill they were disperfed by the sight of a threatening armed company of souldiers. *Anicetus* besetteth her house with a guard, and having broken the gate, laieth hand on all the servants he meeteth, untill he came to the chamber doores, where there stood but a few, the residue terrified with those which burst in. There was but little light in the chamber and one maide only, *Agrippina* more and more perplexed that she heard not from her sonne, no nor of *Agerinus*. The face of the shore was now almost quite changed, every man gone and on the sudden a great noise, and tokens of extreame danger. Then that one maide, going away, speaking these words, *Thou doest also forsake me*, she espieth *Anicetus*, accompanied with *Herculeus* Captaine of the Gally, and *Olaritus* a Centurion of sea-souldiers, unto whom she said, that if he came to visit her, he should go and say that she was well recovered; if to execute any villany she suspected her son no way, and that the parricide was not by him commanded. The murderers came about her bed, and the Captaine of the Gally first strook her on the head with a cudgell. For to the Centurion drawin^g his weapon to kill her, thrusting out her belly, she cried, strike my belly; and so having received many wounds, she was slaine. Thus many report with one consent. Whether that *Nero* beheld his mother when she was dead, and praised the feature of her body, some there are which affirme, some which deny. She was burnt the same night in a banketting bed with base funerals; and whilest *Nero* reigned never buried. Not long after by the care of her friends, she had a tombe of small expenses neere the Misenian way, and *Cesar* the Dictators house, which from a high place looked upon a gulf of the sea underneath. When the funerall fire was kindled, *Mnestor* her freed man thrust himselfe thorow, but whether for love of *Agrippina* or feare of death, doubtfull. That this should be her end *Agrippina* many yeeres before did beleve, but contemned it. For consulting of *Neroes* fortune, the Chaldeans told her that he should be Emperour, and kill his mother: and she answered, let him kill her, soas he be Emperour.

III. *Neroes excuses in Senate for murdering his mother:
the flattery of the people.*

BUt after this unnaturall fact was committed, *Cesar* began to waigh how hair-nous it was: and the rest of the night now in dumbe silence, often rising up as affrighted, and out of his wits, looked for day as it had beene a messenger of death. But at *Burrhus* perswasion the first flattery of the Centurions and Tribunes did animate him to hope: who taking him by the hand, rejoiced that he had escaped an unlooked for danger, and his mothers wicked practises. Then his friends frequented the Temples, and the example begun the free townes adjoyning to Campania, witnesed their joy with sacrifices and Embassadours. He counterfaiting the contrary, sad and as it were an enemy to his life, wept and bewailed the death of his mother. Yet because the face of places is not changed like unto the countenances of men, the grievous sight of that sea and shore coming oft to his remembrance (and some there were which beleaved that there was heard a sound of a

Trumpet

“trumpet in those high hills adjoyning, and lamentations at his mothers tombe) he went to Naples and sent letters to the Senate, with contents as followeth. That *Agerinus* one of *Agrippinaes* deerest freed men, was found with a sword to kill him, and that she with the same remorse of conscience, had suffered the punishment, with which she had prepared her lewd enterprise against him. He added far fetcht crimes, as that she would have beene equall with him in the Empire, and that his guard should have sworn alleagance to her being but a woman, hoping to have done the same dishonor to the Senat and people. And that perceiving these devises to want effect, offended with the souldiers, the Senators, and the people, she hindred a gift which should have been given the people, and sought the ruine of many Noble men. How greatly laboured he, that she should not rush into the Senate, and give forein nations their answers? And by a by-glancing at *Claudius* reigne, cast upon his mother all the lewd actions of his government, affirming that she was dead for the common good of the estate. He declared her shipwrack likewise; the which to have happened by chance, who was so blockish as to beleve? or that one man alone should be sent from a woman that had suffered shipwracke to force a guard and Emperours navie? Therefore now that *Nero*, whose cruelty surpassed all complaints, but *Seneca* was hardly spoken of, as one confessing the fact by that oration. Neverthelessse processions were ordained with a wonderfull strife of forwardnes in every temple, and a bed made in the Temples in honour of their gods; and also that the five dayes feasts of *Minerva* called *Quinquatrus*, in which the treacheries were discovered, should be celebrated every yeere. And that an image of gold of *Minerva* should be set in the Curia and the Princes by it. And that the day of *Agrippinaes* nativity should be accounted among the dismall dayes. *Thrasea Patus* with silence or short assent accustomed to passe over others flatteries went out of the Senate, and procured danger to himself and opened not the way of liberty unto others. Many prodigious signes happened likewise, but of no effect. A woman brought forth a snake, and another companying with her husband, was stricken dead with lightning. The sunne was darked on a sudden, and fourteen places of the city damniified with tempest from heaven: which chanced so without the care of the gods, that *Nero* many yeeres after continued the Empire and wickednesse. But to make his mother more odious, and shew his own leuitie was augmented by her death, he recalled from banishment two noble women *Lutia* and *Calphurnia*, and *Valerius Capito*, and *Lucinius Cabolus*, who had been Pretors long before, banished by *Agrippina*. He permitted also that *Lollia Paullinaes* ashes should be brought back, and a sepulchre to be built her, and released the punishment of *Iturius* and *Calvisius*, whom not long before he himselfe had banished. As for *Silana* she died in coming back at Tarantum; *Agrippinaes* malice, which was her overthrow, either appeared, or her credit beginning to waine. Whilest he lingered in the townes of Campania, doubtfull how he should enter into the city: whether his best way were to seek the favor of the Senat, or good will of the people; the lewdest conditioned, whereof there was no court better stored, perswaded him that the name of *Agrippina* was odious, and that by her death the favour of the people was more bent towards him then ever: therefore that he should go boldly, and with his presence trie how he should be revered. And withall they earnestly entreated him to set forward: and found all things in a greater readinesse then they had promised: the Tribes came to meet him; the Lords of the Senate in their holy-day robes, wives and children placed according to their age and sexe: and all the way he should goe builded with staires as in publick shewes or triumphes. Thereupon puffed up with pride

pride, as a conquerour of publicke servitude, he went to the Capitoll, and gave thanks to the gods: letting loose the reins to all lusts and licentiousnesse of life, which before badly restrained, yet the reverence towards his mother such as it was, did in some sort bridle.

IIII. *Neroes exercises.*

IT was an old practise of his, never to be absent from the race of chariots: and no lesse unseemly was that other delight of his, at supper to sing to the Harpeas Minstrels did, which he said to have been a custome of ancient Kings and Captaines, and a thing highly commended by Poets, and attributed to the honor of the gods. For melody is sure dedicated to *Apollo*, and in that attire he doth stand, not only in the cities of Greece, but also in the Temples at Rome: a principall deity and knowing things to come. Neither could he now be removed, seeming good also to *Seneca* and *Burrhus* to yeeld him the one, lest he should persist in both. And thereupon a space was inclosed in the valley of the Vatican to manage his horses, and not to be seen indifferently of every man: and not long after of his own accord he called the people to see it, who highly extolled him; as the manner of the people is, to be delirous of pastimes, and very glad if the Prince draw them to it. And his shame published abroad, brought him not, as it was thought it would, any loathing therein, but a farther provocation, thinking that the discredit would be shaken off, if he could dishonour many with the like. He brought to the scaffold many descended of noble houses, bought for poverty, which because they be dead, I will not name, as having regard unto their ancestors: being rather his fault to give money for ill doing, then lest they should commit that which is naught. He constrained also the chief Gentlemen of Rome with mighty gifts to promise their labour in the Theater: unless you say, that a reward given by him who may command, bringeth a necessity in obeying. Yet lest he should be discredited by the publick Theater, he instituted playes called *Juvenalia*, as it were for the health of youth, to which every man willingly gave his name; not any ones nobility, nor his age, or office borne, being any hinderance unto them, but that Greeks and Latines exercised the Art of a Stage-player, even unto gestures, and measures unseemly for men. Yea noble women practised many gestures, and unseemly to their calling. And in the wood which *Augustus* planted about the lake, where he represented a feasting, Tavernes and meeting places were built, where all provocations of wanton lusts were sold, where money was given to the good to spend of necessity, and to the intemperate to glory and brag of. From thence sprang all lewdnesse and infamy, never at any time (not when there was great corruption in manners in times past) more dissolute lasciviousnesse used then at those impure assemblies. Shame is scarce retained among men of honest example; much lesse among such which strived who should have most vices, can chastity and modesty, or any good behaviour be maintained. Last of all, *Nero* himself entereth on the Stage, tuning and playing on his instrument with great care, and premeditating what to say; his familiars assisting him, and besides them a Cohort of souldiers, Centurions and Tribunes, and *Burrhus*, both grieving and praying him. Then also were first inrowled the Gentlemen of Rome called *Augustini*, men for their age and strength of body highly esteemed: part of them shamelesse and saucy in behaviour, and part hoping thereby to rise to greater authority; day and night with clapping of hands made all to ring of them, commending the feature, and voice of the Prince with tearms attributed to the

the gods, and were respected by him as honorable personages for their vertue. And yet lest the Emperours skill on stage only and musicke should be published, he desired to be well accounted off for versifying, having gathered about him such as had any cunning therein, much more such as were excellent. They sate together, and made those verses hang together which he made there or else where, and supplied his words howsoever they were uttered, which the fashion it selfe of his verses doth declare, not running with one and the same vehemency, and vaine of writing. He bestowed also some time after meat with Philosophers, taking pleasure to heare how every man defended his owne opinion, and overthrew the contrary. Neither wanted there some, which with their voyce and grave countenance desired to be thought pleasant with the Emperour.

V. *A strife betweene the inhabitants of Nuceria, and the Pompeians.*

ABout the same time, of a light quarell rose a greate murder betweene the inhabitants of Nuceria, and Pompeians at a shew of fencers, which *Livineius Regulus* put from the Senate as before I have rehearsed, represented to the people. For first provoking one another with bitter termes, as it is often seene in malapert and saucy townesmen, they came to stones, and last of all to weapons; the Pompeians being the stronger, with whom the shew was set forth. Many of the Nucerians were brought lame and wounded to the Towne, and many wept for the death of their children and parents: the determining of which the Prince referred to the Senate, the Senate to the Consuls. And the cause being againe brought to the Senators, the Pompeians were forbidden to assemble any such companies for renneyeeres, and their corporations erected against the lawes dissolved. *Livineius* and such others as raised the stirre, were banished. *Pedius Blasus* also was put from his Senators roome, at information of the Cyrenenians: who layd to his charge that he had robbed the treasure of the god *Aesculapius*, and mustered souldiers for mony and suite. The same Cyrenenians accused *Aelius Strabo* sometimes Prætor, and sent by *Claudius* as arbitrator of certaine lands which once belonged to King *Apio*, and left to the people of Rome with the Kingdome, their neighbours possessed and occupied, and by long licence and injury defended them to be theirs by right and equity. The lands therefore being given from them by sentence they envied the judge; and the Senat answered they were ignorant of *Claudius* pleasure, and that they should aske the Princes advise. The Prince approving *Strabos* sentence, wrote neverthelesse that he would aide the allies, and give them that which they had usurped. There died not long after, *Domitius Afer*, and *M. Servilius* two notable personages, which flourished with great honours and eloquence, he in pleading of causes, *Servilius* famous for long frequenting the Forum, and then for writing the Roman histories, carriage of himselfe, and neatnes of life, which made him more renowned; as equall to the other in wit, yet different in conditions.

VI. *Whether it be convenient to have often plaies to entertaine the people.*

N*ero* being the fourth time Consull, and *Cor. Cossus*, the play called *Quinquennale* was ordained to be played at Rome, after the manner of the Greek combate,

combat, wherof there went divers reports, as almost it happeneth in all new things: for some there were which said that *Cn. Pompeius* was blamed by the ancient men "for building a permanent Theater. For in times past the playes were wont to be set forth on a scaffold built for that time, & seats to continue no longer then the play lasted. Or if thou wilt look into more ancient times, the people beheld them standing, lest if they should sit, they would continue in the Theater whol daies in idleness. Neither should the ancient fashion of playes be observed, when, as oft as the Prators should set them forth; no necessity was laid upon any of the citizens to fight or look on. But the customes of the country being by little & little abolished were now utterly overthrowne by disorders set from strange countries; that whatsoever elsewhere might corrupt, or was corrupted was seen in the city; & the youth unlike to that it hath been, through strange manners, wrestling naked, idleness, & licentious love, the Prince and the Senat being authors thereof, who have not only given licence to vices, but also given them strength & force. The noblemen of Rome under color of making orations & verses were discredited by stage-playing. What remaineth then but only to uncloth them selves starke naked, and take the casti in hand, and practise that fight in stead of armes and exercises of warre? Or doe they thinke they shall better understand the knowledge of fouthlaying, be more skilful in the decuries of gentlemen, accomplish the honorable charge of Iudicature, if they understand cunningly broken tunes & sweetnes of voices? whole nights also were added to those shames, because no time should be left honest: but in that confuse multitude what every person most dissolute desired by day, durst venter on by night. That licence pleased many, & yet they cloaked it with honest termes. That the ancients did likewise not abhorre the delight of plaies and shewes according to their calling at that time, and that stage-players were sent for, from Thufcia. The horse-race was represented by the Thurians: but since Achaia and Asia was possessed by us, playes have beene more exactly set forth. Neither hath there been any one in Rome nobly descended, which by reason of stage-players hath discredited the stock from whom he came these two hundred yeeres, since *L. Mummus* triumphed, who first set forth that kind of shew in the city. Further, there was a regard had unto thrift, in erecting a continuall standing Theater, rather then with infinite charges every yeere set up and build a new. Neither should the magistrates waste their goods as they have done; or the people have cause to be fortunate with them for the combats according to the Greeks manner, seeing the Common wealth did defray the charge. The victories of Orators & Poets, would be an encouragement unto wits: neither could it be offensive to any Judge to lend his eares to honest studies, & allowable pastimes. To mirth rather then lasciviousnes, a few nights in five yeeres were given, in which there is such great lights of fires that no unlawfull act can be hidden. In very deed that shew past without any notable dishonest part committed, neither did the people shew any great insolency, although the common vices were restored to the stage, and forbidden to shew themselves in such plaies as were represented in honour of the gods. The praise of eloquence none carried away, but *Cesar* was pronounced victor: and the Greekish attire which many wore in those dayes, was laid aside.

VII. Nero

VII. Nero falleth sicke.

DVring these things, there appeared a blazing starre, which in the opinion of the common people betokeneth the change of a prince. Therefore as though Nero had already been driven out, they were busie to know who should succeed him: *Rubellius Plautus* being famous in every mans mouth, by the mothers side descending from the Julian familie. He was an observer of the old manner of living upright, grave and severe, living with all honestie, as one retired in his owne houle: and the more secret he was for feare of being accounted of; so much the more his reputation increased. An interpretation of a lightning begun by the like vanity, augmented the rumor. For *Neroes* meate being stricken with lightning, and the table thrown downe at the lakes of Simbruinum, in a place called Sublaqueum in the confines of Tiburtum, from whence *Plautus* had his beginning by his fathers side, all men believed that he was destined by the providence of the gods to the Empire: and thereupon many fawned and courted him: which by a greedy and for the most part deceitfull ambition, admire new things, doubtfull and uncertaine. Nero moved with these rumors, writeth to *Plautus*, advising him to looke to himselfe, and his assemblies, and rid his hands of those which lewdly defamed him: and that in Asia he had possessions by descent from his Ancestors, in which he might passe his youth safely and without troubles. Whereupon he went thither with *Antistia* his wife and a few of his familiars. At the same time too greedy a desire of pleasing his will in all he liked, bred Nero both infamie and danger: for swimming in the fountaine of the Martian water which was brought to the city; it was construed that he had defiled the holy drinckes, and ceremony of the place with his whole body; and falling dangerously sicke thereupon, it was constantly beleaved that it proceeded as a punishment from the wrath of the gods.

VIII. Corbulo conquereth all Armenia; over which Nero sendeth Tigranes to be King.

BVt *Corbulo* after the raising of Artaxata, thinking it is best to make profit of the fresh terrour: for the easlier forcing of Tigranocerta, by destroying of which he should augment feare in the enemy; or by sparing it, purchase the reputation of clemency: marcheth thither, using no hostility by the way, lest he should take from them all hope of pardon: yet with no remission or carelesse proceeding, as one knowing that that Nation is easily subject to change: as slow to perill, so faithlesse when occasion is offered. The Barbarians every man according to his wit, some intreated; some forsooke their villages and conveyed themselves to inaccessible places; some hid themselves, and the things they made most reckoning of in Caves. The Roman Captaine therefore, using divers policies, shewed mercie towards the humble; used celerity in pursuing those which ran away; and cruelty against those which fled to the denes and caves, stopping the mouthes of them with vine branches and small wood, and after set them on fire. And passing by the confines of the Mardians, a people well practised in theeving and robbing; they set on him, but fled to their Mountaines for their defence, when they saw he turned towards them. But *Corbulo* sent an Armie of Iberians to waste them, revenging by that meanes with the blood of strangers the audaciousnes of the enemy. Himselfe and his Armie, albeit he received no hurt by the battell, yet began to faint for want of victuals and overgreat travell, having no meanes to drive away hunger, but with the flesh of beasts. All this, with the want of water, fervent heat, long journeys, was mitigated by the only patience of the Captaine; himselfe enduring more then

then a common souldier. Then we came into tilled grounds, but where harvest was in: and of two castles into which the Armenians had fled, the one was taken by force; and the other which had resisted the first assault was forced with siege. From thence passing into the country of the Taurantians he escaped an unlooked for danger: for not farre from his pavilion, there was found a Barbarian of no small reputation with a weapon; which by torture discovered the order of a treason (himselfe the inventor of it) and all his complices: and they were convicted and punished which under colour of freindship went about treason. Not long after embassadors sent from Tigranocerta, bring tidings that the gates are open, and the inhabitants willing to obey the Romans. Withall they presented him a crowne of gold as a gift to honour a stranger: which honourably he accepted, and tooke away no privilegedge from the town because they should more faithfully retaine their obedience. Neverthelesse the Kings fortresse, which the fierce youth had shut themselves in, was not gotten but by fight: for they came forth and skirmisht before the walles, but driven into their rampiers, & no longer able to resist, at the last yeeld to the forces of the assayers. All which the Roman archieved so much the easlier, because the Parthians were hindered with war against the Hircanians: who had sent to the Romaine Prince to crave their alliance, declaring that for a pledge of their friendship, they had stopped *Vologeses*. *Corbulo* fearing lest those Embassadors in returning backe, having past *Euphrates* should be surpris'd by the ambush of the enemy, with a good guard conducted them to the red sea: whereby having escaped the confines of the Parthians, they returned safe to their countrey. Besides this *Corbulo* drove away *Tiridates* farre of: and from all hope of waies entering the confines of Armenia by the Medes; by sending before the Lieutenant *Verulanus* with the confederates, himselfe following with uncumbred legions: and having wasted with fire and sword those he knew to be our enemies, and adhere to the King, put himself in possession of Armenia: when as not long after came *Tigranes* cholen by *Nero* to take the kingdome, one of the nobilitie of the Cappadocians, & king *Archelans* nephew: but by being kept a long time an hostage in the City, was humble, and lowly even unto servile patience: neither accepted by consent, some still favouring the Arsacides: but the most part hating the pride of the Parthians, desired rather the King given by the Romans. He had also a garrison sent him by the Romans, a thousand legionary souldiers, three bands of allies, and two wings of horsemen. And to the end he might the easlier defend the new kingdome, part of Armenia, as it is adjoynd to Nipolis, Aristobulus, and part Antiochus had charge of. *Corbulo* came into Syria, which by the death of the Lieutenant *Vinidius* was without a governour and committed to his charge.

IX. An earth-quake in Laodicea. An order for appellations.

THE same year, Laodicea one of the most famous cities of Asia, destroyed by an earth-quake, without any help of ours by her own wealth, recovered her selfe againe. But in Italy the ancient towne of Puteolum, got of *Nero* the privileges and surname of a colonie. The old souldiers assigned to inhabite Tarentum and Autium, did not furnish the lack of people in those places: many of them being sent into Provinces, where they ended their service. And not accustomed to marry, nor bring up children, they left their houses without posteritie: for whole legions were not brought as in times past with Tribunes and Centurions and souldiers of the same band, that by consent and love they should make a common-wealth:

but

but strangers the one to the other, of divers companies, without a governour, without mutuall love, as it were gathered on the sudden, of another kinde of people, rather a number than a colonie. The election of Pretors wont to be chosen at the will of the Senat, which was now done by suit and bribery; the Prince assumed to himselfe, and gave the charge of a legion to each one of the three which sued extraordinarily. And augmented the honour of the Senate, by ordaining that such as from ordinary Judges appealed to the Senators should incur the same penalty, as they did which appealed to the Emperour: for before that was free to every man, and not punishable. In the end of the yeare *Vibius Secundus* a Roman gentleman, at the suite of the Moores, was condemned of extortion and banished Italy, and supported by the favour of his brother *Vibius Crispus*, that he had no grievouser a punishment.

X. Warre in England. Suetonius Paulinus conquered the Ile of Anglesey. The Queene Boudicea abused by the Romans.

WHEN *Casinius Patus*, and *Petronius Turpilianus* were Consuls, there was a very great overthrow received in Britannie: where neither the Lieutenant *Avitus*, as I have already said, could do no more but keepe that which was already gotten; and his successeur *Verannius* with small inrodes having wasted the Siluri*, was hindered by death from making any long warre: a man* Southwales. whilest he lived, famous for severity, but in his last will shewed himself openly ambitious. For after much flattering of *Nero*, added, that he would have subdued the Province to his obedience, if he had lived the two next yeeres. At that time *Paulinus Suetonius* governed Britannie, in skill of service, & opinion of the people (which suffereth no man without a concurrent) comparable with *Corbulo*, desiring to match his honour of recovering Armenia by subduing the enemy of this country. He maketh all preparation to invade the Ile of Mona* strong with the inhabitants, and a receptacle of fugitives; and buildeth flat bottomed vessels, because the sea is shallow, and landing uncertain. So the footmen having passed over, the horsemen followed by the foord, or by swimming, if the waters were high. Against them the enemies armie stood on the shore, thick in aray, well appointed with men and weapons, and women running among, in mourning attire, their haire about their eares with fire-brands in their hands like furies of hell: and the Druides round about, lifting up their hands to heaven, and pouring out deadly curses: with the newnesse of the sight amazed the souldier, and stood stock still close together, not once moving a foot, as though they had presented themselves to the wounds. Then by the encouragement of the captaine, and animating each the other, that they should not feare a flock of women, and frantick people, they displayed their ensignes and marched on; overthrew such as encountered them, and thrust them among their own fires. Which being done, they placed garrisons in their townes, and cut down their woods; which through their execrable superstitions among them were reckoned holy. For they accounted it lawfull to offer sacrifice at their altars with the blood of captives and ask counsell of their gods by the aspect of mans intralles and fibres. Newes came to *Suetonius* as he achieved this enterprize, of a sudden rebellion of the Province. *Prasutagus* King of the Icenians*, very famous for his riches a long time gotten, made *Casius* with two of his daughters his heire by will, thinking that by that flattery his kingdome and house should have been warranted from in-

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jurie;

* Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge-shire, Hunting-shire.

jury, which fell out otherwise: for his kingdome by Centurions, his house by slaves was waisted and spoiled as lawfull booties. And to begin withall, his wife *Boudicea* was whipped, and his daughters defouled. And the chiefeft of the Icenians, as though they had received the whole Nation for a prey, were dispossessed of all their ancient inheritance, and the Kings kindred reputed as slaves. By reason of which contumely and feare of worse, (after that they were reduced into a forme of a Province) they take armes again: the *Trinobantes being stirred to rebellion also and others not yet broken to the yoke of servitude, by secret conspiracies had vowed to recover their libertie, bearing a bitter hatred against the old souldiers. For those which were lately brought into the Colony of *Camoludunum, thrust out of their houses the ancient inhabitants, took their livings from them calling them captives and slaves: the new souldiers favouring the insolent fiercenesse of the old, as well for likenes and conformity of life, as hope of like licence. Besides a Temple erected in honour of *Claudius* of famous memory, was an eye, fore, and an Altar of perpetuall dominion over them: and the Priests which were chosen under colour of religion, waisted all the wealth of the inhabitants. Neither did it seem any hard matter, to extirpate that colony undefenced & unfortified, which was not circumspectly foreseen by our Captaines, whilest they had a greater care of pleasure then good government. Amongst these things the image of Victorie set up in Camalodunum fell down without any apparent cause why, and turned back, as though it would give place to the enemy. And the women distempered with fury, went singing, that destruction was at hand. And strange noises were heard in their court, and the Theater gave a sound like to a howling, and a strange apparition in an arme of the sea was a foretelling of the subversion of the colony. Further the Ocean bloody in shew, and dead mens bodies left after an ebbe, as they brought hope to the Britans, so they drove the old souldiers into a feare, who because *Suetonius* was farre off, craved aid of *Catus Decianus* Procurator. He sent not above two hundred men, and those badly armed, and the number not great which was there before, trusted to the franchise of the Temple. And those hindring which were confederates of the secret conspiracy troubled their designements: for they neither made trench nor ditch, nor sending away the old men and women, and keeping the young men only, being as secure as it had been in a full peace, they were surpris'd with a multitude of barbarous people, and all overthrowen, and waisted with violence, or consumed with fire: the Temple onely excepted, into which the souldiers had fled, which also within two dayes was besieged and taken. And the Britain being thus conquerour, and meeting with *Petris Cerealis* Lieutenant of the ninth legion which came to succour them, put to flight the legion, and slew all the footmen. *Cerealis* with the horsemen escaped to the camp, and defended himselfe in the fortresses. Through which overthrow, and hate of the Province, driven to take armes through the avarice of the Romanes, *Catus* the Procurator being afraid, sailed into Gallia. But *Suetonius* with wonderfull constancie passing even among the enemies, went on to London, not greatly famous by the name of a Colony, but for concourse of Merchants, and provision of all things necessary, of great fame and renowne: and being come thither stood doubtfull whether he should choose that for the feate of warre or not: and considering the small store of souldiers he had, and how *Petilius* had well payed for his rashnesse, he determined with the losse of one town to preserve the rest whole. Neither was he wonne by weeping and teares to give aide to such as demanded it, but gave signe of removing, and received such as followed as part of his army. If imbecillity of sex, or wearisomnes of age, or pleasantnes of the place kept any back, they were

* Middlesex and Essex.

* Malden in Essex.

all

all put to the sword by the enemy. The free towne of *Verulamium received the like overthrow, because the barbarians forsaking their Castles and forts, and being well manned, spoiled the richest and fatteft, and carrying it to a sure place, glad of the booty, went on to places more notable. It is certaine there were flaine in those places I have spoken of, to the number of seventy thousand citizens and confederates. Neither did they sell or take any one prisoner, or use any entercourse of traffick of warre, but kill, hang, burne, crucifie, as though they would require the measure they had suffered, and as it were in the meane time hasten to anticipate revenge.

XI. *Suetonius vanquished the Britaines, which Boudicea conducted: her stoutnes and death.*

NOW *Suetonius* having with him the fourteenth legion, with the Standerd-bearers of the twentieth, and the aides from places adjoyning, which came to the number almost of ten thousand armed men, resolved to lay aside all delay, and trie the chance of a maine battel. And chooseth a place with a narrow entrance, and inclosed behinde with a wood, being well assured that he had no enemies but before him; and that the plaine was wide without feare of ambush. The legionary souldier then marshalled together in thick and close ranks, and the light harneffed closely about them, the horsemen made the wings. But the Britaines forces triumphed abroad in troupes and companies, by such multitudes that the like had not been seen; and of such fiercenes of courage, that they brought their wives with them, and placed them in carts in the utmost parts of the plaine, as witnessers of the victory. *Boudicea* having her daughters by her in a charriot, now going to one, now to another: Told them that the Britaines were wont to make warre under the "conduct of women. But at that time, not as though she had descended of such "noble ancestors, she sought neither for kingdome nor wealth, but a revenge as "one of the common people, of their lost liberty, of her body beaten with stripes "and the chastity of her daughter violated. That the desire of the Romanes was "grown to that passe, that they left none, of what age soever, nor any virgin undefiled. Nevertheless that the gods favored just revenge; that the legion which durst "undertake the battel was slain; the rest had either hid themselves in their camp, or "sought means by flight to save themselves: that they could not indure the noise "and cry of so many souldiers, much lesse their fury and strength. If they would "waigh with themselves the strength of the souldiers, if the cause of the war, they "should resolve either to vanquish in that battel or die. That, for her own part being a woman, was her resolution, the men might live if they pleased and serve. *Suetonius* held not his tongue in so great danger, who although he trusted in the valour "of his souldiers, yet interlaced exhortations and praiers. That they should condemn the loud and vaine threats of the barbarians; that there were more women "seen in their army then young men; that being unwarlike and unarmed, "they would presently yeeld when they should once come to feel the weapons and "valour of the conquerors, who had so oft overthrowen them: yea where many legions have been, a few have carried away the glory of the battel, and it should be "an augmenting to their glory, if with a small power they could win the praise of a "whole army: that they should only continue the slaughter and butchery close together, by throwing of darts, then with their swords and pikes of their bucklers, not "thinking on booty; for the victory once gotten, all should fall to their share. Such

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a fervency and edge followed the captaines words; the old souldier experienced in many battels so bestirred himselfe, and shewed such forwardnes in lancing his darts, that *Suetonius* assured of the event, gave the signe of battel. And first of all the legion not stirring a foot, but keeping within the streight, as in a place of defence; after that the enemy was come neerer: and had spent his darts to good purpose, the legion in the end salied out in a pointed battel. The auxiliary souldier was of the like courage, and the horsemen with long lances breaking before them all they met, or made head against them. The residue shewed their backs, hardly fleeing away, by reason the carts placed about the plaine had hedged in the passages on every side. And the souldiers spared not so much as from killing the women; and their horses and beasts thrust through, increased the heape of bodies. That was a day of great renowne, and comparable to the victories of old times: for some there are which report, that there were slaine few lesse in number then fourescore thousand Britaines, of our souldiers foure hundred slaine, and not many moe hurt. *Boudicea* ended her life with poison. And *Pennius Posthumus*, Camp-master of the second legion, understanding of the prosperous successe of the fourteenth and twentieth Legions, because he had defrauded his legion of the like glory and contrary to the order of service, refused to obey the Captains commandement, slew himselfe. After this gathering the army together, they encamped again, ready to end the residue of the warre. And *Cæsar* augmented his forces by sending out of Germany two thousand legionaries, eight cohorts of auxiliaries, and a thousand horse; by whose coming the ninth legion was supplied. The cohorts and wings were lodged in new winter garrisons, and all those which were either openly against us, or doubtfull, were waited with fire and sword. But nothing so much distressed that nation as famine, being negligent in sowing of corne, and of all ages given to war: and assuring themselves to live on our provision, being a fierce nation slowly gave eare to any peace. For *Iunius Clasicianus* sent to succeed *Catus*, and at variance with *Suetonius* hindred the common good with private grudges: and had bruited abroad that the new Lieutenant was to be expected, who without any hostile rancour, and pride of a conqueror, would entreat such as would yeeld with all clemency. He sent word likewise to Rome that they should look for no end of the warres, unlesse some other should succeed *Suetonius* attributing his perverse luck, to his own overthwartnesse; and the prosperous, to the good luck of the commonwealth. Whereupon to see what state Britanny stood in, *Polycletus* a Freed-man was sent, *Nero* greatly hoping, that by his authority there should not only an agreement be made between the Lieutenant and Procurator, but also the rebellious mindes of the Barbarians be won to a peace. Neither failed *Polycletus* with his great host to seem burdensome to Italy and Gallia; and after he had passed the Ocean sea, shew himselfe terrible even to our souldiers. But to the enemies he was but a laughing stock, who being in full possession of liberty, knew not what the power of freed-men was: and began to marvell that a Captaine, and an army which had so atchieved so many great exploits could yeeld to obey a bondslave: all things neverthelesse were made the best to the Emperor. And *Suetonius* being occupied in dispatching of busines, after he had lost a few gallies on the shore, and the gally-slaves in them, as though the warre did continue, was commanded to deliver the army to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who had lately given up his Consulship; who neither provoked the enemy, nor egged by him gave his lazy and idle life, the honorable name of peace.

XII. Balbus

XII. Balbus a Senatours testament forged: and Pedanius Rufus killed by his bondmen.

THE same yeare two notable lewd parts were committed at Rome: the one by a Senator; the other by an audacious bondman. *Domitius Balbus* sometime Pretor, being aged, without children, and of great wealth, lay open to much treachery. One of his neereff kinsmen, *Valerius Fabianus*, and Consul elect, forged a false testament in his name, having called thereunto *Vicius Rufinus*, and *Terentius Lentinus* Gentlemen of Rome: and they associated unto them *Antonius Primus*, and *Asinius Marcellus*. *Antony* was ready and bold; *Marcellus* nobly descended, and nephew to *Asinius Pollio*; of a good carriage and behaviour; saying that hee thought poverty the worst of all things. *Fabianus* then sealed the testament with those which I have named, and others of lesser calling: whereof he was convicted before the Lords of the Senate, with *Antonius*, and *Rufinus*, and *Terentius*, and condemned by the law *Cornelia* against forgery. But *Marcellus* the memory of his ancestors, and *Cæsar*s entreaty, acquitted rather from punishment, then infamie. The same day overthrew *Pompeianus Aelianus*, a young man, who had been *Quæstor* and privie to *Fabianus* practise, and was banished Italy and Spaine his native countrey. *Valerius Ponticus* sustained the like ignominy, because that eschewing the judgement of the Provost of the City, he had informed against some before the Pretor first under colour of some lawes, then by prevarication to escape punishment. Whereupon a decree of Senate was ordained, that he who should either buy or sell any such actions, should sustaine the same punishment, as he who was publicly condemned for forging of crimes in false accusations. Not long after *Pedanius Secundus* Provost of the city was slain by his bondman, either because he had denied him his liberty, which for money he had covenanted; or hating himselfe for the unnaturall lust of a youth, as not induring his Lord to be his rivall. But when all the bond-slaves of the house according to the old custome should have been condemned for that fact; through the flocking thither of people, which defended so many innocent persons, they grew almost to a mutiny, and even in the Senate it selfe, among which there was a faction, some condemning that overgreat security; & many on the contrary side holding it necessary that nothing should be chaged. Among which, *C. Cæsius* uttered his opinion as followeth. "I have oftentimes been present in this assembly, Lords of the Senate, when new decrees have been demanded contrary to the laws and ordinances of our ancestors: neither have I ever gainsaid them, not that I doubted but that in times past they foresaw and took better and more upright order for all affairs then now; and that those things which were altered were changed into the worse: but lest I should seeme by sticking too much to old customes, to extoll the thing I affected: withall I thought it not convenient with often contradiction, to overthrow this our authority whatsoever it be, to the end it might remaine strong and entire, if at any time the common-wealth should need of counsell. Which this day hath appeared, a Cõsul being murdered in his own house, by treason of his slaves, which none either hindred or bewrayed, although the decree of Senat be yet in force, which in this case threatned punishment to the whole family. Decree in good truth impunity. But whom shall any mans dignity warrant, seeing the Provostship of the city availed not? Whom shall a multitude of slaves defend, seeing foure hundred have not protected *Pedanius Secundus*. Whom shall any ones family helpe, if standing in feare of lawes our servants care

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not what danger we fall into. Shall we say, as some are not ashamed to invent, that this murder revenged his owne private injurie, because he had compounded for his fathers inheritance; or that some old slave had been taken from him? Let us pronounce sentence without any further adoe, that *Pedianus* seemeth to us to have been justly slain. Give me leave to reason of that point, that hath beene determined by wiser men: If we were now first of all to consider of the matter, doe you thinke that a slave had had the heart to murder his Lord, if no threatening word had before escaped him? if he had uttered nothing rashly? forsooth he concealed his intention, he prepared a weapon amongst such as knew nothing of it. Could he passe the watch, open the chamber dores, bring in light, commit the murder, all of his fellows ignorant of it? If slaves would bewray such attempts, they can give many signes: which if they discover, we alone may be safe among many lewd persons: in the end if we must needs die, yet not unrevenge of the wicked. The disposition of slaves hath alwayes beene feared by our ancestors; yea although they were borne in the same countrey and houses, and have just occasion presently to love their lords. But seeing we have nations of them in our families, using divers rites and customes, strange or no ceremonies of religions at all, this rascality thou shalt not be able to bridle but by force. But some innocents shall be cast away. When an army is discomfited, and every tenth souldier is culled out and beaten with a cudgell, the lot falleth also upon the valiant. Every exemplary punishment hath somewhat in it which is unjust, which being in particular to the prejudice of some, yet is recompensed by the general good of the whole. As no one man durst gainsay *Cassius* opinion, so many confusedly answered together, that there should commiseration be taken, of the number, age, sex, and undoubted innocency of many. Yet that opinion prevailed, which concluded they should be punished; but it could not be executed, a multitude being flocked together, threatening with stones and fire. Then *Cæsar* rebuked the people by an edict, and beset all the way, by which the condemned parties were led to punishment with a guard of souldiers. *Cingonius Varro* advised that the freed men which lived under the same rooffe with their master slaine, should be banished Italy. But that was withstood by the Prince, lest the ancient custome which clemency had not diminished, should by cruelty be made worse. The same men being Consuls, *Tarquitius Priscus* was condemned for extortion, at the suit of the Bithynians, the Senators greatly rejoicing thereat, who bare in minde that *Statilius Taurus* their Proconsull had beene accused by him. The people were numbred and valued in Gallia by *Q. Volusius*, and *Sext. Africanus*, and *Trebellius Maximus*; and whilest *Volusius* and *Africanus* contend for worth and nobility, and both disdayning *Trebellius*, they preferred him before themselves. That year died *Memmius Regulus*, in authority, constancy, fame, as much as might be, the imperiall highnesse shadowing him, greatly renowned: in so much that *Nero* being sick, and such as were about him flattering him, and saying that the Empire was at end if he should miscarry, made answer, that the common-wealth had a support and stay. Then they demanding in whom especially? he added, in *Memmius Regulus*. Neverthelesse *Regulus* lived after this shrowded by his quiet life, and because he was of new nobility, and not envied for his wealth. The same yeare, a place of all kinde of exercise called Gymnasium was dedicated by *Nero*, and oyle given when they wrestled naked to the gentlemen and Senate, according to the courtesie of the Greeks.

XIII. Libellers punished: of Veiento which sought Neroes favour.

P. *Marius* and *L. Asinius* being Consuls; *Antistius* the Prætor, who as I have said before behaved himselfe licentiously when he was Tribune of the people, made opprobrious verses against the Prince, and published them in a solemne banket at *Ostorius Scapulaes* house. Whereupon he was accused of treason by *Cossutianus Capito*, not long before received into the number of Senators at the request of his father in law *Tigellius*. It was thought that then first of all that law was put on foot, which wrought not so great an overthrow to *Antistius*, as glory to the Emperour: by which the condemned party, by the Senate was delivered from death, by the negative voice of the Tribune. And albeit *Ostorius* protested he had heard nothing to beare witness of, credit was given to the testimony of his adversaries, and *Junius Marullus* Consull elect gave his censure, that he should be deprived of the Prætorship, and put to death according to the ancient custome. The rest after that yeelding their assent, *Petius Thrasea* having sayd somewhat in the commendation of *Cæsar*, sharply rebuked *Antistius*, and declared: That it was not expedient, that the extremity of punishment should be used under a good Prince, & when the Senat was by no necessity bound to ordaine it: that there was no use now of an executioner and halter: and that there were penalties ordained by lawes, & punishments inflicted without note of the severity of the Judges, & infamy of times. With the losse of his goods he should be confined in some Island, whereby how much the longer he drew his guilty life, by so much the more miserable it should be to himselfe in particular; & in time to come a notable example of publick clemency. *Thraseas* liberty of speech broke the silence of the rest. And after that the Consul had permitted the going aside to agree in their opinions, all of them (a few excepted) condescended to *Thraseas* opinion: amongst whom the forwardest in flattery was *A. Vitellius*, brauling and contending with every one of the better sort, but never replying to an answer: a certaine note to know a timorous and faint heart. But the Consuls not daring to put the decree in execution, with common consent wrote to *Cæsar*: who wavering betwixt shame and anger, in the end wrote againe: That *Antistius* no injury before offered him, had used most contumelious speeches against the Prince, whereof a revenge was demanded of the Senat. And it was convenient that a punishment should be ordained answerable to the greatnes of the offence. As for himselfe as he would have hindered the severity of their resolution, so he would not be against the moderation of the punishment: therefore they might determine as they thought good, giving them power if they lust to acquit him. These or the like speeches recited, & his dislike manifestly perceived: yet for all that neither did the Consuls alter this relation, or *Thrasea* shrink from his opinion; or the rest goe from that which they had once allowed; part of them lest they should seeme to have exposed the Prince to envy, many shrowding themselves under the number of voices; *Thrasea* by his accustomed stoutnes of courage, and because he would not fall from his glory already gotten. *Fabircius Veiento* was accused of the like crime, for uttering many slanderous speeches against the Lords of the Senate, and Priests, in those bookes which he called *Codicillos*. *Talins Geminus* his accuser added further of him, that he had sould offices and favours of the Prince, and the right of obtaining honours: which was the cause why *Nero* undertooke the hearing of that judgement. Who after conviction banished *Veiento* out of Italy, and commanded

ded his bookes to be burnt, which as long as the reading and getting of them was dangerous, were much sought for; then liberty of having them granted they were forgotten.

XIIII. The death of Burrhus: and who Tigellinus and Rufus his successors were. The decay of Seneca's credit, with an oration of his to Nero, with Nero's answer.

A publicke calamities dayly increase; so the remedies against them grew scarce. And Burrhus ended his life, but whether by sicknesse or poison, uncertaine. It was conjectured by sicknesse, because that his wind pipe within swelling by little and little, and in the end stopped, he yeelded up the ghost. Most men affirme, that by Nero's commandement, making as though he would have applied a remedy to the palat of his mouth anointed it with poison; and that Burrhus understanding the practise, when Caesar came to visite him turned his face from him: and asking him how he did, only answered, I am well. He was much lamented in the City for the memory of his vertue: and harmlesse sloth of one of his successors, and enormous wickednesse, and adulteries of the other. For Caesar had made two Captaines of the Guard: *Fenius Rufus* through the favour of the people, because he dealt in Corne matters without gaine; and *Sesonius Tigellinus*, who held on his old course of uncleane and infamous life, which by custome was another nature in him. *Tigellinus* was more inward with the Prince, chosen as one privy to his secret pleasures. *Rufus* was of good reputation and fame with the people, and accepted of the souldiers, which he found by experience to breed Nero's milke. The death of Burrhus weakened Seneca's authority, because his good arts wanted the strength they had: having lost one as it were of their guides: and Nero inclined to the worse sort. Which with sundry sorts of calumniationes set upon Seneca, saying: That he continually heaped up wealth above the calling of a private man, and sought to win the peoples hearts; that in pleasant gardens, and stately building he did almost exceed the Prince. They objected also that he attributed to himselfe only, the praise of eloquence and made verses often, after he saw that Nero took a liking to them. For shewing openly a dislike of the Princes pleasures; he detracted from his skill in ridding, & scoffed at his voice when he sang, to what other purpose, but that nothing should seeme excellent in the Common-wealth, which was not thought to be his invention? Nero was now out of his child-hood, and in the strength of his youth; he should shake of his master, being already instructed with sufficient teachers, to wit his ancestors. But Seneca knowing of these accusations, by some way had a care of honesty; and Caesar more and more estranging himselfe from his familiarity: desired a time to be heard; and having obtained it, began thus. It is fourteene yeeres Caesar, since I have been put to thee as a guide to thy hope: and eight since thou hast governed the Empire. From that time untill this, thou hast heaped on me so many dignities and so much wealth, that there wanteth nothing to my felicity, but the moderation of them. I will alleage great examples; not of mine owne calling, but of thine. *Augustus* thy great great grandfathers father licensed *M. Agrippa* to withdraw himselfe to Mitylenum to live a private life, and *C. Mecenas* to abide in the City, yet at ease as if he had been in a foraine country. Whereof the one a companion of his warres, the other tossed and wearied with many travels at Rome, had received large rewards, but answerable to their manifold deserts. As for myselfe, what was there in me for the requitall of thy munificence, save onely my thudies;

as I may say, nourished in the shadow? By which I have gotten credit and reputation because I seemed to have been at hand & directed the youth with instructions: a great recompense in very deed of my travel. But thou hast done me besides this, great favours, and enriched me with infinite wealth; in so much that I do oft debate the matter with myself, saying: Am I, being but a gentleman only, and born out of the city, reckoned amongst the chiefeest peeres of the city? Can it be that my new rising can shine among noble men honoured with the marks of ancient antiquity? Where is that minde of mine which once was contented with a little? What, doth he make such goodly gardens; & walk in such mannor houses neare the walls of the city: doth he abound in such scope of grounds, and usury in so many places? One defence cometh to mind for all, that is, that it was not in my part to strive against thy gifts, but both of us have filled our measure, thou by giving as much as a Prince could bestow upon a friend, and I in taking as much as a friend could take of a Prince. That which is above this augmenteth envy, the which no doubt, as all mortall things, doth lie under thy greatnes, but lie heavily on my shoulders; therefore I need help: and as weary in service of war, or on the way, I would crave succour, so in this journey of my life, old and unable to wade through the smallest cares, seeing I cannot sustain the burden of my riches any longer, I crave thy aid and helping hand; command them to be managed by the procurators, and be received as thy own goods. Neither will I thrust my self into poverty, but give up those things, whose brightnes dimmed and dazled me: that time which I was wont to bestow in my gardens & houses of pleasure, I will imploy in recreation of minde. Thou art in the floure of thy age, and the regiment of thy Empire established and settled many yeeres, and we thy old friends may betake our selves to rest. This also shall redound to thy glory, that thou hast raised such to great honours as could have contented themselves with a mean estate. Unto which, Nero answered almost as followeth. That I am able extempore to answer thy premeditated oration, I am principally indebted to thee, who hath instructed me how not only to acquit and discharge my self of things premeditate, but also of such as happen on the sudden. My great great grandfathers father *Augustus* suffered *Agrippa* and *Mecenas* after great labour to take their ease; but in such an age, that his authority might maintain whatsoever had been bestowed; yet he never took those rewards from them he had once given them. In war and dangers they had deserved them, for in these things *Augustus* youth was imployed: neither would thy weapons and hands have been wanting, if I had been in arms. But as the present state of times required, thou diddest with reason, and counsell train up first my childhood, then my youth: and therefore the gifts which thou bestowedst upon me, whilest life lasteth shall remain with me. Those things which thou hast received of me, thy orchards, usury, country houses, are subject to casualty; and although they seem much yet many not equall with thee in knowledge have possessed more. I am ashamed to speak of such as have been slaves, which seem richer then thou. And therefore I blush that thou, who in affection art dearest unto me, dost not surpass all men in wealth and fortune. And thou art of thy age a lusty man, and able to enjoy thy wealth and commodity thereof, and we enter into the first steps of the Empire, unless partly thou dost preferre thy self before *Tigellinus* thrice Consul, or me before *Claudius*. But how much *Volusius* scraped by long sparing, so much my liberality cannot fill towards thee. If the slipperines of our youth be overprone to that it should not, thou drawest it back, and temperest carefully with advise our unseemly and unruly courage. Not thy moderation if thou shouldest restore thy wealth, not thy ease

by sedition, and restored *Poppæas* images to their places againe. Who alwaies fell and cruell with hatred towards *Octavia*; and then with feare, left a more forcible violence of the people should fall upon her; or *Nero* be changed, seeing how the people were affected, casting her self at his knees, said: That she stood not now on those termes that she might reason of her marriage, (although she esteemed it more then her safety) but that she was brought into danger of her life by *Octavias* clients and slaves, which shadowing themselves under the name of the people, durst venter that in peace, which could hardly have hapned in war. Those armes were taken against the Prince: there wanted onely a Captaine, which in a tumult would easily be found. *Octavia* might now leave Campania, and go to the city, seeing that at a beck in her absence such tumults were raised. What fault had she committed? whom had she offended? Whether is it because she was likely to bring forth a true and lawfull progeny to the house of the *Cæsars*? would the people of Rome there should be rather brought into the imperiall highnesse the issue of a minstrell of Egypt? To be short, if that be convenient for the state, he should rather willingly then contraynedly call his mistres, or looke to his safety with just revenge. The first tumults are appeased by easie meanes: but if they did despire of having *Octavia* for *Neros* wife, they would provide her a husband. This dolefull speech appliable to feare and anger, did both terrifie *Nero*, and incense him. But the suspicion of the slave was of small credit, and the torture of the bondwomen had made the matter cleere: therefore it was thought convenient to have the confession of some one, which might be charged with some practise against the state. *Anicetus* the executioner of his mothers death seemed to be a fit instrument for the purpose, as I have already said, Captaine of the navie at Misenum, in some small favour after the villany committed, but anon after most odious, because the ministers of great villainies are looked on as upbraiders of the same. *Cæsar* then causing him to be sent for, putteth him in minde of the former service, and telleth him that he onely had been the safeguard of his estate against his mothers treason, and that there was now an opportunity of no lesse favour, if he could rid him of his wife, which greatly disliked him. Neither should he need hand or weapon, but only confesse he had committed adultery with *Octavia*: and promiseth him great rewards, though for the present the world should not know them, and pleasant dwellings; or if he should deny it, threatened him death. He like a blockhead as he was, his first villany making an easie way to this, inventeth more then was commanded, and confesseth it to such of the Emperours friends, whose counsell as it were he had used in the plot. Then he was banished into Sardinia, where he endured no poore exile, and died naturally. But *Nero* accused her that she had corrupted the captaine of the gallies, in hope of winning him to her devotion: and forgetting that not long before he had accused her of barrennesse, publisheth by edict, that to hide her lascivious life, she had destroyed the children she had had by others then by him, and that thereof he was assured, and therefore banished *Octavia* to the Island Pandateria. No banished woman did ever move the beholders to greater pity then she. Some did yet remember *Agrippina* exilde by *Tiberius*; and *Iulia* banished by *Claudius* was fresher in memorie: but both besides the strength of age, had tasted of some pleasure, and comforted their present cruell hap with the remembrance of a better estate. Unto this woman, her first day of marriage was instead of a grave, being brought into a house in which she could finde nothing but what was dolefull and lamentable: her father poysoned, & her brother anon after. Then the maid greater then the mistresse, and *Poppæa* married for no other end, but to ruine her; and last of all a crime objected

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more grievous then any death. But this young princeesse of the age of twenty years, being between the Centurions and souldiers as it were already deprived of life, with the presage of so many miseries, yet could not yeeld to death. A few dayes after she was commanded to be put to death, although she protested she was no wife but a widow onely, and a sister of the Emperours, calling to *Germanicus* ghost to aide her and *Agrippinaes* likewise, in whose life time she should indeed have indured an unhappy marriage, but without danger of death. Notwithstanding she was shut up in prison, and all the veines of her body opened; but because the blood stopped with feare issued forth slowly, she was killed with the vapor of a very hot bath. And a deadlier cruelty also added, that *Poppæa* saw her head cut off, and brought to the city; for all which it was decreed, that gifts should be offered in the Temples. Which we have uttered, that whosoever shall either by us, or other writers, understand the events of those times, may be assured, that as oft as the Prince commanded either banishment, or murder, so oft thanks were given to the gods; and those things which in times past were marks of prosperity, were then badges of publicke calamity. Yet neverthelesse we will not hold our tongue if any decree of Senate hath been ordained, new and strange by flattery, or by base and abject sufferance. The same yeare, it was thought he empoysoned his chiefeft freed-men, *Doryphorus* as being against *Poppæas* marriage, and *Pallas* because he kept from him infinite wealth by living too long. *Romanus* by secret informations accused *Seneca* as a confederate of *Piso*: but he was touched more neere the quick by *Seneca* for the same fault, which drove *Piso* in a feare, and that commencement of great, but unprosperous treason against *Nero*.

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THE FIFTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIUS TACITVS.

I. Vologeses King of Parthia crowned King of Armenia by his brother Tiridates is hindered by Corbulo to enjoy it, and expulsed by Tigranes.

Whilest these things thus passed, *Vologeses* King of the Parthians, understanding what successe *Corbulo* had in his affairs: and how *Tiridates* his brother being expulsed, and *Tigranes* a stranger made king of Armenia; resolved to revenge the contempt offered the greatnesse of the Arsacides: yet considering the great power of the Romanes, and alliance a long time continued, was diversly perplexed, as one of his owne disposition slow and lingering; and then intangled with many warres by the revolt of the Hyrcanians, a strong and mighty Nation. And as he thus wavered, he was further exasperated by the news of fresh injury: for *Tigranes* gone out of Armenia, had wasted and spoyled the Adiabeniens, a Nation bordering, farther and longer then any rodes of enemies heretofore. Which grieved not a little the chiefe Noble men of that Nation, that they were grown to that contempt that they should be foraged and robbed not of a Romane Captaine, but by the rashnesse of an hostage, so many yeeres held and esteemed no better then a bond-slave. *Monobazus* Governour of the Adiabeniens augmented their griefe, asking them what remedy, or from whence Armenia was already gone, and the countrey adjoyning would goe shortly after: and unlesse the Parthians would defend them, those which yeelded to the Romanes should finde an easier servitude, then those which were taken. *Tiridates* chafed out of the kingdome by silence complayning not a little, was no small griefe, telling them that great Empires were not maintained by cowardlinesse; but they must trie the valour both of men and armes. For among great Princes, he seemed to have most reason and right, who had most strength. And it was the praise of private houses to keep their owne, but the glory of a King to war for other nations. *Vologeses* being moved with these speeches, calleth a Counsell, and placed *Tiridates* hard by him and thus began. "This man, born of the same father that I am, having yeelded unto me the name of the king in regard I am his elder, I did put in possession of Armenia, which is reckoned the third part of my kingdom. For the Medes *Pacorus* had before possessed; making account that in so doing I had takē away the inveterate hatred which reigneth between brothers & fully settled the state of our family. The Romans hinder this, and now break the peace also to their own ruine, which they never yet disturbed but to their owne destruction. I will not deny but I had rather hold things gotten by my ancestors, by equitie then blood, by reason then armes. If I have offended by lingering, I will amend with valor. Your strength and glory is intire with fame of modesty; which neither ought to be contemned of the highest, and is esteemed of the gods. Having thus said, he put the Diadem on *Tiridates* head: and gave *Moneses* anoble Gentleman a gallant company of Horse-men, which usually followed the King, and withall the ayde of the Adiabeniens;

abenians; and commanded *Tigranes* to be chased out of Armenia; whilest he pacifying the sedition of the Hyrcanians, draweth his whole forces together and utmost power of warre, threatening the Romane Provinces. Whereof *Corbulo* being advertised by certaine messengers, sendeth two legions with *Verculanus Severus*, and *Vestius Bolanus* to ayde *Tigranes*, with a secret charge they should proceed rather orderly and advicedly, then hastily: for he had rather entertaine then make warre. And wrote to *Cesar* that it was needfull to have a Captaine of purpose to defende Armenia; and that Syria by *Vologeses* approach was in great danger. And in the meane time he lodgeth the rest of the legions by the banke Euphrates: levieth and armeth in haste a power of the country people, and intercepteth the enemies passages with a garrison. And because the country is scarce of water, he fortified hard by the fountains, and covered certaine small brooks with mounds of sand. Whilest *Corbulo* used this preparation for the defence of Syria, *Moneses* because he would prevent the rumour of his coming, marched with all speed: but yet found not *Tigranes* unadvertised or unprovided; who had put himselfe into *Tigranocerta*, a very strong towne, well manned and walled. Besides this, the river *Nicephorius* of a reasonable breadth, environeth part of the wals; & a huge ditch cast in length, where the river was distrusted as not sufficient. There were souldiers within to man it, and provision of necessaries: for conveying whereof, some having beene too forward in venturing, and on the sudden surprised by the enemy, enflamed the rest rather with anger, then feare. But the Parthian wanting courage to performe the assault at hand, spent a few arrowes a loose, lost his labour; and put the besieged into no feare at all. The Adiabeni, as they began to rayse ladders and other engines, were easily thrust back, and by a fallie made by our men, hewd in peeces. Yet *Corbulo*, notwithstanding things prospered on his side, thinking it his best to use fortune moderately, sent some to *Vologeses*, finding himselfe grieved, that violence should be offered the Province: and that a King confederate and a friend should besiege the Roman cohorts; therefore that he should give up the siege, or else he would encampe in the enemies countrey. *Casperius* a Centurion chosen for that Embassie, went to the King at a towne called *Nisibis*, seven and thirty miles distant from *Tigranocerta*, and delivered his message very stoutly. *Vologeses* had long resolved with himselfe to avoid warres with the Romans: neither went things currantly with him for the present, the siege tooke no effect; *Tigranes* was strong in men and provision; the besiegers put to flight; certaine Legions were sent to Armenia; and others in a readinesse for Syria to assaile him in his owne Contrey. That he had but a weake company of Horsemen; want of stower; for a multitude of Locusts had eaten up all grasse and leaves. Therefore concealing his feare, and making shew of more mildnesse, answereth that he would send Ambassadors to the Emperour of Rome, to demand Armenia and establish a peace. And commandeth *Moneses* to depart from *Tigranocerta* and himselfe turned back. These things many extolled as proceeding from the Kings feare, and *Corbulos* threatnings. Some construed it that they had privily agreed to forbear war on both sides; and that *Vologeses* departing, *Tigranes* should also depart from Armenia. For why (sayd they) went the Romans forces from *Tigranocerta*? why were those things abandoned in time of rest, which they had defended in war? Could they have wintered better in the remote partes of Cappadocia, in Cabbins erected on a sudden, then in the chiefe seate of the Kingdome lately possessed? Doubtlesse the warres were put of, that *Vologeses* might rather fight with some other, then *Corbulo*. *Corbulo* would not indanger his glory so many yeeres already gotten. For as I have already sayd, he had demanded a speciall

ciall Captaine to defend Armenia; & notice came that *Cesennius Pætus* was at hand and by that time he was come. Their forces were so divided, that the fourth and twelfth Legions, and withall the fift which was lately called from the Mærians, and the aydes of Pontus, Gallaria, and Cappadocia should obey *Pætus*: the third, sixth, and tenth Legions, and the souldiers which before remained in Syria should continue with *Corbulo*. The rest they would joyne or divide as occasion served. But neither *Corbulo* could indure a concurrent, and *Pætus* unto whom it was sufficient glory, if he were reckoned the second, made small account of the service already done, saying: that there hath beene no slaughter made, no booty gayned; and that he had wonne townes onely with words, and not with deeds. He would impose tributes & lawes upon them and in stead of a shadow of a King, he would force them to live like cōquered people under the Roman law. About the same time *Vologeses* Embassadors, as before I have rehearsed, sent to the Prince, returned and nothing done. And the Parthians openly made warre; neither did *Pætus* draw backe, but with two legions, whereof the fourth *Famissulanus Vectonius* conducted, and the twelfth *Calpurnius Sabinus*, he entred Armenia with an unlucky presage. For having made a bridge and passing over Euphrates, without any manifest cause, the Horse which bare the Consulary ornaments fled backward, and escaped. And the beast ready for sacrifice, neere to the Winter-campes which were a fortifying, the worke halfe finished, brake loose, and leapt over the trench: and the souldiers lavelins and darts were on a fire; the wonder so much the more to be noted, because the Parthians fight with weapons throwen with the hand.

II. *Pætus goeth into Armenia: and his unskilfulness in service.*

BVt *Pætus* setting nought by ominous signes, nor having sufficiently fortified his wintering campes, nor provision of Corn made, conducteth his army in all haste over the hill Taurus, to recover (as he said) the Tigranocertians, and to forrage the Countries which *Corbulo* had left untouched. And some Castles hee tooke, and some glory and some booty he wan, if he had used his glory with moderation, and his body with circumspection. Having by long journeyes overrun those places which he could not keepe, and that the provision of victuals was spoiled and corrupted which he had taken, and the Winter now at hand, he brought his Army back againe: and sent letters to *Cæsar* as though the warre had beene ended, in words magnificent; but voyd of matter. In the meane season *Corbulo* having had alwayes a speciall care of the banks of Euphrates; lodged on them now a greater strength of Garrisons, then before he had: and lest the enemies troopes should hinder the making of a bridge (for they braved it with a gallant shew in the Champion which lay under them) he brought up the river vessels of huge bignesse, joyned together with timber-worke, and built Towers on them; beating off the Barbarians with stones and speares out of Balistæes and other engines, let flie farther, then that the Countrey shot of Arrows, could match us with the like againe. The bridge continued and finished, the opposite hills were sealed by the Cohorts of allies, and afterward possessed by the Camp of the Legions, with such great celeritie and shew of puissant forces, that the Parthians, all preparation of invading Syria omitted, turned all their hope against Armenia. There *Pætus* ignorant what was at hand, had the fifth Legion far from him in Pontus: and had weakened the rest by inconsiderate licensing the souldiers to depart, untill news was brought that *Vologeses* came with a great army resolutely bent to do great mischeif. The twelfth legion was sent for hoping

ping that thereby it would be noised that his forces were increased; but indeed that bewrayed his weakenesse, with which neverthelesse he might have incamped: and the Parthian deluded by drawing the warre in length, if *Pætus* had been cōstant either to follow his owne, or others counsels. But he by men experienced in warre being counsellled what was best against imminent casualties, lest he should seeme to have neede of their advise, would doe quite contrary and much worse. And then forsaking his standing campes, crying that he had no trench and rampire given him against the enemy, but bodies and weapons, issued out with the legions, as though he would fight a field. And having lost a Centurion and few souldiers, sent before to view the enemies forces, came backe againe greatly affrighted. And because *Vologeses* came on but coldly, resuming againe a vaine hope, lodged three thousand choyle men on the top of the hill Taurus hard by, to hinder the King to passe. He placed also certaine cornets of Pannonians, which were the strength and sinewes of his horsemen, in one part of the plaine. His wife and sonne were shut up in a castle called Arsamofata, and a cohort appointed to guard them; and thus dispersed the souldiers, which united in one, would much better have made head against the stragled and roving enemy. It is reported that he was hardly brought to confesse unto *Corbulo* that the King was at hand: neither did *Corbulo* make any great haste, to the end that the dangers growing great, his owne prayse in succoring might be the greater. Neverthelesse he commanded three thousand to be set forward out of the three legions; eight hundred horse, and the like number out of the auxiliary cohorts. But *Vologeses* although he had understood that the passages were shut up by *Pætus* on the one side with footemen, and on the other with horsemen, nothing altering his determination; what with violence, what with threatnings, having put the horsemen to flight, broke the Legionaries; one onely Centurion *Tarquinius Crescens* having courage to defend himselfe in a towre wherein he had a garrison: making often sallies, and slaying such Barbarians as came neare, untill he was forced by fire to yeeld. Of the footmen if any was unhurt he fled to by-places a farre off, the wounded returned to the campe, extolling the valour of the King; the cruelty and number of his souldiers, and all else for feare; such easily beleeving them as were in the like perplexity. The Captaine himselfe not once endeavoring to remedy the calamity, neglected all duties of service, and sent againe to intreat *Corbulo*, that he would come away in all post haste, to defend the ensignes and standards, and the only name left of the unfortunate army: he for his owne part would whilest life lasted, remaine faithfull.

III. *Corbulo goeth to Syria to ayde Pætus: who in the meane space maketh a dishonourable peace with Vologeses.*

Corbulo daunted nothing at all, leaving part of his forces in Syria to defend the fortresses built upon the shore of Euphrates, took his journey as the nearest way and plentifullest of victuals, by the Comagians; then by Cappadocia, and from thence to Armenia. There followed the army besides the usuall furniture and provision of warre, a multitude of camels loaden with corne, to drive away both the enemy and hunger. The first he met of those which were thoroughly affrighted was, *Pætus* the Centurion of the first ensigne, then many other souldiers, who pretending divers and sundry causes of their flying away, he admonished to returne to their ensignes, and trust to *Pætus* clemency. As for himselfe he was rigorous to none, but to the conquerers. Withall, he went to his legions, encouraged them

them, put them in minde of their old valour, and what occasion they had to winne new glory. "That they fought not now villages and towns of Armenia for a reward of their travels, but Roman camps, and amongst them two legions. If unto every common souldier, the crown was given by the Emperors hands, as a special honor to him who had saved one citizen onely, how great and worthy an honor shall it be when the like number shall be seen of the succourers & succoured? And with these and the like encouragements generally cheered (and some there were whom their brothers perils and neer kindred inflamed of their owne proper motions) they hastened their journey day and night. *Vologeses* so much the more eagerly purfue the besieged, now assailing the trench of the legions, now the fort, where the fearefull oraged had fled for defence, approaching neerer then the Parthians custome is, to allure by temeritie his enemies to battell. But the Romanes hardly haled out of their cabines, did but defend their rampires, part at the commandement of the captaine and others by their own cowardlinesse looking for *Corbulo*, and if they should be put to any distresse; purposed to shift for themselves by the example of the overthrow at Caudian, and Numantina. Neither had the Samnites people of Italie, nor the people of Carthage which contended for greatnesse with the Romanes, so great power as the Parthians. Their ancestors also, both valiant and commended of all, when fortune crossed them provided for their safety. By which desperation *Petius* the generall of the army utterly cast down, yet sent not his first letters to *Vologeses* in humble sort, but in manner of a complaint: "That he used hostilitie against the Armenians, subject alwaies to the Romans, or to a King chosen by the Emperour. That peace was alike profitable to both. That he should not regard things present only. That he was come against two legions with all the power of his kingdom, but the Romans had the whole world besides at commandement to aid the war. *Vologeses* answered nothing touching the matter, but that he was to expect his brothers *Pacorus* and *Tiridates*, and that that place and time was appointed to consult of Armenia. And that the gods had favoured them so much, being a matter worthy of the Arfacides greatnesse, that withall they could determine of the Romane legions. After that, *Petius* sent messengers to intreat a parley with the King, who commanded *Vasaces* captaine of the horse to go. Then *Petius* beginneth with the *Luculli*, *Pompei*, and such other Captaines as had conquered and given away Armenia. *Vasaces* answered, that the Romanes had but a shadow of holding and giving away of Armenia, and that the right and power was with the Parthians. And having sufficiently debated the matter on both sides, *Monobazus* *Adiabenus* the next day was called a witnessse of their agreement: which was that the legions should no longer be besieged, and all the souldiers depart out of the bounds of Armenia, and all forts and provisions to be delivered to the Parthians: which done, that *Vologeses* should have license to send Embassadours to *Nero*. In the mean space, *Petius* built a bridge over the river Arsamites, which ran by the campe, under colour of passing that way: but the Parthians had commanded it to be done as a token of the victory, for it served their turne, and our men went another way. And the rumour went, that the legions were sent *sub jugum*, with other disgraces which the Armenians were wont to use against the vanquished. For they entered the trench before the Romane campe was departed, and beset the way, challenging and leading away their horses, and such as had beene their slaves. Their apparell also and weapons were taken from them, and the souldiers yielded them for feare, lest any occasion of quarell should be given. *Vologeses* having gathered together our weapons and dead bodies, to witnesse the overthrow of our people,

* Spears pitched a crosse like gallows, under which enemies vanquished were forced to go in despite.

Sed ut exprimeretur tandem coactio, subactam dominationem, esse gentem sub jugum actam, &c. Liv. lib. 3.

people, forbore from seeing the running away of the legions. A fame of moderation was sought for, after he had satisfied and filled his pride. He passed the river Arsamites on an Elephant, and every man neare the King on horse back because a rumor was spread that the bridge would fall under the burden, by the deceit of the makers. But such as ventured to go over it, found it strong and sure.

III. *Petius* cowardlinesse. *Corbuloes* diligence to succour him.
An agreement with the King of the Parthians.

Most certain it was, the besieged had such store of corne left, that they fired their storehouses; and on the other side *Corbulo* declared, that the Parthians were in want of all necessary provision, and their store all consumed, ready to have forsaken the siege, and himselfe but three daies journey off. He added farther, that *Petius* had promised by oath before the ensignes, in the presence of such as the King had sent to beare witness, that no Roman should enter into Armenia, untill it appeared by *Neros* letters whether he agreed to the peace or not. Which things as they have been invented to increase infamy, so the rest is not unknowne, that *Petius* went in one day forty miles; leaving the wounded scattered behind him: which fear of the fliers away was no lesse ignominious, then if in fight they had turned their backs to the enemy. *Corbulo* meeting him at the bank of Euphrates with his forces, made no such shew of his ensignes and armes, that he should seem to upbraid him of his cowardlines. For his common souldiers sad, and bewailing the cause of their fellowes, could not forbear weeping. They scarce saluted the one the other for teares. Strife of valour there was none, no ambition of glory, the only desire of men in prosperity. Pity only bare sway, and most of all with the meaner sort. The captaines used few words, and those complaining that their labour was lost, that the warre might have been ended with the flight of his enemy. *Petius* answered, that all was whole and in good state to them both, that they should turn their ensignes, and joyntly invade Armenia, weakened by *Vologeses* absence. *Corbulo* answered he had no such commission from the Emperour: that he had gone out of the Province moved with the danger of the legions; and seeing that the Parthians attempts were uncertain, he would return to Syria. And that he was to pray for good fortune, that his footmen wearied with travelling so far a foot, might overtake the Kings horsemen going before cheerefully, having the advantage of the countrey. From thence departed *Petius* to winter in Cappadocia. But *Vologeses* Embassadours sent to *Corbulo*, warned him to pull down his forts beyond Euphrates, and leave the river indifferent to both. *Corbulo* demanded on the other side, that the garrisons should depart out of divers parts of Armenia. And in the end the King yielded to it, and the fortresses which *Corbulo* had made beyond Euphrates were pulled down, and the Armenians left to their will. But at Rome, trophies and triumphant arches were erected in signe of victory over the Parthians, in the middle of their Capitoll, by order of Senat, the war yet fresh and not finished, only for a faire shew, no conscience made whether by desert or not. Yea *Nero*, to dissemble the cares of forrein affaires, did cast corne into Tyber, corrupted by the peoples over-long keeping it, to shew thereby a security and plenty of victuals: the price nothing enhanced, although almost two hundred ships were cast away by tempest in the very haven, and a hundred brought up Tyber consumed by casual fire. After that, he appointed three Consuls, *L. Piso*, *Ducennius Geminius*, *Pompeius* *Paullinus*.

Paullinus, to take charge of the tribute, with an invective against other Princes which by excess of expenses, spent more then the revenews came to, and he would bestow yeerely on the common wealth * threecore millions of sesterces. There was a very bad custome commonly practised at that time when the choosing of officers was at hand, as casting lots for government of Provinces; which was, that many which were without children, colourably adopted some, and being thereby admitted among the Lords to draw lots for Pretorships and Provinces, immediately after manumised those they had adopted. Whereupon, those which had children went to the Senate with a great complaint, declaring the law of nature, the labour in bringing up of children, against the fraud and deceit and short time of adoption. That it was a sufficient recompense to the childlesse, that with great security without charge, they had credit, honors, and all things else offered them. That to them the promises of lawes long expected were turned into a jest, when a man without care, a father, without mourning, childlesse, on the sudden would be equall with the long desires of fathers. Whereupon a decree of Senat was made, that fained adoption should not benefit in any part to any publick charge, nor yet to succeed in others inheritances.

V. *Magistrates sent into Provinces no more rewarded. The Gymnase burnt. Pompeius town sunk with an earthquake.*

After this *Claudius Timarchus* of Candy, was accused of all the crimes, that rich governours of Provinces are wont to be touched with; and grown insolent with over great wealth to the oppression of the meaner sort. One speech of his reached to the disgrace of the Senate, which was, that it lay in him whether the Proconsuls of Candy should have thanks given them, or not. Which occasion *Petius Thrasea* turning to the common good, after he had given his opinion that the accused should be banished Candy; added these words. It is proved by experience, Lords of the Senat, that most excellent lawes, and honest examples have their beginning by good men, from others offences. So the licence of Orators was cause of the law *Cincia*; the suing of Competitors of the Julian laws; the covetousnesse of Magistrates of the Calphurnian decrees. For the fault goeth before the punishment, and the remedy cometh after the offence. Therefore against the new pride of Provinces let us take some advise worthy of the Roman integrity and constancy, that nothing may be derogated from the protection of the allies, or the opinion conceived of us weakned, or a citizen be elsewhere judged, then before us, or repured other then he is esteemed by us. In times past not only a Pretor or Consul, but private men also were sent to visit the Provinces which should report what was thought of every ones duty and loialty: and the people were afraid of a particular mans estimation and judgement. But now we adore strangers and flatter them: and as at the pleasure of one, thanks are now adaies given, so the accusation of one more readily received. Let the decree continue, & let the Provinces have power to shew their authority by such meanes: but let false praise, and wrung out by prayers be restrained, no lesse then malice and cruelty. For there are more offences committed whilest we go about to win favour, then whilest we do offend: yea some vertues are odious, obstinate severity, and an invincible minde against favour. Hereupon the beginnings of our Magistrates are for the most part better, and the end declineth, whilest we hunt after suffrages: w^{ch} if they were forbidden, the Provinces would be governed more justly and constantly. For as covetousnesse

“consuetudo is bridled through fear of being accused of bribery and extortion; so “thanksgiving being forbidden, ambition would be restrained. This opinion was approved with great consent of all: yet a decree of Senat could not be established, the Consuls denying the matter to have been propounded. Anon after by authority of the Prince they ordained, that none should propound it in the Council of the allies, that thanks should be given before the Senat, the Propretors or Proconsuls, and that no man should do that message. Under the same Consuls the place of exercise called Gymnasium was burnt with a flash of lightning, and *Neroes* image melted to a shapelesse lump of brasie. And by an earth-quake, the famous town of *Pompey* in Campania was ruined in a great part. And *Lelia* a virgin Vestall died; in whose place was chosen *Cornelia* of the *Collian* family.

VI. *The birth of Nero and Poppæas childe. The death of the same daughter. The Parthian Embassadors receive no answer: and Corbulo made Lieutenant General of the warre.*

Emmianus Regulus, and *Verginius Rufus* being Consuls, *Nero* had a daughter by *Poppæa*, which he took as a matter above all mortall joy, and called her *Augusta*, and gave the same surname to *Poppæa*. The place where she was brought to bed was at Antium a Colony, where he himselfe was borne. The Senate had already commended *Poppæas* wombe to the gods, and had made publick vowes; which were multiplied and performed. And there were added processions, and a temple to the goddesse *Fecunditati*; and combate ordained to the imitation of the Athenians. And that the golden images of Fortunes should be placed in the Throne of *Jupiter* Capitoline: and that as the Circensian play should be exhibited in the honour of the Julian family at Bovillas; so at Antium of the Claudian and Domitian: all which were vaine and fleeting things, the girle dying within foure monthes. Which gave occasion of new flatterings, some being of advise that she should be honoured like a goddesse, with a bed, a Temple, and a Priest. And *Nero* himselfe as before he was without measure glad, so now most sorrowfull. It was noted that when all the Senat ran to Antium at the new birth of the childe, and *Thraseas* forbidden: he took the contumelious repulse with a stout courage, as a presage of his imminent overthrow. It was reported, that *Caesar* bragged to *Seneca*, that he was reconciled to *Thraseas*, and that *Seneca* was glad thereof. From whence grew at once glory and danger to worthy men. In the mean time in the beginning of the spring, the Embassadors of the Parthians brought King *Vologeses* message and letters to the same effect. That he would not forgo all the former challenges so oft debated for obtaining of Armenia: because the gods, although arbitrators of puissant nations, had delivered the possessions to the Parthians, not without the ignominy of the Romans: that having of late besieged *Tigranes*, then *Petus* and the Legions; when he could have ruined them, yet suffered them to depart in safety. His force was sufficiently tried, & a proof given of his lenity. Neither would *Tiridates* refuse to come to the City to receive the Diademe, if he were not hindered by a religion of priest-hood: he would go to the ensignes and images of the Prince, where in presence of the Legions he would luckily begin his government. *Vologeses* letters being of this effect, because *Petius* had written the contrary, as though all had been well, the Centurion w^{ch} came with the Embassadors was demanded, in what state Armenia stood? he answered that all the Romans were departed from thence. Then the Barbarians scoffe being understood, who demanded that which they had already

die taken by force; *Nero* consulteth with the chiefeft of the City, whether it were beft to make a doubtfull war with the enemy, or peace. It was not doubted but war. And *Corbulo* fo many yeeres practifed in the wars, knowing the fouldiers and the enemies, had the generall charge given him, left there fhould be a new error committed by fome other unskilfulneffe: for of *Patus* bad government they were forry and repented. Whereupon they were fent back without any conclufion, yet with gifts; whereby it might be hoped that *Tiridates* fhould not ask in vaine if he came by way of intreaty. The government of Syria was committed to *Cintius*: the ftrengh of war to *Corbulo*; and the fifteenth Legion under the conduct of *Marius Celfus* was brought out of Pannonia. Letters were fent to the Tetrarches, Kings, Prefects, and Procurators, and Pretors, which ruled Provinces adjoyning, that they fhould obey *Corbulo*: augmented almoft like unto that, that the people of Rome gave *Pompey*; when he was to war againft the Pirats. When *Patus* at his return feared greater matters; *Cefar* thought it enough to fcoffe and jeft at him almoft with thefe words. "That he would pardon him prefently; left being fo eafily brought into feare, he fhould be fick with longer penfivenes. But *Corbulo* fent the fourth and twelfth Legion, w^{ch} feemed unable for war, becaufe they had loft the valianteft among them and the reft affrighted into Syria; and conducteth the fixt & third from thence into Armenia, all intire and whole and accuftomed to often and prosperous fucceffe: and added the fixt Legion, which was in Pontus not daunted with the overthrow of the others: Withall, the fifteenth newly arrived, and fome chofen in Illyricum and Egypt, and all horfmen and footmen with aides of Kings allies, drawn together to Melitenes, where he purpofed to paffe the river Euphrates. Then having taken a furvey of the Army making an oration unto them, beginneth with many ftately and magnificall difcourfes of the Emperors government and his own exploits, avoiding the memory of *Patus* unlucky unskilfulneffe, which he uttered with great authority, that it ferved a war-like man inftead of eloquence. Then taketh his journey that way which *Lucullus* had once paffed, opening the paffages which long continuance of time had fhut up. And not difdaining *Tiridates* and *Vologefes* Embaffadors coming to intreat of peace, fent Centurions to accompany them with no rough charge: "For matters were not yet grown to that head, that they fhould need a main battel. "That to the Romans many things had forted luckily, and fome to the Parthians, a leffon againft pride. Therefore it behoved *Tiridates* to accept as a gift the kingdome unwafte: and that *Vologefes* fhould better further the Parthians being confederate with the People of Rome, then mutually endamaging the one the other. "He knew what difcord they had within themfelves and what a fierce and unruly nation he had to rule: contrariwife, that his Emperor had every where a firm peace, and no war but that. Befides his counfell he ftroke them into a feare, drove the Megiftanas Armenians which firft revolted, out of their houfes: battered down their caftles, filled with like feare the plains; the hills; the ftiong and weak. *Corbulo*'s name was not yet hateful unto the Barbarians, much leffe did they purfue him like an enemy, and therefore credit his counfell as faithfull. *Vologefes* therefore was not implacable headftiong, and commanded truce unto fome governments. *Tiridates* requirerth place and day of parley. A fhort time was affigned; the place, where of late the Legions were befieged with *Patus*, feeing it was chofen by the Barbarians in remembrance of their joyfull hap, was not refused by *Corbulo*; that the diverfity of fortune might augment his glory. Neither was *Patus* infamy increafed; which appeared plainly, in that he commanded his fonne who was Tribune, to appoint certain bands to bury and cover the dead bodies of the unfortunate conflict.

VII. *Tiridates*VII. *Tiridates* fpeaketh with *Corbulo*: and yeeldeth up the towne of Armenia in the Romane campe.

THE day appointed, *Tiberius Alexander*, a noble gentleman of Rome, given as an aide to the warre, and *Virivianus Annius*, *Corbulo*'s fonne in law, not yet of age to be Senator; but affigned in the place of the Lieutenant of the fixt Legion, came to *Tiridates* campe to doe him honour; and that having fuch pledges he fhould feare no treachery. And then were taken twenty horfemen on each fide. And the King feeing *Corbulo*, lighted firft from his horfe; and *Corbulo* did the like immediately, and both of them on foot, joyned right hands. Then the Roman praifed the young Prince, that leaving dangerous uncertainty, he would imbrace fure and wholefome counfell. *Tiridates* having fspoken much of the nobleneffe of his ftock, in the reft was temperate, faying: that he would go to Rome, and bring *Cefar* new glory: *Afacides* humbly entreating, the Parthians being daunted with no adverfe encounter. Then feemed it good that *Tiridates* fhould lay his royall crowne before *Cefar*'s image, and not take it againe but at the hand of *Nero*; and fo the fpeech was ended with a fhort falutation. A few dayes after, with a great pompe on both parts, they fhewed themfelves, his horfemen ranged into troupes on one fide, with the enftignes of his Countrey; and on the other the army of the Legions marfhalled in order with glittering ftandards, and enftignes and images of the gods in manner of a Temple. In the middle was planted a Tribunall, and in it a chaire of eftate, with *Nero*'s image; unto which *Tiridates* went, and fackrifices offered according to the cuftome, takerth the crowne from his head, and laid it under the image; which troubled the mindes of fuch as had yet before their eies the slaughter and befieging of the Romane armies. But now fortune was changed, and *Tiridates* a fpectacle to the people; how much better then a Captaine? *Corbulo* added to his glory courtefie and teaffings: and as the King marked any ftrange thing, and asked the caufe; as the beginnings of the watches brought by the Centurion, the banquet ended with a trumpet, the pile of wood before the Augurall altar lighted with a torch: *Corbulo* made him anfwer, extolling every thing more then it was, to draw the new Prince into an admiration of the old cuftome. The laft day when he was to take his journey, he defired time to vifit his brothers and mother before his departure, and left his daughter for an holtage in the meane fpace, and letters of fubmiffion to be fent to *Nero*. And departed thence, he found *Pacorus* with the Medes, and *Vologefes* at Ecbaranes not unmindefull of his brother: for he had requested of *Corbulo* by fpeciall meffengers, that *Tiridates* might not fhew any token of fervitude, or deliver up his weapons, or be barred from imbracing the Governours of Provinces, or attend at their doores; but have the fame honour at Rome that the Confuls had. Being accuftomed to forrein pride, he was unacquainted with our manners, with whom the Law of rule and dominion beareth fway, vanities being laid afide. The fame yeere *Cefar* honored the Nations of the fea Alpes with the rights and priviledges of the Latians, and in the Cirque placed the Gentlemen of Rome before the people. For until that day they fate indifferently, becaufe the law Rofcian had taken no order but for fourteen orders. A fhew of Fencers was reprefented that yeere with like magnificence as others before: but many Noble women and Senatours wives were difcredited in the Theater.

V 2

VIII *Nero*

VIII. *Nero singeth on the stage. The fall of the same stage. Torquatus Silanus death. Nero attired like a woman weddeth Pythagoras.*

C *Lecanius*, and *M. Licinius* being Consuls, *Nero* more and more desired to frequent the stage without any respect: for as yet he had not sung but in his house, and gardens in plaies of youth, which now he despised as not frequented, and too meane for such a voice. Yet he durst not begin at Rome, but chose Naples as a Greek city, thinking that that might serve for a commencement to go to Achaia, where having obtained the famous, and in times past reputed sacred crownes, and by that means grown in credit, he thought he should stir a great desire in the citizens of Rome to hear him. The common rabble flocked together, or such as the fame of those plaies had drawn from the next colonies and towns, and such as followed him either to do him honor, or sundry other occasions; yea companies of souldiers filled the Theatre of Naples. There hapned as most men thought, a dolefull chance, but yet as he construed it, forerokening good luck, and sent by the favorable providence of the gods. For the people were no sooner gone, and the Theatre empty, but it fell down without hurt done to any. Therefore with songs composed for the purpose, thanking the gods, and celebrating the fortune of the late chance, going to the Adriatique sea, he stayed in the meane time at Beneventum, where, by *Vatinus* was exhibited a notable play of Fencesse. *Vatinus* was one of the shameless monsters of his court, brought up in a coblers shop, mis-shapen of body, and a scurrie jester: and therefore first employed in that practise; then by pickthanking and informing against the better sort, grew to such authority, that in credit and wealth, and power of doing hurt, he was worse then the worst. *Nero* then coming to the play he had set forth, no not at their pastime did they abstaine from doing of mischief. For the selfe same day *Torquatus Silanus* was constrained to die, because that besides the noblesse of the *Julian* family, he said, that he was in the fourth degree lineally descended from *Augustus* of famous memory. The accusers were commanded to lay to his charge, that he was prodigall in gifts, and that all his hope lay in the alteration of the state. And that he had Noblemen about him which he called his secretaries, masters of requests, and Auditors, which were names of imperiall dignitie, and designements of great attempts. Then the chiefest of his Freed-men were bound and carried away. And when *Torquatus* condemnation was at hand, he cut the veines of his armes, and *Nero* as his manner was, made an oration after: that although he had bene culpable, and worthily distrusted his purgation, yet he should have had his life granted him, if he would have expected the Judges clemency. Not long after forsaking Achaia for the present (the causes were uncertaine) he came againe to Rome, hammering greatly with himself of going to the provinces of the East, and especially Egypt. Then by an edict witnessing his absence should not be long, and that all should goe well with the common-wealth, he went to the Capitoll to worship the gods. And as he entred the temple of *Vesta*, taken suddenly with a shaking over all his body, either the goddesse of the place terrifying him; or the remembrance of his villanies alwaies accompanying him with "fear, he changed his determination: affirming, that all cares were nothing to him, "in regard of the love of his countrey; that he had seen the sad countenances of the "citizens, heard their secret complaints, why he should go about so great a journey, "whole short and reasonable absence they could not indure; as men wont to be

comfor.

comforted with the sight of the Prince against all crosses and adversities. Therefore as in private friendships, the nearest pledges and kindred are most dearest, so the people of Rome had great power over him, and that he must obey them, seeing they kept him from going. These and the like speeches were pleasing to the people, desirous of pastimes, and which was their chiefest care fearing want of corn if he should be absent. The Lords of the Senate and the Nobility knew not whether he were more cruell farre off, or neare: then as the nature of all great feare is, they beleaved that which hapned to be worst. He to win an opinion that he was no where so merry as in the City, made bankets in publick places, and used the whole City as it had been his own house. Those bankets were most spoken of for riot and fame, which *Tigellinus* prepared, which I will lay down as a pattern of all, lest the same wastefulnesse should be often repeated. In *Agrippas* lake therefore he built a boat, whereon the banket was drawne with other boats. The boats were beset with gold and Ivory. The rowers were stale Catamites, placed according to their age and skill of unnaturall uncleannesse. He had prepared Fowl, and wilde beasts out of divers countries, and out of the Ocean. On the brink of the poole were brothell houses, filled with Noble women: and over against them were common strumpets naked, using filthy gestures and behaviour. And when the night was come, all the wood and houses about rang with singing, and shined with lights. *Nero* himself defiled with unlawfull and unnaturall lusts, left no wickednesse undone, because he would be most corrupt. And a few dayes after, he was wedded as it had bene solemnly to one of that polluted crue, called *Pythagoras*. The Emperour was covered with a yellow vaile. There went before him those which gave him in marriage, the wedding bed was prepared, and wedding Torches: all was seen, which even the night doth hide in a married woman.

IX. *Divers parts of Rome burnt by chance, or by the malice of Nero.*

T Here followed a great misfortune, but whether by chance, or devise of the Prince, uncertain: for Authors have affirmed both: but of all, the greatest and most grievous that ever chanced to this city, by violence of fire. It began in that part of the Cirque that joyneth to the hills Palatine and Cælian: then taking in the ware-houses wherein was merchandise, which nourished the fire, increasing more and more by the blowing of the winde, burnt all the length of the Cirque. Neither were the houses compassed with any defences, or Temples walled, or any thing else to stay the fury of it. But spreading with violence, consumed first the plaine, then rising to the hills, againe waltling the low places, by swiftnesse of hurt prevented the remedies, the City being subject to it by reason of the narrownesse of the streets, turning and winding lanes on every hand, and unorderly as it was in old Rome. Therewithall the lamentations of fearfull women, of aged men, and unskillfull youth, helping themselves, and succouring and leading the weak and impotent, or tarrying for them, some hastening, some abiding, some encombred, and hindered all the rest: and often whilest they looked behinde them, the fire had hold on them, either on the side or before them: or if they had escaped to the next places, there was all on a light fire likewise: yea, those places which were thought far from danger, were found to be in the same case. In the end doubtfull what to eschew, or whither to flee, they filled the streets, and lay in the fields: some all their goods lost, and wanting daily food; other for love of some which they could not save, cast themselves away, although they had easie meanes to escape. Neither was there

any man which durst to quench it, through the often threatening of many which hindered them: yea some openly threw burning fire-brands into it, and cried aloud, that they had a warrant for it, either because they might rob and steale more licentiously, or because they were so commanded. *Nero* being then at Antium, came not to the City untill the fire was come neare his own house, on that side that it joyned with the palace and *Mecenas* Orchards. Yet it could not be hindered from burning his house and palace, and all else round about. But to give some comfort to the chafed and fugitive people, he opened *Campus Martius*, and the monuments of *Agrippa*, and his own gardens: and erected buildings in haste to receive the needy multitude. Utensiles were brought from *Hostia* and other neare townes, and the price of corn brought down unto * three nummos. All which although done in favour of the people, yet was not accepted, because a rumour was spread, that at the very time that the city was on fire, he went to the stage in his house, and sang the destruction of *Troy*, comparing present calamities with old dyasters. At last, on the first day, the fire ended at the bottome of the *Esquilin* hill, by beating down a huge number of buildings, that the field, and as it were the open heaven might withstand and encounter the continuall rage. And before the feare was past, it began afresh, but not so terrible in open places of the city, and therefore the hurt of people the lesse: but the Temples of the gods, and galleries devoted to pleasure, were almost all ruined. The obloquie of that fire was the greater, because it burst out to *Tigellinus* houses of pleasure, sometimes belonging to the *Aemylians*. And it seemed that *Nero* sought the glory of building a new city, and calling it by his name. For Rome was divided into fourteen wardes: whereof foure were untouched; three consumed to the ground: of the other seven, some markes of buildings remained, but rent and half burnt. It were no easie matter to reckon the number of houses, and buildings standing by themselves, called *Iles* and Temples which were consumed: but the ancientest in regard of religion, as the Temple which *Servius Tullius* built in honour of the Moon; and the great Altar and Temple which *Arcas Evander* consecrated to *Hercules*; the Temple of *Iupiter Stator*, vowed by *Romulus*; *Numas* palace; and the Temple of *Vesta* with the peculiar gods of the people of Rome, were consumed and burnt to ashes. Now wealth gotten in so many victories, excellent works of the Greeks inventions, then old and perfect monuments of rare wits, which in so beautifull a city, and flourishing more and more, with many other notable antiquities, ancient men have observed and spoken of, which could not be recovered. Some there were which noted, that this fire began the fourteenth Kalends of July, on which the *Senones* burnt the city after they had taken it. Some were so diligent therein, that they counted just so many yeares, and moneths, and dayes between both the fires.

X. *Nero* buildeth a sumptuous house. Order taken for the building of houses. *Nero* punished the Christians as though they had set the City on fire.

YET *Nero* used the destruction of his country to his benefit, and built a house, in which precious stones and gold were not so much wondered at (as a thing long used, and by superfluous riot common) as for the fields and pooles, in manner of wildernesses; on one side woods, on the other spacious fields, and prospects. The masters and contrivers of the work were *Severus* and *Celeris*, men of wit and

and audacity to enterprise that by Art which nature had denied, and foolishly cast away the Princes wealth. For they had undertaken to make a navigable ditch from the lake *Avern*, unto the mouth of *Tyber* along the rough & hard shore, or through the opposite mountaines. Neither is there any other moisture to feed the waters, but the marishes of *Pomptina*: other places being uneven craggie grounds, or drie; and if they could be wrought through, it would be an intolerable labour, and no cause why. *Nero* notwithstanding, desirous to bring incredible things to passe, laboured to digge the hills adjoyning to *Averne*: where remaine the marks of his vaine hope to this day. But the houses which were ruined were not built without order, here and there as when the *Galli* had fired them: but the streetes drawn by measure and proportion, with spacious and large wayes; the buildings restrained to a certain height, and the courts made wide, and galleries added to defend the front of the houses called *Iles*: which galleries *Nero* promised to build at his own charges, and deliver them to their masters, the courts and floores made clean. And gave rewards according to every mans degree and wealth: and prefixed a time, within which the housings finished, or *Iles*, their masters should receive them. The marishes of *Hostia* were appointed to receive the rubbish: and that the vessels which brought corne up the river *Tibris*, should be loaden down with rubbish: and that some part of the buildings themselves, without timber should be built with stone of *Gabi* and *Albanum*, which cannot be dammified with fire. Now, that water intercepted by private men to their own use from the citie, might more abundantly flowe in many publike places, there were watchmen appointed to oversee it: and that every man should have some provisions to quench fires: and that every house should be invironed with his own walls, and not common to his neighbour. Which being ordained for the publike commoditie, brought ornament to the new citie. Yet some were of opinion that the old fashion of building was more wholesome, because the narrowesse of the wayes, and height of houses could not so easily be peaced with the heat of the Sunne. But now the streets being open and wide, and undefended from shadow, they are scorched with greater heat. And these things were provided by mans counsell. Anon after, purging sacrifices were sought for of the gods, and the Sibyls books perused; by advertisement of which, prayers were offered to *Vulcan* and *Ceres*, and *Proserpina* and *Iuno* made favourable by the Matrons, first in the *Capitoll*, then at the next sea. From which having drawn water, the Temple and the image of the goddesse was sprinkled, and the married wives prepared banquetting beds, and watcht in the temple in honour of the same goddesse. But the infamie was not wiped away, neither by mans help, nor largesse of the Prince, or pacifying of the gods: but that it was thought the fire came by commandement. Therefore to extinguish the rumour, *Nero* falsely accused and punished most grievously certain people, hated for their wickednesse*, which the common sort called Christians. The author of that name was *Christ*, who in *Tiberius* reigne was put to death under *Pontius Pilate*, Procurator of *Judaea*. And their dangerous superstition suppressed for the time burst forth againe: not onely through *Judaea* where it first began, but in the citie also: whither all wicked and shamefull things runne from all parts, and are solemnised and esteemed. First they were apprehended which confessed that religion; then by their detection an infinite multitude were convicted, not so much for setting the town on fire, as for the hate of all men against them. Such as were condemned, were scorned and mocked, and covered in wilde beasts skins, and torne in pieces with dogs, or fastened on crosses; or burnt in fire: and when the day failed, they were burnt in the night to give light.

Nero

* Five pence
ob. q.

* The author
being no
Christian, cal-
led Christian
religion male-
ficious.

Nero had made the prospect of his gardens fit for that spectacle, and caused shews to be set forth in the Cirque, and himselfe either apparelled like a wagoner, shuffled among the people, or ran the race with them. Whereupon pity was taken on those persons, though guilty and deserving exemplary punishment, seeing they suffered not for any publick good, but to satisfie one mans cruelty onely.

XI. Nero raketh money on all hands, and robbeth the Temples.
Prodigious sights, and their meaning.

IN the meane time Italy was wasted by contributions and borrowing of money; the Provinces ruined, and the confederates of the people of Rome impoverished and the cities which were called free. Yea the gods themselves were not privileged from being made a prey: but the Temples in the city were robbed, and the gold carried away, which the people of Rome in all ages, either in triumphs or vows, in prosperity or feare, had dedicated to the gods. Yea in Achaia and Asia, not onely gifts, but the images of the gods were taken away, *Acratus*, and *Secundus Carinates*, being sent thither of purpose. The one a freed man ready to all villanies: the other exercised in the Greekeish learning, in words only, but his minde not seasoned with any good arts. It was reported that *Seneca*, because he would shake off from himself the infamy of sacrilege, desired licence to depart to some countrey house a far off: which not being granted, he fained himself sick of the gout and kept his chamber. Some have given out that poison was prepared him at *Neroes* commandment, by a freed man of his own, called *Cleonicus*, and avoided by *Seneca*, as forewarned by the freed man, or by his own feare, sustained his life with a simple diet, crabs, and if he were athirst with running water. About the same time the Fencers at Prenceste offering to make an escape, were hindered by a guard of souldiers which watched them; the people both fearfull and desirous of novelties, and now muttering and whispering of *spartacus*, and calling to minde the hurts which happened in times past. Not long after news came of a great misfortune by sea, not by war (for a more firm peace was seldome seen) but *Nero* had commanded the navy to return by a certain day to Campania, not excepting the hazards of the sea. The Pilots therefore although the sea were rough put from Formium; and the South west winde blowing strongly, whilest they strove to win the Promontory of Misenum, they dashed against the Cumanian shores, and lost almost all the gallies, and many other smaller vessels. In the end of the yeare prodigious wonders were noised as messengers of imminent misfortunes. Great and often flashes of lightnings, and a blazing star alwayes purged by *Nero* with the bloud of noble men. Monsters of men and beasts born with two heads and cast into the streets, or found in the sacrifices when the custome is to slay them when they be great with young. And in the territory of Placentia neare the way a calf was brought forth with a head in the leg. The Soothsayers interpretation of it was, that the Empire was to have another head, but neither strong nor hidden, because stifled in the panch, and brought forth by the way side.

XII. A conspiracie against Nero by L. Pisos friend.

AFTER that *Silius Nerva*, and *Atticus Vestinus* entered the Consulship, a conspiracie was begun, and grown strong against *Nero*: unto which Senators, gentlemen, souldiers, and women gave their names avie, as well for the hatred

tired they beare *Nero*, as good will to *L. Piso*. He was descended from the Calphurnians & of great nobilitie by his fathers side; in high reputation with the people for his vertue, or appearances like unto vertue: his eloquence he had employed in defence of the citizens: used liberalitie towards his friends; & to strangers courtesie & affabilitie. He had also the gifts of fortune: was of a tall stature, and comely countenance; but gravity in behaviour he was farre from, or moderation in pleasures. He gave himselfe to courtesie, bountie, and sometimes to dissolutenesse: which many allowed of thinking it not necessary, that in so great sweetnes of vices, he, who was destined to highest rule, should be streight laced, or over severe. The beginning of the conspiracie proceeded not from his owne desire: yet can I not easily tell, who was the first author, or at whose instigation that was begun, which so many enterprised. The forwardest to have been *Subrius Flavius*, Tribune of the Pretorian cohort, and *Sulpitius Asprius*, a Centurion, the constancy of their end doth shew. And *Lucanus Annæus*, and *Plautius Lateranus*, Consul elect, came with deadly hatred against him. Peculiar causes inflamed *Lucan*, because *Nero* suppressed the fame of his verses, and had forbidden him to publish them, vainely comparing his owne unto them. *Lateranus* Consul elect, no injury, but love of the common-wealth associated unto them. But *Flavius Scevinnus*, & *Afranius Quinctianus*, both Senators, undertook the action, contrary to the opinion which was had of them. For *Scevinnus* bare a lascivious minde, and therefore led a lazie and drowsie life: *Quinctianus* infamous of his body, and defamed by *Nero*, by reproachful verses, sought to revenge his injurie. Therefore discoursing among themselves, or with their friends, of the Princes wickednes, that the Empire drew to an end, and that choice was to be made of one to support the afflicted state, associated unto them *Tullius Senecio*, *Cervarius Proculus*, *Vulcatius Araricus*, *Iulius Tugurinus*, *Munatius Gratus*, *Antonius Natalis*, *Martius Festus*, gentlemen of Rome: among which *Senecio* having been of *Neroes* inward familiarity, and then retaining a shadow of friendship, was perplexed with the imagination of many dangers. *Natalis* was a partaker of all *Pisos* secrets. The rest hoped after a change. Besides *Subrius* and *Sulpitius*, whom I have spoken of for greater strength, there were drawn in *Granius Silvanus*, and *Statius Proximus*, Tribunes of the Pretorian cohorts, *Maximus Scaurus*, and *Venetius Paulus* Centurions. But for the chiefeit strength, they relied on *Fennius Rufus*, captain of the guard, who being for life and reputation worthy praise: *Tigellinus* through his cruelty and uncleane life, surpassed in credit and favour with the Prince, and charging him with many false accusations, brought *Cæsar* oft into a feare, as if he had played the adulterer with *Agrippina*, and therefore for love of her, carefully plotting a revenge. Therefore when the conspirators were fully assured by his owne often speeches, that the captaine of the guard was one of their faction, they were now more ready to consult of the time and place of the murder. It is reported that *Subrius Flavius* had a sudden motion to set upon *Nero* singing on the stage, and running hither and thither in the night unguarded, his house being on fire: on the one side the opportunity of finding him alone; on the other, the company of people, witnes of so worthy an exploit pricked forward his most valiant courage, if the desire of escaping (an enemy to all great attempts) had not kept him back. In the meane time, betwene hope and feare lingering and deferring, one *Epicaris*, unknowne by what meanes she came to the knowledge of the attempt (and before that time carelesse of all that honest was) began to incense and blame the conspirators: and in the end grieved with their slacknes, being then in Campania, went about to corrupt the chief of the navie, which lay then at Misenum, and bind them to consent to the practise with this

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beginning. There was in that navy one *Volusius Proculus*, a coronell of a thousand men, and among others an instrument in murdering *Neroes* mother, and as it was judged not sufficiently rewarded according to the greatness of the fact. He acquainted of old, or newly growne into friendship with this woman, and shewing how much he had deserved of *Nero*, and yet how his labour was lost, complaining much and declaring a purpose of revenge, if means were offered; put *Epicharis* in hope he might be induced to conspire and draw others with him to the same confederacy. Neither was the helpe of the sea small, but offered many occasions, because *Nero* tooke great pleasure on the sea at *Puteolum* and *Misenum*. Whereupon *Epicharis* added more, and opened all the Emperours villanies: and that the Senate had provided, how he should be punished for overthrowing the common-wealth: that he would only prepare himselfe, bestow all indeavour, draw to his side the valiantest of the souldiers, and assure himselfe of worthy recompense. Nevertheless, she concealed the names of the conspirators, whereby *Proculus* betraying the matter, took no effect, although he had carried all he had heard to *Nero*. For *Epicharis* sent for, and brought face to face before the appeacher, supported by no witnesses, easily confounded him. Nevertheless she was kept in prison, *Nero* suspecting that those things were not false which were not proved true. Yet the conspirators, for feare of being betrayed, thought it convenient to change the place of the murder, and execute it at *Baias*, in a house of *Pisces*; whither *Caesar* came oft, as delighted with the pleasantnes of it, and there used to bathe and to banquet without any guard, careless of the greatnes of his estate. But *Piso* refused, pretending it would breed him envy, if the solemnities of his table, and gods of hospitality should be distained with the murder of any Prince whatsoever. Therefore that it might be better performed in the city, in that hatefull house built with the spoiles of the citizens, or in publike place, seeing it is undertaken for the publike weale. Thus they debated the matter in common, but yet with secret feare, lest *L. Silanus*, a man of great nobilitie, and by *C. Cassius* discipline, under whom he was brought up to all renouwe, should lay hold on the Empire; all which were free from the conspiracy joyning to helpe him, and such also as would pity *Nero* as slaine by treachery. Some beleaved, that *Piso* would not meddle with *Vestinus* the Consuls fierce courage, lest he should attempt the bringing in of liberty; or if another Emperour should be chosen, ascribe the bestowing of the state to himselfe; for he was not privie to the conspiracy, although *Nero* to satiate his inveterate hatred laid it to his charge, though guiltlesse. At last, they resolved to accomplish their designement on that day that the *Circensian* plaies were represented in honour of *Ceres*; because *Caesar* shewing himselfe then little abroad, or shut up in his house or gardens, came to the plaies at the *Cirque*; and therefore might eallier become unto, because he took delight in the pastime.

XIII. *The order of the conspiracy. How it was discovered. Epicharis constancy: and cowardtyes of some of the conspirators.*

They concluded the order of their conspiracy to be, that *Lateranus* under colour of making request for some aid of maintenance of his estate, should fall at the Princes knees; and being of a stout courage, & great stature overthrow him unawares, and keepe him downe. Then as he lay along and hindered from rising, that the Tribunes and Centurions according to each mans boldnes should run

in and murder him; *Scevinus* requesting to be first, who had taken a rapier out of the Temple of health in *Etruria*; or, as others report of fortune, in *Ferentanum*; and carried about him as some sacred thing to do some notable act. *Piso* in the meane time should stay in *Ceres* Temple, from whence the Captaine *Fenius* and the rest should carrie him to the campe; and *Antonia*, *Claudius Casars* daughter followed him, to winne the peoples favour, as *C. Plinius* doth report. Our meaning was not to conceale this, howsoever it hath been left us; although it should seem absurd and frivolous (unlesse the desire of dominion surpasse all other passions and affecti- ons) that *Antonia* should lend her name, or endanger her self for him, or that *Piso* (the love towards his wife so well known) should binde himself in marriage to any other whatsoever. But it was strange how all was kept close, among so many of divers callings, degrees, ages, sexes, rich and poore; untill the detection began in *Scevinus* house: who the day before the feate should be effected, long conferring with *Antonius Natalis*; then returning home, sealed his testament; having drawn therapier (of which I have spoken) out of the scabberd; and angry that it was dull with long keeping, commanded it to be sharpened at the point and scoured; giving the charge of that care to his freed man *Milichus*. Withall he made a more sumptuous banquet then his custome was: and made some of his bondmen he best liked free; and unto others gave money. And he himselfe was sad and easily seen; his head was fraughted with great imaginations, although he dissembled mirth with impertinent talk. In the end warned the same *Milichus* to prepare rowles to binde up wounds, and things necessary to stanch blood; either as one knowing the conspiracie, and untill then trusty; or ignorant of it, and then first took hold of suspicions, as some have thought by the consequents. For when this servile minde, weighed with himself the rewards of his falsehood, and represented to his own imaginations huge summes of money and great authority, honesty gave place; and his masters safety, and the memory of his received liberty. He took also the counsell of his wife (a womans counsell indeed, and the worse) which drove him into a further feare, affirming that many freed men and slaves were by, which saw as much as he: the silence of one availed nothing; but ones should be the recompense; if he prevented the rest in detecting it. Whereupon as soon as it was day, *Milichus* goeth to the *Servilian* gardens: and being driven from the doores, said, he brought hainous and great matters to discover, and thereupon led by the porters to *Epa- phroditus* *Neroes* freed man; and anon from him to *Nero*, declareth that there was imminent and dangerous strong conspiracies at hand, and all the rest which he had either heard or conjectured. He sheweth also the weapon prepared to kill him, and commanded the party accused to be sent for: who drawn by the souldiers "and beginning his purgation, answered: That for the rapier he was accused of, "his father in times past made great reckoning of it, and therefore he had it in his "chamber, and that it was stolen away by the fraud of his freed man. That his testa- "ment had been often sealed by him, not keeping the dayes when in memory. Mo- "ney and liberties he had heretofore given to his slaves: but then more bountifully; "because his estate was decayed, and his creditors being eager on him, he distrusted "his testament. Indeed he was alwaies wont to make liberall bankets, & lead a plea- "sant life, not well liked of severe & hard Judges. He commanded no medicaments "for wounds, but because the rest of his accusations were plainly vain, he thought "good to adde this crime, and make himself accuser and witnes. He confirmed his speech wth constancy, and rebuked *Milichus* as one not to be admitted to bear wit- nesse, being a lewd and naughty person; and that with such a resolution in words and counte-

countenance, that the accusation had come to nothing, if his wife had not put him in minde, that *Antonius Natalis* had had much secret conference with *Severinus*, both of them being most inward familiars of *Piso*. *Natalis* therefore was sent for, and both of them severally examined what their speech was, and touching what matter. Then grew a suspicion because their answers agreed not. And being put into irons, they were not able to endure the sight and threatnings of the torture. Yet *Natalis* as better acquainted with the whole conspiracy, and withall skilfuller in accusing, first confesseth of *Piso*, then added *Anneus Seneca*, either because he was a messenger betweene him and *Piso*, or because he would purchase *Neroes* favour: who bearing deadly hatred to *Seneca*, practised all inventions to bring him to destruction. *Natalis* confession known, *Severinus* with the like imbecillity, or believing that all had been discovered, and that no profit could rise by keeping counsell, appeached the rest. Among which *Lucanus*, and *Quinctianus*, and *Senecio* long denied the matter. And afterward corrupted by promise of impunity, to excuse their backwardnes, *Lucanus* named *Atilla* his mother; *Quinctianus*, *Glicius Gallus*; *Senecio*, *Annius Pollio*, their chiefeft friends. And *Nero* calling to minde in the meane while that *Epicharis* was in indurance through *Volusius Proculus* information, thinking that a womans body was not able to indure much grieffe, commandeth her to be rent with tortures: but her, neither stripes, nor fires, nor the rage of the tortures, which so much the more cruelly racked her left they should be condemned by a woman, could overcome: but she denied the crimes objected, and so the first day of torture was contemned. The next day when she was brought to the same tortures in a bearing chaire (for her members out of joynt and broken, she could not put foot to ground) fastning a lace which she drew from her breast to the bow of the chaire, in manner of a sliding knot, put her neck into it; and waighing down with the heft of her body stopped that little breath she had left. A notable example that a freed woman should defend in such great cruelty of torture strangers, and almost unknown to her; when as men, and free-born, and gentlemen of Rome, and Senators not touched with tortures, detected the dearest of their kindred. For *Lucanus*, *Senecius*, and *Quinctianus*, stuck not indifferently to bewray their confederates, *Nero* growing more and more fearfull, although he had doubled his guard. Further, he filled the city and the walls with bands of souldiers, and beset both sea and river with watch and wards. And to and fro, by the Forum, the houses, the fields, and towns adjoyning, footmen and horsemen scoured up and down, intermingled with Germans, whom he best trusted, because they were strangers.

XIIII. Accusations continued. *Piso* would not take armes: his death with *Lateranus* and *Seneca*.

After that, continuall troupes one after another were drawn to their answer, which lay before the gates of the gardens. And when they had entred in, to defend themselves every man triumphed over the conspirators. If they had spoken together by chance; if met one another on the sudden; if at a shew, or banquet they had been seen together, it was accounted a crime: and besides *Neroes* and *Tigellinus* bloody interrogatories, *Fenius Rufus* not yet detected, urged also vehemently: and to winne an opinion that he had not been consenting to the attempt, was cruell against his confederates. The same *Fenius* held back *Subrius Flavus* then present, and nodding with the head, whether in the very hearing of the matter he should draw his sword, and execute the murder; and brake his heat even then

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putting his hand to his weapon. Some there were which seeing the conspiracy detected, whilest *Milichus* was examining, and *Severinus* doubteth whether he should confesse or not, perswaded *Piso* to goe to the fort of the guard, or go up to the *Rostra*, and found the affection of the souldiers and people, saying: "That if the confederates would joyn together, the rest which were not privie would follow them: that the same of an attempt was a great matter, & could do much in new enterprises. That *Nero* had made no provision to withstand him; stout men were daunted with sudden enterprises; much lesse would that stage player, accompanied with *Tigellinus* & his concubines take arms against him. Many things are done by venturing, which to the faint-hearted seem hard. It was a folly to hope for silence and fidelitie in so many minds & bodies of partakers: by torment or reward all things are made easie. And some would come to clap irons on him & put him to a shameful death. How much more commendable were it for him to die, embracing the common-wealth, & seeking aid for liberty. Although the souldier should faile him, and the people shrink from him, if it should cost him his life, his death would be glorious as well to his ancestors, as his posterity? But nothing moved with these speeches, shewing himselfe little abroad, then keeping within doors, confirmeth his minde against death: untill a band of souldiers came, which *Nero* had chosen among the young souldiers, and such as lately were received into service; suspecting that the old were made on *Pisoes* side. And cutting his veins, yeelded up the ghost. His testament was full of filthy flatteries toward *Nero*, through the love of his wife, whom commendable only for her beauty, & nothing futable to his calling, he took from a friend unto whom she was married. Her name was *Arria Galla*; her first husband, *Domitius Silius*, he by patience, she by unchastnesse spread abroad *Pisoes* infamy. Next followed the death of *Plautus Lateranus* Consul elect, and that with such haste, that he suffered him not to imbrace his children, nor have so much as that short time of choosing his death: but led away to a place where slaves were executed; was killed by the hand of *Statius* the Tribune: full of constant silence, never once reproching the guilt of the same fact to the Tribune. Then followed the death of *Anneus Seneca* most joyfull to the Prince; not because he had found him manifestly privy to the conspiracy, but because he would shew cruelty with the sword, seeing poyson took no effect. Only *Natalis* thus farre did utter, that he was sent to *Seneca* being sick to visite him and complaine, why he barred *Piso* from having access to him: and that it would be better to entertaine their friendship by familiar conversation: And *Seneca* to have answered, that their interchange of speech & often communication was profitable for neither of them; yet that his safety did depend on *Pisoes* welfare. These things *Granius Silvianus* Captaine of the guard, was commanded to carry to *Seneca*, and aske him whether he acknowledged *Natalis* speeches, and bring *Senecaes* answer. *Seneca* by chance, or of purpose, returned that day from Campania, and remained in a countrey house foure miles from the city. Thither came the Tribune the next evening, and beset the house with a company of souldiers: then openeth unto him the Emperours charge as he sat at meat with *Pompeia Paullina* his wife, and two other friends. *Seneca* answered, that *Natalis* had been indeed sent to him: and complained in *Pisoes* behalfe that he was forbidden to visite him: and that he excused himselfe with sicknesse, as being desirous of quietnes. Why he should preferre the welfare of a private man before his own safety, he had no cause. Neither was his inclination much given to flattery, as *Nero* best knew; who had oftner tried *Senecaes* libertie of speech, then servile pleasing. When these speeches were brought back by the Tribune in presence

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of

of *Poppæa*, and *Tigellinus*, who was of the cruell Princes inward counsell, he asketh whether *Seneca* prepared himselfe any voluntary death? The Tribune affirmed, he found no signes of feare in him, nor tokens of sadnesse in words or countenance: and thereupon he was commanded to go back, & give him warning he should die. *Fabius Rusticus* doth report, that he returned not the same way he came, but turned aside to *Fenius* the captaine: and having imparted unto him *Cæsars* commandement, asked him whether he should obey it or not, who advised him to do his commandement, which was a cowardlines farall unto them all: for *Silvanus* was one of the conspirators, and was now a furtherer of the cruelty, to whose revenge he had before consented: yet he spared both his tongue and presence, and sent to *Seneca* one of the "Centurions, to denounce him the last necessity. He nothing amazed, called for his "testament, & the Centurion denying it, turned to his friends, & said: That seeing "he was not suffered to requite their merits, he protested he left thē yet one thing "which of all other he held most precious, which was the pattern of his life: of "which if they were mindful, they should carry away the fame of good learning, & "of so constant friendship. Withall, hindreth their teares, now with speech, now "more earnestly as it were rebuking them, and calling them back to constancy. Al- "king where were the precepts of wisdom? where the resolution so many yeeres "premeditated against imminent dangers? unto whom was *Neroes* crueltie un- "known? neither did there remain any thing to be done after he had murdered his "mother and his brother, but that he should adde the death of his bringer up and "master. When he had discoursed this or the like, as it were in general, he embraced his wife, and having somewhat confirmed her against present fear, prayeth & intreateth her to temper her grieve, lament no longer, but in the contemplation of her former life spent in vertue, bear the lack of her husband with honest comforts. She on the contrary side assured him, that she was resolved to die, and demandeth the hand of the executioner. Then *Seneca* loth to hinder her glory, and dearely loving her, lest he should leave her, whom so tenderly he affectioned, to the injuries of "others, said: I had taught thee comforts of life, but thou hadst rather the glory of "death, I will not envy thy example, let there be of this so short a death, an equall "constancy in both; but thy renowne will be farre greater. After which words they both cut the veines of their armes at one time. *Seneca* because his old body, and leane with a slender diet, gave the bloud slow passage, cut also the veines of his legges, and hamis, and being wearied with cruell torments lest he should discourage his wife with his grieve, and himselfe descend to impatiency, by seeing the torment she endured, perwadeth her to go into another chamber. And in the very last moment, his eloquence not failing him, calling him to dictate his speech, delivered many things, which published in his owne words, I purpose not to alter or change with other termes. But *Nero*, having no peculiar hatred against *Paullina*, lest the odioufnesse of his cruelty should grow greater, commandeth her death to be hindered. Whereupon her bond and freed men at the souldiers commandement, bound her armes, and stopt the bloud. But whether she knew it or not, is uncertain, for (the common people being alwaies ready to speake the worst) there wanted not some which beleaved, that as long as she feared *Nero* to be implacable, she sought to have the glory of accompanying her husbands death; then a milder hope offered, that she was overcome with the sweetnesse of life, unto which she added a few yeeres after, with a laudable memory towards her husband: but her face and other parts of her body were grown so pale and wan, that it easily appeared her vitall spirits were much diminished. *Seneca* the meane time perceiving himselfe to linger

and

and pine away with a long death, intreateth *Statius Annæus* his known friend, and expert Physician, to give him of that poison with which the condemned by publick judgement at Athens are put to death, whereof long before he had made provision: which being brought him he drank in vaine, the parts of his body already cold and the conduits stopped against the force of poison. In the end he went into a bath of hot water, and sprinkling his slaves next about him, saying, That he offered up that liquor to *Iupiter* the deliverer. Then put into the bath, and with the vapour of it having yeilded up the Ghost, was burnt without any funerall solemnity, as he had commanded in his last Will, when very rich and in authoritie he disposed of his minde. The report was, that *Subrius Flavius*, with the Centurion in secret counsell, yet not without *Senecas* privitie, had determined, that after *Nero* should have been flaine by the helpe of *Piso*, *Piso* should also have been flaine; and the Empire delivered *Seneca*, as one just and upright, chosen to that high authoritie onely for the excellencies of his vertues: yea, and *Flavius* own words were published to be these. It skilleth not for the shame of the matter, if a Minstrell be removed, and an actor in atagedy succeed him: for as *Nero* had fung with the instrument, so *Piso* in tragicall attire.

XV. Many souldiers punished. *Fenius* death. *Flavius Subrius*, and *Sulpitius Afers* answer to *Nero*.

THE conspiracy of the souldiers could be no longer kept close, the detectors being very eager to bewray *Fenius Rufus*, whom they could not indure should both be of counsell to the plot, and an examiner of others. Therefore urging and threatning *Scevinus*, shewing himself obftinate, told him that no man knew more then himselfe: and exhorted him, that he would shew himselfe willing to requite so good a Prince. *Fenius* could neither answer this, nor hold his tongue, but entangling himselfe in his own words, shewed a manifest feare; and the rest, but especially *Cervarius Proculus* a Gentleman, labouring all they could to convict him by commandement of the Emperour, *Cassius* a souldier which stood by, and was of exceeding strength of body, laid hold on him, and bound him. Not long after, by their appeaching, *Subrius Flavius* Tribune was overthrowne, first alleading the dissimilitude of his manners and life for his defence, and that he being a man of armes, would never in so dangerous an enterprise, associate himselfe with unarmed effeminate persons: after that farther prest, embracing the glory of confession, and demanded of *Nero* for what reasons he had proceeded so farre as to forget his oath. I "hated thee (quoth he:) neither was there any of the souldiers more faithfull unto "thee thē I, whilest thou deservedst to be loved. I began to hate thee after thou be- "camest a paricide of thy mother, and wife; a wagoner, a stage-plaier, and a setter "of houses a fire. I have reported his very words, because they were not published as *Senecas* were: neither was it lesse convenient to know the unpollished, but waightie words of this souldier. It is certain there hapned nothing in all that conspiracy more grievous to *Neroes* eares: who as ready and prompt to all mischieves, so unaccustomed to heare of that he had done. The punishment of *Flavius* was committed to *Vejanus Niger*, Tribune. He in the next field commanded a pit to be digged, which *Flavius* finding fault with as not deepe enough, said to the souldiers standing by, This is not according to the order of service. And being willed to stretch out his neck stoutly, I would to God (said he) thou wouldest strike so stoutly. Who quaking

quaking very much, when he had scarce cut off his head at two blows, bragged to *Nero* of his cruelty, saying, that he was killed with halfe a blow. The next example "of constancy the Centurion *Sulpitius Asper* did shew; for *Cæsar* asking him why he "had conspired his death? answered briefly: That so many his villanies could not "otherwise be redressed. Then he sustained the punishment commanded. Neither did the rest of the Centurions degenerate in bearing their punishments. But *Fenius Rufus* had not the like courage, but set down his griefes and lamentations in his testament. *Nero* expected that *Vestinus* the Consull should also be drawn into the action, judging him violent, and an enemy to him: but the conspirators would not communicate their designements with him; some by reason of old grudges; but more, because they thought him rash, heady and insociable. Furthermore, *Neroes* hatred against *Vestinus* proceeded of their inward familiarity, the one contemning the Princes known cowardlinesse: and the other fearing the fell courage of his friend often jesting at him with bitter scoffs: which when they carry much truth with them, leave behinde them a biting memory. Besides, there was a fresh cause of malice betweene them, because *Vestinus* had married *Statillia Messalina*, not ignorant that *Cæsar* kept unlawful company with her. Therefore no crime, no accuser appearing, because he could put on no shew of accusation, he fled to his absolute power, and sendeth *Gerellanus* the Tribune with a band of souldiers, and incharge him to prevent the Consuls designments, seise upon his house, which was as it were his fortresse: and slew his chosen company of youth, because *Vestinus* had his house looking over the market place, and handsome slaves all of one age. He had fulfilled that day all the duties of a Consull, and making a banquet, fearing nothing, or else dissembling his feare, the souldiers entred in; and when word was brought him that he was called by the Tribune, he rose without any delay, had all things prepared him in a trice, shut himselfe up in his chamber, and had his Physician at hand which cut his veines; and being yet lusty, was carried to a Bath, put in hot water, not once uttering a word, which could argue either grieve, or compassion on himselfe. Those which were at table with him, were in the meane time beset with a guard, and not dismissed till the night was far spent; and then *Nero* imagining and laughing at the feare they were in, as looking for their imminent ruine, said, they had paid enough for the Consuls good cheare.

XVI. *Lucanus and Quinctianus death. Neroes liberality to the souldiers. Who Nymphidius was. The Senators flattery toward Nero.*

After that, he commanded the death of *M. Annius Lucanus*, who perceiving as his blood went out, his feet and hands to waxe cold, and spirits by little and little to forsake the exterior parts of his body: his heart yet strong, and his wit fresh, remembring verses made by himself, in which he represented a soldier wounded, and dead with the like kinde of death, rehearsed the verses themselves, which were the last words he spake. After that *Senecio* and *Quinctianus*, not according to their former effeminate life, and the residue of the conspirators, were put to death, neither speaking nor doing any thing worthy memory. But in the meane time, the City was filled with funerals, the Capitoll with sacrifices, one having his brother, another his sonne put to death, or friend, or neer kindred, gave thanks to the gods, deckt his house with Baies, fell downe at the Emperours knees, and

and wearied his right hand with kisses. And he thinking it to be done for joy, rewardeth with impunity *Antonius Natalis*, and *Cervarius Præculus* speedy detection: *Milichus* enriched with recompenses, took unto him a name, which in the Greeke signifies a saviour. And *Granius Silvanus* the Tribune, although quier, yet slew himselfe. *Statius Proximus* frustrated the pardon which he had received of the Emperor by the vanity of his death. After this, *Pompey*, *Cornelius Marialis*, *Flavius Vopos*, and *Statius Domitius*, were deprived of the Tribuneship, not because they hated the Prince, but yet supposed so to do. *Novius Priscus*, for the friendship he had with *Seneca*, & *Glitius Gallus*, & *Annius Pollio*, diffamed rather then convicted, were sent into banishment. *Antonia Flacilla* *Priscus* wife followed him: *Egnatia Maximilla* did the like with *Gallus*: at the first all their wealth, which was great, left them: then taken away, both which increased their glory. *Rufus Crispinus* was banished also, under colour of the conspiracy, but hated of *Nero* because he had been *Poppeas* husband. *Virginus* *Rufus* great reputation was cause of his exile: for *Virginus* furthered the studies of youth with eloquence; and *Musonius* with precepts of Philosophy, *Cluvidennus Quinctus*, *Iulius Agrippa*, *Blitius Catullinus*, *Petronius Priscus*, *Iulius Alitius*, as it were an Army to make up a number, were banished to the Iles of the Ægean sea. But *Cadicia Scevinius* wife, and *Cesennius Maximus* were banished Italy, knowing by the punishment onely that they were called in question. *Annaeus Lucanus* mother *Atilia*, though not acquitted, yet was let go without punishment. These things done *Nero*, and calling the souldiers together to an Oration, he bestowed by pole upon every souldier under bands, two thousand Nummi; and corne without price, which they had before, according to the rate it was sold. Then as though he would declare some exploit done in warre, assembled the Lords of the Senate, and bestowed the ornament of triumph upon *Petronius Turpilianus* Consull; *Cocceius Nerva*, Prætor elect; *Tigellinus* Captain of the guard: and so extolling *Tigellinus* and *Nerva*, besides their triumphall Images in the Forum, he placed their Images also in the Palace. He gave *Nymphidius* also the ornaments of a Consull, of whom I will speake a little, because now is the first occasion offered, for he also was part of the Romane miseries. He therefore sonne of a freed woman, which had abandoned and made common her comely body to Princes bond and freedmen, affirmed he was begotten by *C. Cæsar*, because by some chance he was tall of personage, and of a sterne grimme countenance: or else *C. Cæsar* being desirous of light women, had abused his mother also. But *Nero*, the Senators assembled, and an Oration made among them, published an Ediçt to the people, and added the informations and confessions of the condemned; because he was often defamed in the peoples mouth, as though he had executed innocent persons for envy or feare. Neverthelesse, those which had a care of knowing the truth, did neither then doubt, but the conspiracy was begun, growne toripenesse, and set on foote againe; as those which returned to the city after *Neroes* death confessed. But in the Senate, all of them according to each mans grieve abjecting themselves to flattery: *Alienus Clemens* bitterly inveighed against *Iunius Gallio*, amazed with the death of his brother *Seneca*, and increating for his own life, calling him enemy and parricide: untill the whole Senat shewed their dislike therein; lest he should seeme to abuse publick calamities, and make them occasion of his private grudge; or draw the Prince to new cruelty, forgotten, and tempered with clemency. Then order was taken, that gifts and thanks should be rendered the gods, and peculiar honour done to the Sunne, unto whom there is an old Temple in the Cirque, in which the enterprise should have been accomplished; who disclo-

fed by his divine power, the secrets of the confederacy: and that the Circensian pastime in honour of *Ceres* should be exhibited with more horse-races; and that the moneth of April should beare the surname of *Nero*: that a Temple should be built to *Salus*, in the place from whence *Scevinus* had taken the Rapier, which he himselfe had offered up in the Capitol, and wrote under it, *To Jupiter the revenger*. Which presently was not noted, but after that *Julius Vindex* had taken armes, it was interpreted as a foretelling and presage of future revenge. I finde in the commentaries of the Senat, that *Cerealis Anicinus* Consul ele^d, gave his censure, that a Temple should be built with all speed at the common charge to divine *Nero*, which he thought convenient, as though exceeding the highest mortall degree, he had deserved to be worshipped of men: which after was known to be a token and foretelling of his end. For the honour of the gods was never given Prince untill he were dead, and gone out of this mortall life.

THE

THE SIXTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. *Nero consumeth much in seeking out a hidden treasure which Cefellius Bassus dreamt of. The death of Bassus. Nero contendeth on the Stage for the prize of playing on the Harpe.*

After that time, Fortune began to delude *Nero* through his owne vanity, taking hold of a promise made by *Cefellius Bassus*: who being an African borne, and busie headed, built an assured hope upon the shadow of a dreame which he had in the night. And come to Rome, having bought access to the Prince, declareth that there was a Cave in his ground of a huge depth, wherein was contained great quantity of gold uncoyned and unwrought in a masse, as in old time it was wont to be hidden. For there lay a wall of very heavy bricks on the one side; and on the other, pillars standing upright: all which had layne hidden many yeers to increase the wealth of the present time. And as conjecture doth shew, *Dido* the Phenissian, fleeing from *Tyrus*, after she had built Carthage, hid that treasure there; lest the new people with over-great wealth should become wanton and riotous: or the King of the Numidians their old enemy, for greedinesse of their gold sometime be incensed to make war against them. Whereupon *Nero*, not well assured of the credit of the Authour, or certainty of the businesse, nor any sent to view and learn whether a truth were reported: of himselfe encreaseth the rumour, and sendeth some to bring away all, as it were a pray already gotten. Gallies and choise vessels were appointed to helpe to hasten the matter: the people having no other speech in their mouth, but that treasure, through the credulousnesse of the discovery, though not reporting of it all alike. And it fell out by chaunce that the Quinquennale pastime, which every fift yeere being represented, was then the second time celebrated: which ministred the orators their chiefeft subject to commend the Prince, saying: That the earth did not now bring forth only the usuall fruits, nor gold mingled with other metals; but a new plenty: and that the gods themselves bestowed wealth in all abundance: and many other things with great eloquence, and no lesse servile and base flattery they fained; being assured of easie beleife in the hearer. Riotousnesse in the meane time grew greater by vaine hope; and the old wealth was consumed, as though the other had bene offered, prodigally to waste many yeeres. Yea from thence largesses were bestowed: and the expectation of that wealth, was a cause in part of the publike poverty. For *Bassus* having digged his ground, and large fields round about; avouching boldly this or that to be the promised cave: not onely souldiers followed him; but the countrey people were taken to dig and labour; at length leaving his fortifnes, and marvelling that his dreames never proved false before, and that he was never deceived untill then, rid himselfe of shame and feare by killing himselfe. Some have reported that he was imprisoned, and set at liberty againe incontinently, his goods first taken to the Princes treasure. In the meane time the Senate, the Quinquennale pastime drawing neere, to shadow his shame, offereth the victory of singing and

and withall the crowne of eloquence to colour the reproch of his singing on the Stage. But *Nero*, saying that he needed not the authority and favour of the Senate in that respect; as able of himselfe to make his party good with his concurrents, and little doubting but that by the uprightnesse of the Judges he should obtaine his deserved praise; sang first of all a verse on the Stage: then the people instantly craving that he would publish all his studies (for those were their words) he entereth the Theater, and observeth all the orders of the Harpers: as that being weary, yet he should not sit downe; that he should not wipe of his sweat, but with the garment he wore; that no excrements should be seene at his mouth or nose. And last of all kneeling, and shewing a reverence to the assembly with his hand, expected the Judges sentence with a counterfaint feare. And the City people accustomed also to approve the gestures of the players; answered him with a certaine measure and artificiall applause. Thou wouldst have thought they had rejoiced, and perhaps they did, for the injury of the publicke discredit. But those which from townes far off, retaying as yet the ancient severity and custome of Italy; and from remote Provinces unacquainted with dissolute behaviour, came either as Embassadors, or for private busines, could neither endure that sight, nor applaud any way so dishonourable a labour: but a weary with their unskillfull clapping of hands, and troubling the skillfull, were often beaten by the souldiers, placed in thicke aray, left any moment of time should be lost by an untuned and disproportionable crye or slothfull silence. It is certaine that many horsemen which laboured to passe through the crowd and thicke multitudes were troden under feete; and others whilest they continued day and night in their places, were stricken with deadly sicknesse. And yet if they should have beene absent their feare was greater; many openly, and more privily observing the names and countenances, cheerefulness and heavyness of the lookers on. Whereupon punishments were inflicted upon the poorer sort forthwith; the hatred against Noblemen dissembled for the time, shewed it selfe within a short space after. And it is reported that *Vespasian* was rebuked by *Phæbus* a Freed man, as though he had beene some what drowsie with sleep, and was hardly defended by the intreaty of the better sort: and afterward escaped imminent ruine by a greater chance.

II. The death of Poppæa. Banishment and death of others.

After the pastime was ended, *Poppæa* died by a sudden anger of her husband striking her with his foot being with child. Neither do I believe that she was poisoned, although some writers do so report, of hatred rather than truth for he was desirous of children and blinded with the love of his wife. Her body was not burnt as the Roman manner was, but embalmed according to the custome of forreigne Kings, stuffed with sweet odours, and buried in the tombe of the *Julians*. Yet publicke funerals were solemnised, and he himselfe prayed her beauty before the people assembled; that she had beene the mother of a divine daughter; and other gifts of fortune he commended in stead of vertues. The death of *Poppæa* as in shew sorrowfull; so to the rememberers of her loose life and cruelty, joyfull; *Nero* made more odious by giving new matter of hatred, by hindering *C. Cassius* from being present at her exequies; which was the first token of his ruine, not long deferred. And *Silanus* bare him company for no crime committed, but because *Cassius* for his ancient riches and gravity of manners, *Silanus* for noblenesse of birth and modest youth, were worthy prayse above the rest. Having therefore sent an Oration to the Senate, declared that they were both to be removed from the Common-

wealth.

wealth. And laid to *Cassius* charge, that among the images of his ancestors, he had done honour also to the image of *C. Cassius*, which had this written under it: *To the captaines of the parts*. For seeds of civill warre, and a revolt from the house of *Cæsars* might have beene intended by those words. And lest he should use the memory only of a hatefull name to ground a quarell on; he joyned *L. Silanus* a young man of a noble stock, rash and heady, under a pretence and colour of moving new broiles. Further, he rebuked *Silanus* for the same matters, as before he had done his uncle *Torquatus*, as though he did already dispose of the cares of the Empire, and give his freed men charge of his accounts, requests and secretariships: things both vaine and false. For *Silanus* was wary and fearefull, and by the death of his uncle circumspect in his actions. After this he induced some under the name of accusers, which falsely charged *Lepida*, *Cassius* wife, *Silanus* aunt, of incest with her brothers son; & with certain execrable rites of sacrifices. There were drawn in as privy thereto, *Vulcatius Tullinus*, and *Marcellus Cornelius*, Senators; and *Calpurnius Fabatus*, a gentleman of Rome: who appealing to the Prince, and disappointing the present condemnation; anon after *Nero* being busied about some great mischiefs were forgotten as men of small reckoning. Then banishment was decreed against *Cassius* and *Silanus* by order of Senate; and that *Cæsar* himselfe should dispose of *Lepida*. *Cassius* was exiled to the Iland *Sardinia*, expecting there further order from the Lords of the Senate. *Silanus* conveyed to *Hestia*, as though he should be carried to *Naxos*; was after shut up in a towne of *Apulia*, called *Barium*. And there, wisely bearing his most unworthy adversitie, a Centurion sent to kill him laying hands on him; perswaded him to cut his veins: who answered, that he had a minde resolute and ready to die, but he would not permit an executioner to have the glory of the service. But the Centurion, although seeing him unarmed, yet strong, and more inclining to anger then feare, commanded his souldiers to dispatch him. Neither did *Silanus* omit to resist, & lay on blows as well as he was able with naked hands untill he fell downe overmatched with the Centurions wounds on his face as it had been in a skirmish. With no lesse courage died *L. Vetus*, and *Senia* his mother in law, and his daughter *Pollutia*: hatefull to the Prince, as though by living, they should upbraid him with the murder of *Rubellius Plautus*, *L. Vetus* sonne in law. But the first discoverer of his crueltie towards them, was one *Fortunatus* a freed man of *Vetus*, who having pilfered away his masters goods, and fearing an enquiry, began to accuse him, associating *Claudius Demianus* with him, who imprisoned by *Vetus* Proconsull of Asia for his misdeeds, *Nero* delivered in recompence of the accusation. Which being understood by the party accused, and that there was no difference made betwixt him and his freed man, he departeth to *Formianum*, where a secret guard of souldiers watched him. His daughter was with him, who besides the imminent danger, through long griefe, fell, and cruell, as soon as she had seen the murderers of her husband *Plautus*, grew to further extremitie: and having cast her selfe about his neck embred with blood, kept still the blood, and her apparell besprinkled with it, remaining a widow, drowned in continuall griefe, using no other foode, then was necessary to keep off death. Then her father exhorting her, she goeth to *Naples*. And, because she was kept from the speech of *Nero*, lying in waite for his going abroad, she crying aloud that it would please him to heare the innocent, and not commit one who had been his companion in the Consulship to the disposition of a freed man, sometime with a womanish lamentation, sometimes going beyond her sexe, with anger and bitter termes, untill the Prince shewed himselfe inflexible, and no way moved, either with prayers or hatred he might incur. And

warneth

warneth her father to cast away hope, and resolve himselfe to the present necessity. Withall newes came, that the matter should be heard before the Lords of the Senate, and a cruell sentence intended. Thereupon some advised him to pronounce *Cæsar* his heire for the most part of his goods, and so helpe his nephewes with the rest; which he refused, lest he should dishonour with this last servile act his life past almost in liberty: and gave all his mony among his bondmen, and if any thing could be carried away, that every one might serve himselfe; three beds only reserved for his funerall obsequies. Then in the same chamber, with the same knife they cut their veines, and with speed each one covered with a simple garment, for modesty sake, they were put into bathes. The father looking on the daughter, the grandmother on her neece, she on both, praying a-vy for a speedy end to leave the others alive, though to follow incontinently after. And fortune herein kept the order, the eldest dying first, then the next in age. And being accused after their buriall, & ordained that they should be punished according to the ancient manner: *Nero* was against it, suffering them to make choise of their manner of death, for such kind of scoffes were used after the murders committed. *P. Gallus* a gentleman of Rome, because he was inward with *Fenius*, and not an enemy to *Petius*, was banished: the freed man and accuser rewarded for his paines, and a place given him in the Theater among the beadies of the Tribunes. And the month of May which followed Aprill, and called *Nero*, was changed into the name of *Claudius*, and July into *Germanicus*; and *Cornelius Osius*, whose censure that was, said that therefore the month of June was past over, because two of the *Torquatus* already executed for their misdemeanors had made the name of June unlucky. A yeere continued with so many lewd actions, the gods have marked and made notorious by tempests and diseases. Campania was destroyed with boysterous stormes of winds, which did every where beat downe houses, woods and graine, and brought the violence of it to places adjoining to the city. Where the rage of the pestilence spared none, although there was no manifest shew of corruption of the aire to be seene. Yet the houses were filled with dead bodies, and the waies with funeralls; no sexe, no age, free from danger, as well bond, as free borne indifferently perished: amidst the lamentations of their wives and children; who whilest they sat by them and bewailed, were often burnt in the same funerall fire. The death of gentlemen and Senators although indifferent with others, lesse lamented, as though they had by a common mortality prevented the Princes cruelty. The same yeere they mustered in Gallia Narbonensis, Africke and Asia, to supply the Legions of Illyria, which worne out either with yeeres or sickness were freed from their oath. The Prince relieved the calamity of Lugdunum with* forty hundred thousand sesterces to recover the losses of their city: which summe of money the Lugdunenses had before bestowed in troubled times.

III. The death of certaine noblemen, for desire of their wealths
or other jealousies.

C *Suetonius*, and *L. Telesinus* being Consuls, *Antistius Sossianus* banished, as I have sayd before, for making slanderous verses against *Nero*, understanding that pickthanks were so honoured, and the Prince so forward to murders, busie minded, and not slow in taking hold of occasions, insinuateth himselfe through conformity of fortune, into the favour of *Pammenes* a banished man of the same place, and for his skill in the Chaldean art, supported by the friendship of

of many. This *Antistius* supposing that messages and consultations came not to him in vaine, understandeth withall that he had mony yearly supplied him by *P. Antei-
us*. Neither was he ignorant that *Antei-
us* through the love he bare to *Agrippina* was hatefull to *Nero*; that his wealth, as it had beene of others, might be a motive to procure his destruction. Whereupon having intercepted *Antei-
us* letters, and stolne his writings wherein the day of his nativity and things to come, were hidden among *Pammenes* secrets, and withall found those things which had beene composed of the birth and life of *Ostorius Scapula*: writeth to the Prince, that he would bring him great newes touching his owne safety, if he might obtaine a short intermission of his banishment: for *Antei-
us* and *Ostorius* watch for opportunity to lay hold on the sovereignty, and searched out their owne and *Cæsars* destinies. There upon swift vessels were sent and *Sossianus* brought with all speed. And his accusation divulged, *Antei-
us* and *Ostorius* were reckoned rather among the condemned then accused; in so much that no man would have sealed *Antei-
us* Testament, if *Tigellinus* had not beene their warrant. *Antei-
us* was first admonished not to delay the making of his Testament: but he having drunken poison, weary of the slow working of it, by cutting his veines hastened his death. *Ostorius* at that time was farre off in the confines of Liguria, whither a Centurion was sent to make him away with all speed. The cause of the haste proceeded of that, that *Ostorius* being for matter of warre of good reckoning, and deserved in Britany a civill crowne, of a mighty strength of body and skilfull in armes, drove *Nero* into a feare lest he should assaile him; alwaies timorous and fearfull, but then more then ever, through the conspiracy lately detected. The Centurion therefore when he had beset all escaping places, openeth to *Ostorius* the Emperours commandement. He converted against himselfe his courage often tried against the enemy. And because his veines when they were opened yielded but little blood, using the hand of his slave only to take out a Rapier and hold it stedfast: he drew his right hand to him and ran himself thorow the necke. If I should have written of forrein wars, & deaths sustained from the common-wealth, with divers other accidents and chances: yet I should not only have seemed tedious to my selfe, but to others also: abhorring the deaths of Citizens, being dolefull and continuall, although honourable. But now a servile patience and so much blood lost at home, doth trouble my minde and oppresse it with griefe. Neither doe I require any other defence or excuse of those who shall know these things, but that they hate them not, for dying so cowardly. That was certainly the anger of the gods against the Roman State, which ought not so easily be run over with once writing, as in the overthrow of Armies, or taking of Townes. Let this prerogative be given the posterity of worthy personages, that as how they are distinguished from the confuse multitude in the solemnitie of their funeralls: so in the delivery of their last ends, that they may receive and have a proper and peculiar memory. For within a few daies by the same violent course, *Annæus Mella*, *Cerealis Anicius*, *Rufus Crispinus*, and *C. Petronius* perished. *Mella* and *Crispinus* were Gentlemen of Rome, and equall in dignity with Senators. *Crispinus* once Captaine of the Guard, and honored with Consular ornaments, and of late through the conspiracy, exiled into Sardinia, having received tidings he should die, slew himselfe. *Mella* borne of the same parents as *Gallius* and *Seneca*, forbore purchasing of dignities, by a preposterous ambition, to the end that a Roman Gentleman might be equalled in authoritie to the Consuls. Withall he thought it a shorter course of getting wealth, to manage the affairs of the Prince in quality of a Procurator. The same *Mella* was *Annæus Lucanus* father, which was a great credit to him: but after his death, seeking out too narrow-

ly his goods, stirred up an accuser against him, one *Fabius Romanus*, one of *Lucan's* familiar friends: which falsely fathered upon him and the father, the privy of the "conspiracy, by counterfeiting of *Lucan's* letters: which *Nero* having perused, commanded to be carried him, gaping after his wealth. But *Mella*, which was then the readiest way to death, loosed his veins, having bestowed in his testament a huge summe of money upon *Tigellinus* and on his son in law *Cossutianus Capito*, that the rest might stand good. He added to his will as it were a complaint of the injustice of his death: That he died for no causes deserving punishment: but *Rufus Crispinus* and *Anicius Cerealis* enjoyed their life, being the Princes enemies. Which words were thought to have beene forged of *Crispinus* because he was already slaine; of *Cerealis*, because he should be slaine. Who not long after killed himselfe, lesse pitied then the rest: as bearing in minde that he had discovered a conspiracy to *C. Caesar*.

IIII. The constant death of *C. Petronius*, and what life he led.

OF *C. Petronius*, a few things above recited are here againe to be repeated. He passed the day in sleepe, and the night in delightfull sports, or other affaires of life. And as others, industry; so this man, sloth had raised to fame: a riotous and wastfull spender he was, not accompted like many, which run through all, but using riot to his credit. And his words and deeds how much the freer, and shewing a certaine carelesnes; so much the more gratefully received, as savoring somewhat of simplicity. Notwithstanding being Proconsull of Bithynia, and anon after Consull, he shewed himselfe quicke and stout, and able to wade thorow great matters. Then falling againe to his vices, or else shew of vices, was received esteeming nothing pleasant or delightfull, unless *Petronius* had approved it. Therupon grew *Tigellinus* malice against him, as against a concurrent, or one more skilfull in pleasure then himselfe, whetting *Neroes* cruelty (unto which all other lusts gave place) against him: objecting the friendship he had with *Scevinus*, corrupting a slave to be his accuser: taking from him all meanes of defence, and the greatest part of his family drawn into prison. By chance about that time *Caesar* went to Campania, and *Petronius* gone as farre as Cumas, was there stayed; and notable any longer to indure the lingring betweene hope, or feare, yet did not rashly kill himselfe, but cutting his veins, and binding them up as pleased him, opened them againe, and talked with his friends, though not of any serious matter, or worthy to purchase the glory of constancy: but gave eare to those which discoursed with him, yet nothing of the immortality of the soule, or oppinions of wise men, but of light verses, and easie songs. On some of his slaves he bestowed gifts & on some stripes. He went sometimes abroad, and gave himselfe to sleepe, that although his death was constrained, yet it should be like a casuall death. Neither in his Testament (as most men were wont to doe) did he flatter *Nero* or *Tigellinus* or any other favorite, but wrote downe the uncleane life of the Prince, underfained names of stale calamities abused against nature and of women, with the strangeness of the abuse of either of them; and sealed up, sent it to *Nero*, & brake his seale, least afterward it might serve to breed dangerto others. And *Nero* doubting how the invention of his night pleasures should come to light, *Silia* by being the wife of a Senator not unknown, and abused in all his licentious lusts; and very familiar with *Petronius*, came to his minde, whom he thrust into banishment, as not having kept se-

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cret those things she had seen and suffered: moved thereto by his own particular hatred rather then just occasion. He delivered *Numicius Thermus* once Pretor, to *Tigellinus* privie hatred, because *Thermus* freed man had laid some criminall matter to *Tigellinus* charge, which he should pay for by torment of torture, and his master by undeserved death.

V. *Neroes* hatred against *Thraseas Pætus*, and *Bareas Soranus*.

SO many worthy men being murdered in the end *Nero* coveted to destroy ver-
sue it self, by killing *Bareas Soranus* and *Thraseas Pætus*, of old enimie to both; and new occasions rising against *Thraseas*, because he went out of the Senate, as I have already said, when *Agrippinaes* cause was debated; and because that in the pastime of youth called *Juvenales*, he shewed not so acceptable indeavour as was expected: with grudge pierced the deeplier, because the same *Thraseas* at Padua where he was born in the Cestian playes, intituted by *Antenor* the Trojan, sang in tragicall attire. The day also that *Antistius* the Pretor was condemned for outrages against *Nero*, he gave a milder sentence, and obtained it: and when the honour of the gods was ordained for *Poppæa*, absent of set purpose, was not at the convoy of the funerall. Which things *Capito Cossutianus* did not suffer to be forgotten, besides his over-readie inclination to naughtines, enemy to *Thraseas*, because that by his authoritie, countenancing the deputies of Cilicia, he lost his cause, when they pursued *Capito* for using injustice and extortion in his office. He objected farther: That in the beginning of the yeer *Thraseas* did avoid the oath, which was not present with the "rest at the offering up of vows, although he were one of the fifteen Priests, yet he "never offered sacrifice for the health of the Prince, or heavenly voice; that hereto-
"fore he hath been often present, & diligent, shewing himself a favorer, or an adver-
"sary to the ordinary consultations of the Lords of the Senat, but hath not once en-
"tered the Curia this three yeares: and very lately when every man ran who first
"might, to punish *Silanus* & *Vetus*, he attended rather on his clients private busines:
"that was now a revolting, and a faction, and if many durst do the like, it would
"breed to a war. As in times past (said he) the city desirous of garboile, spake of
"*C. Caesar*, and *M. Cato*; so now of thee *o Nero* and *Thraseas*, and hath his adherents or
"rather followers, who imitating, though not his obstinacy of opinions, yet his beha-
"viour and countenance, severe and sterne, do cast thy lasciviousnes in thy teeth.
"This man only is carelesse of thy health, no way procuring thy honor, he little re-
"gardeth the Princes prosperous successes. What, is he not filled with thy griefes,
"and sorrows? It proceedeth from the self same minde not to beleieve *Poppæa* to be
"a goddesse, and not sweare to observe the ordinances of *Augustus* and *Iulius* of fa-
"mous memory. He despiseth holy things, abrogateth laws. The diurnals of the
"people of Rome are curiously read in the provinces and camp, that it might be
"known what *Thraseas* hath not done. Either let us condescend to his ordinances if
"they be better: or let the captain and author be taken away from desires of novel-
"ties. This sect brought forth the *Tuberones* and *Favonius*, unpleasing names to
"the ancient common-wealth. That they may overthrow the state, they pretend
"liberty: but if they should overthrow it, they will give an assault to overthrow li-
"berty likewise. In vain thou hast extinguished *Cassius*, if thou wilt suffer the follow-
"ers of *Brutus* to grow and take head. In fine, write thou nothing of *Thraseas*; leave us
"the Senat arbitrator of the cause. *Nero* extolleth *Cossutianus* stoutnesse, whet on

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with

with choler, and joyneth with him *Marcellus Epirus*, of a quick and lively eloquence. As for *Barea Soranus*, *Ostorius Sabinus*, a Roman gentleman had required he might accuse him for matter committed in the Proconsulship of Asia: in which he augmented the displeasure the Prince bare him for injustice and industry: and because he had been very carefull in opening the haven to the Ephesians, and had left unpunished the violence of the city Pergamena, which hindring *Acratius Cæsar*s freed man to carry away their images and pictures. But the fault indeed laid to his charge, was his friendship with *Plautus*, and ambition in alluring the province to new hopes. The time chosen to condemne him, was, when *Tiridates* came to take the kingdom of Armenia; that domesticall wickednesse might be obscured and hidden with the rumours of the strangers arriving; or else that he might shew the greatnesse of an Emperour by the death of worthy men, as a royall act. Whereupon all the city being run out to receive the Prince, and behold the King, *Thrasea* forbidden to go to meet him, lost not courage therefore; but wrote to *Nero*, demanding his accusations, boldly affirming that he would purge himself, if he might have knowledge of the crimes, and licence to cleare them. These writings *Nero* received very greedily, in hope that *Thrasea* being terrified and dejected, would have written somewhat founding to the magnificence and excellency of the Prince, and discredit of his own reputation: which falling out otherwise, fearing the countenance, and courage, and liberty of the innocent, commanded the Lords of the Senat to be assembled. Then *Thrasea* consulted with his friends, whether he should adventure his purgation, or let it passe. Those which thought it best he should enter into the Senat house, said, they were assured of his constancy, and that he would say nothing but "what should augment his glory. Cowardly and timorous men did shut themselves "in secret places at the time of their death. The people should see a man offering "himselfe to death; the Senate should heare words more then humane, as it were "of some divine power, that *Nero* himself might also be moved with the miracle: "but if his crueltie should continue, certes the memory of an honorable death "should be distinguished with posterity from the cowardlines of such as perished "with silence. Contrariwise, such as thought it convenient to expect within doores "what might happen, said the same of *Thrasea*; but yet that skoffes and injuries "were at hand: he should therefore withdraw his eares from checks and reprochfull "speeches: not only *Cossutianus* and *Epirus* are prompt to naughtinesse: some there "are which peradventure would let their hand walk and strike, through the cruelty of *Augustus*: yea the good do the like for fear. That he would rather deliver "the Senate whom he had alwayes honoured, of the infamie of so great a villanie: "and leave it doubtfull, what, having seen *Thrasea*, the Lords of the Senate would "determine. That *Nero* should be ashamed of his wickednesse, was to trouble himself "with a vain hope: and that it was much more to be feared, lest he should grow "cruell against his wife, his family, and the rest of his children. Therefore that un- "defiled and uncorrupted, whose steps and studies he had imitated in his life, theirs "also he should follow in the honour of his death. There was present at this consultation *Rusticus Arulenus*, Tribune of the people, a hot young man, who for desire of praise, offered to oppose himselfe to the decree of Senate. *Thrasea* could his "courage: lest he should begin a vain enterprise unprofitable to the criminall, and "dangerous to the opposer. As for himselfe he had ended his yeares, and that he "ought not forsake the manner of his life so many yeares continued: but he entred "now into offices, and was in his choise to accept or refuse such as are behinde. That "he should weigh well and ponder with himself what course of governing he should enter

"enter into, of taking charge in the common-wealth in such a time as this. Whether it were fit for him to come into the Senate, or not, he would have it rest in his own consideration.

VI. *Thraseas accusation and death.*

THE next day two armed Pretorian cohorts, beset the temple of *Venus* the mother: the waies to the Senat a company of gownd-men had filled, not hiding their weapons: and a thick array of souldiers dispersed in the place of assemblies and Temples; amidst whose looks and threats the Senatours went into the court; where the Princes oration was heard by his Quæstors mouth. None noted by name, he blamed the Senators; That they neglected publike duties, and that by their example the gentlemen of Rome were become lazie. For what marvel was it, if from Provinces far off they came not to Rome, when as the most part having obtained the Consulship and priestly dignities, gave themselves rather to passe the time with all pleasures in their gardens? Which the accusers took hold of as it were of a weapon. And *Cossutianus* leading the dance, and *Marcellus* with greater vehemency: Cried that this touched the whole state, that through the disobedience of the inferiours, the lenity of the commander was made lesse. The Lords of the Senat until that day had been too milde in suffering *Thrasea* to forsake their side, his sonne in law *Helvidius Priscus* in the same madnes; *Pavonius Agrippinus*, heire of his fathers hatred against Princes, and *Curtius Montanus* compoling detestable verses to scoffe and abuse men without punishment. He found a lack of a Consul in the Senat, of a Priest in vows, in an oath a Citizen: but against the ordinances and ceremonies of our ancestors, *Thrasea* had openly put on the person of a traitor, and an enemy. Finally, that he should come and play the Senator, and as he was wont, protect the backbiters of the Prince, and give his censure what he would have amended or changed: for they could more easily endure one finding fault with all things, then endure his silence now, condemning all things. Doth peace throughout the world displease him, or victories without losse of the armies? That they would not suffer him have the desire of his overthwart ambition, who grieved at the common prosperity, thought the place of assemblies, the Temples, and Temples, solitary places, and threatened his own banishment. These things unto him seemed not decrees, nor magistrates: nor this the city of Rome: that he would abandon, and separate his life from that city, whose love in times past, and now whose sight he had cast off. When with these and the like speeches *Marcellus* had inveighed, grim and threatening, in voice, countenance and eyes kindled with rage: not that known, and by often use of dangers, usuall heaviness, but anew and a deeper feare seised the Lords of the Senat, beholding the hands and weapons of the souldiers. Besides that, the reverent representation of *Thrasea* came to their imagination: and some there are which had compassion that *Helvidius* should suffer punishment in regard of harmlesse affinity. What was objected against *Agrippinus*, but the lamentable fortune of his father? When as he innocent also, was ruined by *Tiberius* cruelty. *Montanus* a vertuous young man was banished, because he made shew of his wit, though not with any diffamatory verses.

VII. *Soranus daughters Oration in Senate, and his death.*

IN the meane season *Ostorius Sabinus*, *Soranus* accuser, cometh in, and beginneth with his friendship had with *Rubellius Plantus*: and that being Proconsull of Asia, he carried himself rather as fitting his own nobility, then the common good, by entertaining and nourishing sedition among the citizens. These were stale matters, but as if they were fresh he joynd the daughter to the fathers danger, alleadging that she had bestowed money upon Magicians. So it was indeed, through the love and affection *Servilia* (so was she called) bare her father, and undi'cretion of age; yet she consulted of nothing but of the safety of their house, or whether *Neroes* wrath would be pacified, or the Senators hearing of the cause, would be to the prejudice of her father. She was called into the Senate, and stood one from the other before the Consuls tribunall, the father very aged, the daughter under twenty years, a widow, and desolate, her husband *Annius Pollio* of late banished; and not so much as looking towards her father, whose dangers she imagined she had increased. Then the accuser asking her whether she had sold her dowrie ornaments, and taken her jewell from her neck, to get money to practise magicall superstitions? first protesting herselfe on the ground, with a long silence and weeping, then imbracing the altars, said: I have not called upon any wicked gods, I have made no diuelliſh invocations, nor any thing else by my unhappy prayers, then that this my very good father, thou, O *Cesar*, and you Lords of the Senat, would save alive. So I have given my jewels and apparell, and ornaments of my dignity, even as I would have done my blood and life, if they had demanded it. Let these men heretofore unto me unknown, look what names they carry, what arts they practise: I made no mention of the Prince, unlesse it were among the gods. Yet my most unfortunate father knoweth it not: if it be an offence, I alone have offended. *Soranus* took the words out of her mouth as she was yet speaking and cried, that she went not with him into the Province: for her age *Plantus* could not know her, she was not confederate with her husbands crimes; she was guilty onely of over-great and tender love: and therefore whatsoever should fort to his lot, he besought them that they would separate his cause from hers; withall, hastened to cast himself in the armes of his daughter which came to meet him, if the Serjeants putting themselves between them had not hindered both. By and by the witnesses were heard; and how much pity the cruelty of the accuser had moved, so much anger *P. Egnatius* the witnesse stirred. This man being a client of *Soranus*, and then hired to oppress his friend, pretended gravity of the Stoicall sect, in demeanour and countenance to represent the patterne of honest exercises; but in minde was traiterous, and deceitfull, covering avarice, and a lewd minde: which being discovered, and made known by money, hath taught us to beware of such, as under colour of liberall sciences are false in friendship: no lesse then of those which are notoriously noted for vice and treacherous dealing. The same day was shewed a notable example by *Cassius Asclepiodotus*, who for wealth, being the chiefeſt among the Bithynians, used the same tokens of kindnesse towards *Soranus* in his adversity, as before he had done in time of prosperity: for which cause being deprived of all his goods and cast into banishment, by the justice of the gods which lay before us a president as well of good as of bad. *Thrasea*, *Soranus*, and *Servilia* had their choice given them what death they would have. *Helvidius* and *Paconius* were banished Italy. *Montanus* was granted to his father, with condition that he should beare no charge in the commonwealth. To the

the accusers *Eprinus* and *Co. Julianus*, to each were given * 5. millions of sesterces, to *Ostorius* 12. hundred thousand *, and the ornaments of a Questor. Then toward the evening, the Consuls Questor was sent to *Thrasea*, being then in his gardens, visited with a great company of noblemen and women, very attentively hearing the doctor *Demetrius*, one of the Cynicall sect, of whom as it was to be conjectured by his countenance, and heard if they spake any thing loud, he demanded fundry questions of the nature of the soul, and of the separation of the spirit from the body; untill *Domitius Cæcilianus*, one of his familiarest friends came, and declared what the Lords of the Senate had decreed. Those which were present bewailing and moaning *Thrasea* with all speed were exhorted to depart, lest their lot should be to partake the dangers of a condemned person, and perswadeth his wife *Arria*, who would have died with him, to follow the example of her mother *Arria*, to keep herself alive, and not bereave their daughter of them both, and of her onely stay and support. From thence he went to his gallery, where the Questor found him, rather cheerefull then sad, because he had understood that *Helvidius* his sonne in law was only banished Italy. Then having received the order of the Senate: he brought *Helvidius* and *Demetrius* into a chamber, and stretching out the veines of both his armes, after he saw the blood gush out, sprinkling it on the ground, and calling the Questor nearer, said: Let us sacrifice to Jupiter the deliverer. Behold, young man, yet the gods preserve thee from the like luck: neverthelesse thou art born in those times in which it is expedient to strengthen thy minde with constant examples: then the flow going out of the blood, causing grievous torments, turning to *Demetrius* *

* About 39062
pound. 10. shil.
* About 9375.
pound.

The rest of the Latine is lost.

FINIS.

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THE DESCRIPTION OF GERMANIE: AND CV- STOMES OF THE PEOPLE, BY CORNELIVS TACITVS.



ALL Germany is divided from the Galli, the Rhætians, and Pannonians, with two rivers, Rhene and Danubius; from the Sarmatians and Dacians by mutuall fear of one the other. or high hills. The rest the Ocean doth environ, compassing broad and wide gulphs, and large and spacious Ilands; the people and Kings of which hath been of late discovered by w^r. The river of Rhene having his beginning on the top of the inaccessible steep Rhætian Alps, and winding somewhat towards the West, falleth into the north Ocean. Danubius springing from the top of the hill Abnoba, not so steep, passing by many nations, falleth by six chanelles into the Porrick sea: the seventh is lost in the marishes. I may think that the Germans are home-bred and the naturall people of their country, and not mixed with others, coming from other places; because such as in times past sought new habitations, came by sea and not by land: and that huge and spacious Ocean, & as I may term it, different from the other, is seldome travelled by our men. For besides the danger of the rough and unknown sea, who (unless it were his native soil) would leave Asia, or Africk, or Italy, and plant himself in Germany? Being a country of it self rude, and the aire unpleasant and rough, to look on illfavoured; not manured nor husbanded. They give it out as a high point in old verses (which is the only way they maintain the memory of things, as their Annales) that the god *Tuisco*, son of the earth, and his son *Mannus*, were their first founders and beginners. To *Mannus* they assigne three sons; whose names the Ingævones took, a nation neare the Ocean: the Istævones, and Herminones lying between them both. But some through a licence which antiquity doth give, affirm that the King had moe sonnes, from which moe sonnes took their names; as the *Masi*, *Gambri*, *Suevi*, *Vandali*, all true and ancient names. As for the name Germany, it is a new name lately coyned: for those which first passed the river of Rhene and drove out the Gallois, were now called *Tungri*, now *Germany*: so the name of one people, not of the whole nation, growing great by little and little: as they were all at the first called for fear, as best liked the Conqueror; so at last, Germans, being a name of their own invention. And they recorded that *Hercules* came amongst them of all that ever was the valiantest person. They go singing to the wars. And have certain verses by singing of which, calling it *Barditus*, they encourage their people, and by the same song foretell the fortune of the future battel: for they both strike a feare into others, and are themselves stricken with feare, according to the measure and tune of the battel: seeming rather an harmony of valour then voices; and do affect principally a certain roughnes of the voice, and a broken confuse murmure, by putting their targets before their mouthes, to the end their voice by the reverberation might sound bigger and fuller. Yea some are of opinion, that *Ulysses* in his long and fabulous wandring, being brought to this Ocean, came into Germany, and

and built the town *Aseburgium* upon the banke of Rhene, and inhabited at this day, which he called *Διωνυσίου*. And that an altar consecrated to *Ulysses* hath been found in the same place, with his fathers name *Laërtes*: and there are yet monuments extant, and certain tombes inscribed with Greek letters, in the confines of Germany and Rhætia: which I intend not to confirme by reasons, or confute; and therefore I leave it to every mans judgement to beleieve or not. For mine own part I hold with them, which think that the people of Germanie, not changed and altered by marrying with other nations, have continued the true and pure nation like unto none but themselves. And therefore you see they have all one feature and making, though they be infinite in number: fire and gray eyes, yellow haire, great bodies, and strong at a push onely. Travell and pain they cannot endure: nor yet thirst nor heat; but to hunger and cold the aire and the countrey hath enured them. The soile, although differing somewhat in kinde, yet generally is wilde with woods, or unpleasant and ill-favoured with marishes: moist towards Gallia: more windie towards Noricum and Pannony: barfull enough; but bad for fruit-bearing-trees; cattell plenty, but for the most part harlatric runts: their kine and labouring beast hath no beauty in him: all their joy is in plenty of them: and therein consisteth their wealth, and the wealth they chiefly desire. Silver and gold whether the angry or favourable gods have denied them, I doubt. Neither will I affirm that there is no vein in Germany which yeeldeth silver and gold: for who hath fought it? the possession of these metalls or use, they do not greatly affect. Yet vessels of plate you may see among them presented to their Embassadors and Princes; but as small-accounted of, as if they were of earth: although the borderers for commoditie of traffick, like gold and silver well, and do acknowledge and choose some coin, bearing our images. Those which dwell further in the land, goe more simple to work, and according to the old manner, have no buying and selling, but by exchange of commodities. The older the money and longest known, the better liked, as that which is toothed about like a sawe: or hath the picture of a charriot drawn with two horses. They desire rather silver then gold: not for any liking unto it; but because that, being in smaller money, it is easlier put away in buying and selling of small wares. Iron they have little among them, as by their weapons it may be gathered. Few of them use swords or great lances: but carry javelines, or as they term them *Frameas*, with a narrow and short iron, but so sharp and handsome, that as occasion serveth, with the same weapon they can fight both at hand, and at a farre off: and the horsman is contented with a shield and *Framea*. The footmen use weapons, to throw one man a great many, and that a great way off: naked, or covered with alight cassock. Handsonnes and neates in attire they do not brag of, but trim and distinguish their shields onely with varietie of colours. Brigantine or coat of fence few have. Salet or head piece scarce any one useth. Their horses are neither beautiful to the eye, nor swift, nor managed to the carriere according to our fashion; but to go on straight, or turn on the right hand so close and round, that not one drags behinde another. All things well considered, their greatest strength consisteth of footmen: and therefore in their fight they mingle the one with the other; the footmen which are a chosen number out of the youth, and placed before the battel, neither going too hastily before the horsemen, nor drailing after, but marching in proportionable measure with them. There is a certain number set down, that is, of every township or borough an hundred, for so they term themselves: and that which was but a number at the first, is now a name and an honour. Their battels be pointed: to give ground, so as they charge lustily after, they think rather a point.

a point of good policie then cowardlines. The bodies of their souldiers they carry away, even in doubtfull battels: to abandon his shield is the chiefest disgrace and offence: an ignominious person is barred from their sacrifices, and from their assemblies; and many which have fled from battels, have for shame hanged themselves. Their Kings they choose by noblenes of birth, and their Captains by valour. The Kings power is restrained, and not to do what he listeth; and their Captains if they be forward in fight, and in the point of the battel, are admired and revered rather for their example, then commandery. Power to punish, to imprison or beat, none have but Priests: yet not that as a punishment, or at the Captains commandment; but as it were by the commandment of God, whom they beleve doth assist warriors in battels; and carry before them certain images, and monuments taken out of the woods. And which is the chiefest encouragement of all, they make not their pointed battel at hap hazard, of all persons as they come; but of their family and friends, and kinsfolk, with their children not farre of; from whence they may heare the howling of their wives, and crying of their children: which are to all, sacred witnesses of their valour, and best commanders. They go when they are hurt to their mothers and wives; which are not afeard to number or suck their wounds; and carry the souldiers meat, and encourage them to stand to it: It is reported that some battels, even ready as it were to be lost, and discomfited, have been by the womens earnest prayers, exposing their bodies to the danger, and by shewing how neare at hand their captivity was, recovered again: which in regard of their wives is a greater grieve and heart-break unto them; insomuch that those cities are more straightly bound, which amongst other hostages have delivered also noble mens daughters: for they dream that they have in them I know not what holinesse and foresight of things; which maketh them regard their counsell, and give credit to their oracle. Under *Vespasian* of famous memory, we have seen *Velleda* long time, and with many nations counted as some divine thing: and in times past did adore *Aurinia*, and many others, not of flattery, or as though they would have made them goddesses.

II. Their religion and policie.

OF all the gods, they adore especially *Mercurie*: unto whom they think it lawfull certain dayes, to offer men in sacrifice: but *Hercules* and *Mars* they pacifie with beasts, lawfully killed to that use: and some of the Suevians sacrifice to *Iffis*. What reason they have to use that strange sacrifice I know not: unlesse it be that the image of that goddesse being fashioned in form of that kinde of boat, doth declare that their religion hath been brought them from a strange country. They think it a matter ill becomming the greatnes of the gods, to inclose them within walls, or paint them in mans shape. They consecrate woods and forests; which secret places they call by the names of gods: which they see only by apprehension and reverence.

Soothsaying and lots they observe above all others. Their custome in casting of lots is without fraud: for they cut a branch from a fruit bearing tree, into many pieces; and distinguished with severall marks, cast them upon a white garment, at adventure: then if the matter belong to a communalty, the Priest, if to a private person, the master of the house having prayed the gods, and looking up to the heaven, taketh up every of them three times: and interpreteth them according to their marks. If the lots fall contrary to their mindes, they consult no more that day, touching

the same matter. But if they do, yet they will trie what further credit there is in Soothsaying: for they are not ignorant in this country of observing the singing of birds, and their flying, consulting with their gods of both. And it is a thing peculiar unto that country to trie the presages and warnings of horses, which are bred and maintained in those woods and Forrests, white, unbacked, or unlabored: which harnessed and put to a sacred charriot, the Priest, King, or Prince of the city do follow; observing their noise and neying. Of all presages this is of greatest credit with the Priests, Noblemen, and common people: thinking themselves ministers of the gods; and the horses privie to their secrets. They have another observation among them, by which they search out the event of great and weighty battels; which is this. They get some one, how they can, of that nation with whom the warre shall be; and take another choise man of their own, and arme them, each according to his fashion, and so trie their valour: and by that prejudice, conjecture on whose side the victory shall fall. In small matters, the Princes themselves determine of them: but if they be of importance, they all in generall consult: but yet so, that those things whose determination belong to the people, are concluded before the Prince. And unlesse some casuall or sudden accident fall out, they make their assemblies certain dayes, either in the first quarter or full moon; thinking that to be the luckiest time to begin their works. The number of dayes they reckon not, as we do, but of nights; and in them make their appointments and summonces to appear, thinking that the day is governed by the night. Their liberty is cause that they meet not together, nor as they are commanded, but spend two or three dayes in expecting one another. They sit armed as they come, and the Priest, who hath authority to punish, commandeth silence. Then the King or Prince, or every man according to his age, nobility and renown of warre, or as he is eloquent, beginneth to speak. Using rather perswasion then authority of commanding. If their opinion mislike them, they reject it with a murmuring noise: if it liked, they shake their javelins: but the most honourable manner of liking is to approve it by their weapons. It is lawfull in their council to accuse and arraigne in criminall causes. Punishments are distinguished by the offence: traitors and fugitives they hang on trees, the cowardly and unwarlike, and such as were unnaturally lewd of their bodies, they did drown in mud and marishes, and cover them with hurdles. The drift of that diversitie of punishments was, to declare that it was expedient to shew offences as they were, in punishing, but hide hainous crimes. But in lesser trespasses, according to the quality of the punishments, the parties convicted, are fined in some number of horses, or other cattell; whereof part goeth to the King, or city; part to the party damnified, or to his kindred. In the same counsels they choose rulers, to administer justice in towns and villages: which have an hundred chosen out of the people, to accompanie them, which are as their counsell and authoritie. They consult neither of publike nor private affairs but armed: but yet it is not the manner for any to take weapons, unlesse he have been judged before by the city able to use them: and then in the councill, either one of the governours, or his father, or some one of his kindred, doth honour the young man with a shield and a Framea. This is with them a gown; this is the first honor given to young men: before reputed a part of their particular house, but from thence forward, of the common-wealth. High nobility, or merit of predecessors, maketh their children although they be but young, worthy of dignity, which associate themselves to the stronger, and long tried: and take it for no disgrace, to be seen among their followers: among which there be likewise degrees according to his discretion of whose traine they be. And there is a great emulation among

among the followers who should be in greatest favour with his Prince: and amongst the Princes, who should have the greatest number following him, and most courageous. This is their honor, this is their strength, to be guarded alwaies with a company of choice youth: which is a credit and reputation, in peace, and in war a defence. And it is not only an honour and glory in ones own nation to have a gallant number, and a valiant, in his train, but is also a matter of reputation with cities adjoining: as men fought unto by Embassadors: and presented with gifts: and do oftentimes by their onely fame end warres. When they come to joyne battel, it is a dishonour to the Prince to be overcome in valour: and to his followers, not to go as far in prowesse as their Prince. Now to return alive from that battel, in which his Prince is slain, is a perpetuall infamie and reproch: being the principallest part of their oath, to defend and maintaine him, and ascribe their own exploits to his glory and honour. Princes fight for victorie; the followers for the Prince. If the citie wherein they are borne, grow lazie with a long peace, and idlenes; most of the young noblemen, goe of their own will to those nations, wherein there is warres: because that nation dislikest rest and quietnesse: as winning greater renown in doubtfull and hazardous attempts; and not able to entertain so great number of followers, but by violence and warre: sometimes by the liberalitie of their Prince getting that horse of service, and bloody and conquering sword. Their banquets are large, but rude diet, instead of pay: but matter to minister liberality, cometh by warre and rapine. To manure the ground, or expect the season, thou canst not so easily perswade them; as to provoke the enemy, and deserve wounds: to get that with the sweat of their browes, which thou mayest win by the losse of thy blood, they hold as an idle and slothfull part. When they are not busied in the wars, they give not themselves much to hunting: but spend more of their time in idlenes, as a people much given to sleep and feed. When the valiantest and warlikest are idle, they commit the care of household affairs and tillage, to women and old men, and to the weakest of their family; and do themselves grow heavy and lazie: a strange diversitie of disposition, that the same men should so much love sloath, and hate quietnesse. The custome is in cities to bestow by pole upon the Princes, either of their cattell or graine, which is received as an honour, yet supplieth their wants. But above all, they are exceeding glad if any thing be presented them by neighbour nations, which do send sometimes in particular, sometimes in common, as choise horses, great weapons, furniture for horse, and chaines; and now we have taught them also to receive money. It is well known that the Germans dwell in no cities, nor will not suffer their houses to joine together, but asunder, the one from the other, as they liked best of their fountains, fields or wood. They build not their villages as we do, one house close to another: but every man leaveth a space about his house, either as a remedie against misfortunes of fire, or by unskilfulnesse in building. Parget and mortar they use not, nor tiles: and use to all buildings unsquared and unwrought timber, without any beautie or delight, but to daube some places very diligently with such a cleare and shining earth, that it resembleth a picture, or draught of colours. It is a fashion amongst them to dig deepe caves under ground, and cover them over with dung, as a succour in the winter, and garner for their grain; tempering the rigour of the cold by such places: as if at any time the enemy come upon them, he torrageth all open places, but hidden under ground, are either not found, or els are saved, because they are driven to seek them. They all weare a kinde of cassock called *sagum*, clasped, or for want of one, fastned with a thorne, and having no other garment, but naked, lie all day in the harth, or by the fire. The richer sort are distinguished from

the others by their garments, which are not large and wide as the Sarmates and Parthians use to weare them, but strait and shewing the proportion of every part of the body. Besides, they weare certaine pelts made of beasts skins; those neare the Rhene-bank carelesly, but those which are farther off more curiously, as never trimming themselves with far fet marchandise. They make choise of certain beasts, and here and there speck their skins with spots: and the like with the skins of beasts taken in the farthest Ocean, or unknown sea. The man and womans attire differeth in nothing, saving that the women often use linnen garments trimmed and interlaced with purple: and the upper parts of their bodies without sleeves, their armes bare, and their bosome naked and uncovered. Yet matrimonie is severely kept among them, the thing most commendable of all their manner of life: for of all barbarous people, they alone content themselves, every man with one wife, except some very few: which not for unruly lust, but for their nobilitie are sued unto for sundry marriages. The wife gives not a dowry to the husband, but the husband to the wife. Their parents and neare kinsmen are present, when they give any gifts the one to the other: which are not exquisite as to daintie dames, or for to beautifie and trimme the new married wife, but oxen, and a horse with furniture, and a shield with a sword, and lance. With these gifts the wife is taken, and she also doth bring her husband some armes: this is the greatest bond: these are the secret ceremonies: these they think to be the gods of marriage. And lest the woman should think herself exempt and free from bonds of vertue, or hazards of war, in the very beginnings and first speech of marriage, she is put in minde, that she cometh as a companion of his labours and dangers: and that she shall suffer and venture the same in peace and warre that he doth: that is the signification and construction of the oxen yoked, of the horse with bridle and furniture, this the meaning of the weapons and armes given on one side and the other: thus she must live, thus she must die: she receiveth that which she must deliver unviolated and pure to her children, which their daughters in law do receive as worthy things, and yeeld againe to their nephewes. They live therefore in most strait chastitie, uncorrupted with the allurements of shewes and spectacles, or provocations in banquetting. As well men as women are ignorant of the secrets of learning. Adulterie is seldome committed in so populous a nation, and the punishment for it incontinently inflicted, as best liketh the husband: who having cut her haire, turneth her naked out of his house in the presence of her kinsfolks, and driveth and beateh her throughout all the town: no pardon given to her that hath violated her chastitie: neither for her beauty, nor age, nor wealth, can she ever after finde another husband. No man laugheth at vices: neither when any is corrupted, or doth corrupt do they say, it is the time. Yet there is one thing more commendable in those cities, that onely virgins do marry, and that only once, and the man the like, contracting with the hope and desire of one wife. As they have but one body, one life, so they take but one husband: that they might have no other thoughts, nor farther desires, nor love him as so deserving it, but because of matrimony. To prescribe a certaine number of children, or kill any of their neare kindred, they count it a hainous crime. Good manners are of greater authoritie and force among them, then elsewhere good lawes. They grow to have these great lims and bodies which we marvell at, naked and slovenly in every house. Every mother nurseth her owne children with her owne breasts, and send them not to nurses or other women. Thou shalt not know the Lord from the slave, by any note of daintie and nice education: for they live amongst the same cattell, and on the same ground, untill age doth distinguish the free-

free-borne, and his valour make him known. Young men gave not themselves too timely to company with women; and therefore decay not so soone: neither are maides hastened to marrie: they are of the same yeares, of like growth: they are matched with such as are of like strength; and the children expresse and shew the strength of their parents. Sisters children are as much set by in their uncles house, as in their fathers. Some are of opinion, that this bond of blood is the straitest and holiest, and most of all required, in taking of hostages: as those which are of a more constant minde, and in the family the greatest part: yet every mans children succeed as heires: and testament they make none at all. If there be no children to succeed the next in degree are brothers, uncles by the fathers side and by the mothers. The more kindred, the greater affinitie, the more an old man is honoured: and to be without children, is of no reputation. They must as well become enemy to their fathers enemies or kinsmens, as friend to their friends. Their hatred is not implacable: for mans slaughter it self is satisfied and redeemed with a certain number of beasts, which contenteth the whole family, and is profitable for the common good: for where libertie is, there private enmities are dangerous.

III. *Their domesticall life and behaviour.*

Greater hospitality and entertainment is no where more bountifull then there, being a curled deed to barre any man his house: and not give him meate and drink according to his abilitie. When all is spent, the last hoste will be a guide and companion unto him to the next house uninvited: for that skilleth not; but are received with like curtesie: in respect of hospitalitie making no difference whether he be of acquaintance or not. If any thing be demanded of him which is going away, the manner is to grant it; and he may with like facilitie aske again. Gifts are things which please them well: but those which give them doe not think they doe you a benefit therein, and those which receive them not bound or beholden for them. They entertaine their guests courteously: immediatly after they rise (which for the most part is very late and the day well spent) they wash, and most commonly in warme water, as having long winters: and when they have washed, they fall to eat, every man his stool and his messe to himself: then they fall to their businesse, and as oft to banquet and make good cheere all armed. To sit a tipling a day and a night is no disgrace to any. There arise many quarels (as commonly it happeneth where drunkards meet) which seldome end with brawling and injurious tearms, but often with murder and hurt. In their bankets they consult of peace and warre, make atonements betwixt such as are at debate, make marriages, and choose their Princes: as a time when the minde is never more open to plaine dealing; or more stirred up to great attempts. The people being neither craftie nor subtil, through the libertie of the place doth then most discover the secrets of his breast. Every mans minde then being open and discovered, the next day, they waigh and examine it; with a regard had to both the times. They deliberate when they cannot dissemble; and resolve when they cannot erre. Their drink is a liquor made of barley and corn, corrupted into the likenes of wine. But those which dwell neare the bank of Rhene, buy wine: their meats are simple; wilde apples, fresh venison, or curds or creame: they drive away hunger without any foleme service, or dainties: but against thirst they use not the like temperance. If thou wilt please their humour in drunkenesse, in giving them what they aske: they will be as easilly overcome with vices as armes. They have but one and the same kinde of pas-

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time in every assembly. Young men, which know the sport cast themselves naked, and leap betweene swords and lances. Practise bred the art of doing it, and Art the grace; yet neither for gaine nor recompense: albeit the reward of bold and rash toies is the delight of the beholder. And (which thou wouldest marvell at) fresh and fasting, they play at dice, as a matter of serious and earnest businesse, with such a rash desire of winning & loosing; that when al else is lost, they lay their liberty and body upon the last throw: and he who is overcome, entereth a voluntary servitude: and although he be younger and stronger; yet suffereth himselfe to be bound and sold. Such is their obstinacy in a bad matter; which they call faith: but slaves of this condition they make away by merchandise, to rid themselves of the shame of such a victory. Their other slaves they employ not in certaine affaires of house, as we do ours; but every one governeth his owne house and household. The Lord enjoineth him to pay a certaine of corne, or cattell, or apparell, as he doth his tenant, which the bondslave performeth & no more: other duties of house belong to the wife and children. It is a rare matter to beat their slaves, or over-labor or imprison them: yet they are wont to kill them, not by discipline & severity, but carried away with sudden anger, as against an enemy, saving that it is unpunished. The freed men are not much above the slave; they seldome beare any sway in the house or city, saving in those countries which have a King. For there they are in greater authoritie, then either free borne or noble men; in other countries freed men being of unequal condition, make liberty better known. To practise usury, and enrich themselves with it, they know not what it meaneth: which is better kept then if it were forbidden. All the ground the inhabitants about doe possesse, according to their number: which they divide among themselves, according to their calling; which is easilly done by reason the fields are so spacious. Their earable land they change by yeares: and let one lie, not labouring to overcome the fertilnesse and largenesse of it by industry, by planting of orchards; in-closing their medows; and watering their gardens: onely they use much tillage. Hereupon they divide not the yeare into so many seasons, as we do: the winter, spring time, and summer, they understand, and have names for: but as for the autumn, as well the name, as the commodities it bringeth, are unknowne. Ambition they use none in their funerals: onely that one thing is observed; that the bodies of the noble men are burned with a certain kind of wood. The pile of the funerall fire, they doe neither fill up with apparell nor sweet odors: every mans arms, and somes horse were burnt likewise. The tombe is raised up with turves of earth: great works and laborious monuments they despise as heavy for the dead, lamentations and teares they quickly forbear; but grieve and sorrow slowly. It is seemely enough for women to mourne; and for men to remember the dead. This is it which we have learned in generall, of the beginning and customes of the Germanes. Now I will lay downe the ordinances and customes of every people in particular; and how they differ; and what nation have gone out of Germanie, to the Gallois.

IIII. *What Gallois have passed into Germany.*

Julius of famous memory, the chiefeſt of all authors doth deliver, that the ſtate of the Gallois hath in times paſt beene of greater force and power, then now it is: and therefore not unlike, but the Gallois went into Germany. For what great hinderance could the river be; that, every nation as he was ſtrong, ſhould not ſet himſelfe in poſſeſſion and change ſeats, yet unoccupied, and nor divided by any

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power of kingdomes? Therefore the Helvetians held that which lieth between the Hercynian forrest, and the two rivers Rhene and Moene: and the Boij that which is beyond, both nations of Gallia. The name of the Bojemi doth yet continue, and doth signifie the old memory of the place, although the inhabitants be chaunged. But whether the Aravisci from the Osi, a people of Germany, came into Pannonia; or the Osi from the Aravisci into Germany, is yet uncertaine: considering they use the same language, lawes, and customes: for being equall in times past in poverty and liberty; the commodities and discommodities of both the banks were common to them alike. The Treveri & the Nervij ambitiously seem to have their beginning from the Germans: as though by this glory of blood they should be unlike, and differ in cowardlines from the Gallois. Without all doubt the banke of Rhene is inhabited with the people of Germany, the Vangiones, Treboci, Nemets. The Ubij, albeit they have deserved to be a Roman colonie: and desire to be called rather Agrippinians by the name of their foundresse, though not ashamed of their beginning, have heretofore past over; and for good prooffe of their fidelity, have benee planted upon the banke of Rhene, to keep off others, and not for any safety of their owne. Of all these Nations, the chiefeft in valour are the Batavians, which enjoy small part of the banke of Rhene, but inhabite an Ilande of the River of Rhene; in times past a people of the Catti, and went by reason of civill sedition into those countries to be a part of the Roman Empire. The honour and markes of ancient alliance doe yet continue, for they are neither contemned by paying tributes, nor oppressed by the Farmer of publike revenewes. They are exempted from charges & contributions, as reserved for use of war, as it were armes & weapons. The Mattiaci doe the like allegiance: for the greatnes of the people of Rome hath been enlarged further then the old bounds of the Empire did extend and beyond the Rhene. Therefore in regard of their habitation and bounds, they inhabite the banke, but in heart and minde dwell with us: in other things like the Batavians; saving that by reason of their soyle and ayre, they are more forward and stout. I will not account them among the people of Germany, albeit they are planted beyond Rhene, and the Danube, of whose land the tenth is payed. The lewdest of all the Gallois, and whom need hath driven to venture, have possessed that countrey as doubtfully holden. Not long after, having enlarged their bounds, and placed fortresses farther, they are within the compasse of the Empire, and are a part of the Province. Beyond these, the Cattians begin from the Hercynian forrest, but have not so wide and marish a countrey, as the other cities in which Germany doth open and spread it selfe: for the hills are one by another, and continue a certaine space, and then by little and little waxe thinner: and the Hercynian forrest doth containe the Catti, and is the bounds of their territory. They are a people hardened to labour, well set, sterne countenanced, and of greater courage. As Germans goe, they are sensibly wise men, and considerate: they preferre choise men, hearken to their leaders, know their rankes, know where advantages are, bridle their heate, dispose of the day to their benefit, intrench in the night, hold fortune among things doubtful, and esteeme of valour as of certainty: and which is most rare, and understood onely by discipline, they repose more assurance in their leader, then in the army. All their strength consisteth in footemen, whom besides their armes they loade with yron tooles and provision. Thou maieft see others goe to skirmish: but the Catti march for warre. They seldome skirmish, or fight at adventure. Their horsemen are of this property, that they either quickly win the victory, or yeeld. Suddenness is neare unto feare; lingring draweth nearer constancy. And that which is

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seldome used among other people of Germanie, through their boldnes, and hardiness it is growne to a common consent among the Catteans: that is, when they come to ripe yeeres, they suffer their haire and beard to grow at length; & neither put off that vowed ornament of the face, and as it were a bond of vertue, untill they have killed an enemy. Upon blood and spoile, they uncover their forehead, and say, they have payed backe the price of their birth; and thinke themselves worthy of their countrey and parents: the cowardly and unwarlike remaine in their illfavourednes. Besides this, every man as he is most valiant, weareth an yron ring (an ignominious thing to that people) as it were a bond, untill they rid themselves of it by killing an enemy. This quality pleaseth many of the Catteans. And then they grow gray, respected of their own people and enemies: these begin every battell: these make alwayes the first ranke; strange to behold: for in time of peace, they are altogether as fierce in countenance. There is not one of them that hath a house, or living, or care of any thing. As they come to every mans house they are maintained: prodigall of other mens; and contemners of their owne: untill through feeble old age, they are no longer able to indure so hard a labour.

V. Of the Tencterians, Chamavians, and Frisians.

NExt unto the Catti, the Usipij and Tencteri do inhabit the Rhene, running in a certaine channell, and which may suffice for a bound. The Tencteri besides their ancient renowne of warres, excell the rest in service of horse: and the Catteans deserve no greater commendation for footmen, then the Tencterians for horsemen. So did their predeceffors ordaine it, and successors follow it. These are the childrens pastimes; this the emulation betwixt young men; and old men continue the same; and horses are delivered, as rights of inheritance among the family: and the sonnes receive them, though not the eldest, but he who is most couragious, and likeliest to make a martiall man. Hard by the Tencteri, in times past the Bructeri did inhabit; but now it is reported that the Camavians, and Angrivarians, are entered into that countrey, and wholly rooted out and chased the Bructerians, by agreement of nations adjoyning: either as hating them for their pride, or for sweetnes of pray, or some favour of the gods towards us, as not denying us the spectacle of the battell, wherein there were slaine three score thousand, not by the Romans armes and weapons: but, which is more glorious, to shew us pastime, and please our eye. I wish that if those people cannot love us, that they would hate one another, seeing that the state of the Empire fatally declining, fortune can do us no greater favour, then sow sedition among the enemies. The Angrivarians and Chamavians, have behinde them the Dulgibini and Chafvari, and other nations not greatly spoken of; and before them the Frisians. The Frisians are called great or small, according to their strength: the Rhene bordering both unto the Ocean, and besides that, do comprehend huge & spacious laks, which the Roman navy hath past: yea and the Ocean it selfe we have entred into, and tried on that side. And the same goeth, that *Hercules* pillars are there yet to be seene; either because *Hercules* went so farre, or else because by common consent all that is any where magnificall, is attributed to his renowne. *Drusus Germanicus* wanted not courage: but the Ocean hindered us for being over inquisitive of him or *Hercules*. After that, no man assayed to doe it, as being an act of greater devotion and reverence, to beleve the actions of the gods, rather then know them. Hitherto we have scene the West part of Germany: towards the North it goeth bowing with a great compasse. And first

of all the people of the Chauceans, although they begin at the Frisians, and possess part of the shore, coast all those nations I have made mention of, untill they wind into the Catti, and so spacious and huge countrey the Chauci do not onely hold, but fill likewise: of all the Germane nation the noblest, and desirous to maintaine their greatnesse by justice: without covetousnesse or unbridled lust, quiet and retired, stir up no wars, never waste, spoile, nor robbe. And which is a speciall marke of their valour and strength, they got not their superiority over others by any wrongs offered. Yet they are all ready for warre, and if occasion require to make an armie, wanting neither horse nor men: and although they lie quiet, yet their reputation is never the lesser. On the side of the Chauci and Catti, the Cherusci have nourished long, being never provoked, an idle and lazie peace, which was more sweet then safe unto them, because there is no sure peace between stirring and strong people. For when the matter is come to hand-strokes, modestie and good dealing be termes which belong to superiours. So the Cherusci in times past good and just, are now called cowards and fooles: and the fortune of the Catti being favorable, is cause that they are counted wise. The Fosi, a people bordering upon the Cherusci, are touched with their ruine, companions in their adversitie, though in prosperity they were inferiour unto them. Neere unto the same coast of the Ocean, the Cimbrians inhabite; now a small people, but highly renowned: having yet remaining certaine markes of their old glory; to wit, on both the banks, trenches and lodges: by the circuit of which, thou maist yet measure the greatnesse and strength of that Nation, and beleve the number of so great an army. It was six hundred and forty years after the foundation of our Citie, before the Cimbrians armes were heard of, when *Cacilius Metellus*, and *Papirius Carbo* were Consuls. From that time unto the second time that the Emperour *Trajan* was Consul, by just account, are two hundred and ten years: and so many years we were a conquering Germanie. In the middle time, there were many losses on both parts. Not the Samnites, nor the Carthaginians, nor the Spaniards, nor the Gallois; no nor the Parthian have so often troubled us: the libertie of the Germans being more earnest, then the kingdom of the Arsacides. For what can the East object against us, saving the death of *Crassus*, when he had defeated *Pacorus*, before troden downe by *Ventidius*? But the Germanes, having either slain or taken *Carbo* and *Cassius*, and *Scannus Aurelius*, and *Cervilius Cepio*, and *M. Manlius*, have defeated also five Consularie armies, and *Varius* with three legions in *Cæsars* time: neither have *C. Marius* in Italy, or *Julius* in Gallia, *Drusus*, and *Nero*, and *Germanicus*, molested them in their houses without blowes. After that *C. Cæsars* great threatnings were turned to a jest. Then there was quietnes, untill our civill wars gave them occasion, when they had taken the standing camps of the legions, to have a desire to enter Gallia: from whence being againe driven out, in late times, they have been rather triumphed over then vanquished.

VI. The Suevians and other people.

NOW we will speake of the Suevi, which are not one nation as the Catti and Tencteri: and possessing the greater part of Germany, and severed by peculiar names and countries: although by one generall name they be called Suevi: whose marke is to curl their haire and tie it on knots. By that the Suevian is distinguished from the other Germanes; and the free born Suevian from the bond man. That in other Countries is used also but feldome times, either for affi-

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nitie with the Suevians; or as it often happeneth by imitation, and whilest they be young: but the Suevians even untill they be old and gray, have their haire standing an end, & often tie it on the crown only: princes weare it after a finer fashion. That is the harmelesse care they have of their beauty. For they vse it not either to winne love, or be beloved: but turn it up to a certaine height, to seem to the enemy more terrible, when they goe thus trimmed to the warre. The Semnones say, they are the most ancient of the Suevians, and the most noble. The credit of their antiquity they confirme with this ceremony. At certaine times, all of one blood meet by their deputies in a wood, reputed holy by the auguration of their forefathers, and ancient reverence; where publikely killing a man, they celebrate the barbarous beginnings of their ceremonie. Yet there is another reason why the wood is had in reverence. No man entrench into it, but bound with somewhat as an inferiour person, & acknowledging the power of the god. If he fall by chance; it is not lawfull for him to rise, or get up; but is rowled out: all their superstition tending to this, that from thence the nation had his beginning: that there dwelleth the god, ruler of all others; and unto whom all other things are subject and obedient. The fortune of the Semnones giveth this authoritie: their countrey is inhabited by an hundred villages; and by their great body, they take themselves to be the head of the Suevians. Contrary, the Longobards are renowned, by reason their number is so small: that being hemmed in with many, very puissant nations, yet maintaine themselves, not by doing any duty to any but by warres and dangers. After them the Reudigni, and Aviones, and Angli, and Varini, and Eudoses, and Suardones, and Nuithones, are defended by rivers or woods: having no notable thing particular in any; saving that generally they adore Herthum, that is, the mother earth, whom they beleve to be present at mens affairs. There is a wood called Castum in an Island of the Ocean, and a chariot dedicated in it, covered with apparell, which one Priest onely may lawfully touch. He knoweth that the goddesse is in some secret part of the house, and followeth her with great reverence as she is led by Kowes: and make those holy dayes & places of joy which she vouchsafeth to honor with her presence. Warre they make none, nor put on any armour, nor shew any weapon: but peace and quietnesse is onely knowne and loved: untill the same Priest bring backe the goddesse to her Temple, filled with the conversation of mortall men. Then the chariot and the apparell, if you will beleve it, the divinitie it selfe is washed in some secret lake: bond-men minister unto her, which the same lake doth incessantly swallow up. Whereof ariseth a secret terror, and an holy ignorance, what that should be, which they onely see which are a perishing. And this part of Suevia, reacheth far within the country of Germany; the nearer (that I may describe that part which lyeth by Danube, as I have done that which lieth along the Rhene) is the Citie of the Hermunduri, faithfull to the Romanes: and therefore of all the Germans traffique, not onely upon the bank of Rhene, but even within the heart of the countrey, and in the most famous colonie of the Province Rhatia. Thetse goe all over without a guard: and whereas we shew other Nations, sometimes our arms, sometimes our campe; to these we lay open our houses, and villages, as people not desiring them. In the countrey of the Hermunduri, the river Albis hath his beginning, in times past a famous river and well knowne; but now onely heard of. Neere unto the Hermunduri dwell the Narisci, the Marcomani, and Quadi. The greatest renowne and strength that the Marcomans have, is in that they got their dwellings by valour and driving out in times past the Boiens. Neither do the Narisci, and the Quadi degenerate. And that is as it were the frontier of Germany, on that

that side which the Danube borders. The Marcomani and the Quadi, had even untill times of our memory, Kings of their own Nation, of the noble stock of the Maroboduni, and Tudri; but now they suffer strangers; which have their strength and power, by the authoritie of the Romanes: and seldome use our armes, but are often helpt with our money. Neither are the Marfigni, Gothini, Osi, Burii, which are behinde the Marcomani and Quadi, of lesser valor: among which the Marfigni, and Burii, resemble the Suevians in speech and attire. The Gallican tongue doth convince the Gothinos, and the Panonicall the Ofos, not to be Germans; and that they endure to pay tribute; part of the tribute the Sarmates, part the Quadi charge them with, as strangers. The Gothini, the more for their shame, digge for mines of iron: and all these people inhabit small store of plaine ground, but wood-lands, and hill tops. Suevia is divided by a continuall ridge of hills, beyond which dwell many Nations: among which, the name of the Lygians is farthest spread into many Cities. It will suffice to reckon the strongest, as the Arios, Helveconas, Maninos, Elyfios, Naharvalos. Among the Naharvalos there is a wood long agoe consecrated to religion, over which a Priest apparelled in womans attire is Superintendent: but the Romanes interpret them to be the gods *Castor* and *Pollux*. The name of the god is *Alcis*. Images there are none, nor signe of strange superstition: yet they are revered as brothers, and two young men. But the Alii besides their strength, wherein they go beyond the other people I have made mention of, fell and cruel, do set forth their naturall fiercenes with art and time: for they use black targets, and die their bodies with the same colour; and choose the darkeft nights to fight in, striking a terror with the shadow of so deadly an army, into the enemies; none of them able to endure so strange and as it were hellish fight, the eies being first overcome in all battels. Beyond the Lygians the Gothines live under Kings in a more severe government then the other people of Germany, and not in full liberty. Then from the Ocean follow the Rugii, and Lemovii, all of them bearing for their mark round bucklers, and short swords, and living under the subjection of Kings. After those are the cities of the Suionians, situated in the Ocean, besides men and armor, strong in shipping, which in making differ from other vessels, in that both ends are foreparts, ready to land at each end, without sayle, or oares in a ranke in the sides, but the mariners are at libertie ready to change hither and thither, as occasion serveth, as in some other rivers. Those people esteeme of riches: and therefore one hath amongst them absolute rule and government, and not at the will of the subject. They are not all licenced to wear weapons as in other parts of Germany, but their weapons are shut up under a keeper, and that a slave, because the enemy can make no sudden incursion against them, by reason of the Ocean. If the souldiers be idle and at rest, they easily grow insolent: and indeed it is not for the Kings profit to commit the charge of armor to noble men, or free borne, or freedmen. Beyond the Suionas, there is another sea so flow and almost immovable, that many thinke it to bee the bounds which compass in the whole world, because that the Sunne continueth so cleare and bright, from his setting till the rising, that it darkneth the starres. And some are farther perswaded, that the sound of him is heard as he riseth out of the sea; and many shapcs of gods seene, and the beames of his head. So farre the same is true, and that there was the end of nature and the world. Now on the right shore of the Suevian sea, the Aftyans inhabit whose manner of life is like the Suevians, but their language more like the Britains language. They adore the mother of the gods: for a skutchion of their superstition, they carry the pictures of wilde Boares. That serveth them for all weapons and all defence, and assureth all those

those that worship that goddesse, even amongst the enemies. They have small use of iron, but great of clubs. They sow corne and plant fruits, more painfully, then ordinarily the slothfull Germane is accustomed to do. They search out what the sea will yeeld: and onely amongst all, gather on the flats, and on the very shore Rosin*, which they call *Glesum*. Yet they have not fought out (so barbarous they are) what is the nature of it, or by what meanes it is engendered. Yea a long time it lay as nought worth, like other purging of the sea, untill our wantonnesse gave it a name. They have no use of it themselves: but gather it foule and filthy: and so bring it, and marvell at the price we give for it. But it is the juyce of trees; for there shine in them some birds or fowle, which wrapped in the humour, and afterwards wax hard, are so shut in it. And as in the secret places of the East, there are fertile Woods and Forrests, which sweat Frankincense and Balmes: so may I beleieve that in the Ilands of the West, there are others, which beeing neere to the Sunne beames, yeeld an humour, which melted, runneth unto the next sea, and by force of tempest is carried to the opposite shore. If by fire thou wilt make prooffe what the nature of Amber is, it will burne like unto wood pitched and refined: and nourisheth a fat and strong favouring fire: then waxeth pliant and clammie like Rosin or Pitch. Hard by the Suionians, be the Sitones: alike in all things, saving one, which is, that a woman is their ruler: so farre they degenerate, not onely from liberty, but also from bondage: and there is the end of Suevia. I am in doubt, whether I should reckon the Peucinians, Venedians, and Fennians, among the Germans or Sarmates, although the Peucinians, which some call *Bastarnas*, resemble the Germanes in language, behaviour, housing, and dwelling: but all are generally, slovenly and lazie: and the noblemen allied by marriage with the Sarmates, are somewhat transformed into their usage: and the Vinedians have learned many of their fashions also. For they scowre and rob all the hills and woods which lye between the Peucinians and Fennians. Yet these may rather be accounted Germanes; because they build houses, carry targets, and are good footmen. None of which the Sarmates doe use, but alwaies ride in chariot, or on horseback. The Fennians are very barbarous and beggerly: having neither armes, horses, nor houses; no food but herbes; no apparell but leather pelts; no bedding but the ground: having all their hope in their arrowes, which for want of iron, they head with bones. Man and woman liveth by the same hunting: for the Women follow, and aske for part of the prey. Young children have no other succour against wilde beasts, and hard weather, but some coverture made of boughes: that is the lodging of young and old. That they thinke to be more glorious and magnificall, then toyle in manuring the earth; and trouble themselves in buildings; and turmoyle betwixt hope and feare, about their owne and other mens goods. Thus secure against men and gods, they have won this hard point, that they need make no vows at all. The rest is fabulous, as that the Hellusii, and Oxionas, have the visage and countenance of men, but the bodies and members of beasts: which I leave as a thing to me unknowne.

F I N I S.

THE
END OF NERO
AND BEGINNING
OF GALBA.

FOVRE BOOKES
OF
THE HISTORIES OF
Cornelius Tacitus.

THE LIFE OF .
AGRICOLA.

The sixth Edition.



LONDON,

Printed by J. L. for Richard Whitaker, and are to be
sold at the signe of the Kings Armes in Pauls
Church-yard. 1640.



TO
HER MOST SACRED
MAIESTIE.

HPresent here to your Majesties view my imperfections in their owne colours, and the excellencies of another man with much losse of their lustre, as being transported from their naturall light of the Latin by an unskilfull hand into a strange language, perchance not so fit to set out a peece drawne with so curious a pensill. The cause of undertaking a worke of this kinde was a good will in this scribbling age not to doe nothing, and a disproportion in the powers of my minde, nothing of mine owne invention being able to passe the censure of mine owne judgement, much lesse, I presumed, the judgement of others. The cause that I published it under your Majesties name and protection (beside the testification of my bounden duty) was the great account your Highnesse most worthily holdeth this History in; hoping thereby, that as some for the excellency of the wine, have liked also the lees, so it might peradventure please you, to accept into some degree of favour this worke as it is, though by chance from vessell to vessell having taken winde and lost his pleasing taste to the palate, yet retaining somewhat of his former strength, and much of his substance. But the principall cause was to incite your Majesty by this as by a foile to communicate to the world, if not those admirable compositions of your owne, yet at the least those most rare and excellent translations of Histories (if I may call them Translations, which have so infinitely exceeded the originals) making evident demonstration to all who have seene them, that as the great actions of Princes are the subject of stories, so stories composed or amended by Princes, are not only the best patterne and rule of great actions, but also the most naturall Registers thereof, the Writers being persons of like degree and of proportionable

proportionable conceits with the doers. And so wishing your Majesty either so much leisure your selfe, or a Tacitus to describe your most glorious raigne, I commit this Booke (whereof I claime nothing to my selfe but the faults) to your most gracious patronage, and the curtesie of the Reader, from whom, at least from his hands that shall finish out the rest, I hope to finde both pardon for my faults, and some pity for my paines.

The Almighty blesse your most excellent Majesty with a long, happy, and prosperous raigne, and the only true meanes thereof, many watchfull eyes to foresee, many valiant hands to fight, and many godly hearts to pray for the peace of your state.

Your sacred Majesties

most humble Subject and Servant,

HENRY SAVILE.



A. B. To the Reader.

THere is no treasure so much enriches the minde of man as learning; there is no learning so proper for the direction of the life of man as Historie; there is no historie (I speake only of prophane) so well worth the reading as *Tacitus*. For learning Nature acknowledgeth a reason, by leaving industry to finish her unperfect work: for without learning the conceit is like a fruitfull soile without tilling, the memorie like a storehouse without wares, the will like a ship without a rudder. For Historie, since we are easlier taught by example then by precept, what study can profit us so much, as that which gives patternes either to follow or to flye, of the best and worst men of all estates, countries, and times that ever were? For *Tacitus* I may say without partialities, that he hath written the most matter with best conceit in fewest words of any Historiographer ancient or moderne. But he is hard. *Difficilia quæ pulchra*: the second reading over will please thee more then the first, and the third then the second. And if thy stomach be so tender as thou canst not digest *Tacitus* in his owne style, thou art beholding to *Savile*, who gives thee the same food, but with a pleasant and easie taste. In these foure bookes of the storie thou shalt see all the miseries of a torne and declining State: the Empire usurped; the Princes murdered; the people wavering; the souldiers tumultuous; nothing unlawfull to him that hath power, and nothing so unsafe as to be securely innocent. In *Galba* thou mayest learne, that a good Prince governed by evill ministers is as dangerous as if he were evill himselfe. By *Otho*, that the fortune of a rash man is *Torrenti similis*, which rises at an instant, and fals in a moment. By *Vitellius*, that he that hath no vertue can never be happy: for by his owne basenesse he will lose all, which either fortune, or other mens labours have cast upon him. By

Vespasian, that in civill tumults an adviſed patience, and opportunity well taken are the only weapons of advantage. In them all, and in the ſtate of Rome under them, thou mayeſt ſee the calamities that follow civill warres, where lawes lye aſleep, and all things are judged by the ſword. If thou miſlike their warres, be thankfull for thine owne peace; if thou doeſt abhorre their tyrannies, love and reverence thine owne wife, juſt, and excellent Prince. If thou doeſt deteſt their Anarchy, acknowledge our owne happy government, and thanke God for her, under whom *England* enjoyes as many benefits, as ever Rome did ſuffer miſeries under the greateſt tyrant.

THE END OF NERO AND BEGINNING OF GALBA.



Alerius Trachalus, and *Silius Italicus* being Conſuls: *Cajus Inlius Vin-* The yeere of
dex, Lieutenant of *Gallia Lugdunensis*, perceiving that private conſpi- the City 821.
racies againſt the perſon of *Nero* had been often intended and ever diſ-
covered, determined to give the firſt onſet in armes and openly goe to
the field. *Vindex* was by his Father of a Senators houſe, by birth
French and extract from the line of their ancient Kings, of body puiſ-
ſant, quick of conceit, of a ready diſpatch, ſkilfull in armes, and bold
attempt: his province peaceable, and therefore utterly diſfurniſht of forces: no Legion, no
gariſon under his government. Notwithſtanding as in a body corrupt, and full of ill hu-
mours, the firſt paine that appeareth, be it never ſo ſlender, drawes on the reſt, diſcloſeth old
aches and ſtraines, actuateth what elſe is unſound in the body: ſo in a ſtate univerſally diſliked,
the firſt diſorder diſſolveth the whole. Yea and oft ſo it happeneth in both, the diſeaſe that grew
firſt, and gave cauſe to the other, being recured, the reſt notwithstanding worke out the finall
deſtruction. Now *Vindex*, before he declared himſelfe, well weighing the weakneſſe of his
eſtate, and withall his owne perſon uncapable of the Empire, as being but a ſtranger, without
followers, without friends or allies among the Nobility, deliberated to caſt it on ſome other man
of more reputation, who alſo by neerenesse and ſtrength might ſecond his attempt. *Corbulo*
was lately murdered by *Nero*; *Vespasian* farre off warring in Iewry: *Suetonius Paullinus* at
home without army, the moſt famous men of that age for military matters. Of high Germany
Verginius Rufus was Lieutenant, with three Legions, next neighbour to *Vindex*, only of a
meane gentlemans houſe. In low Germany *Fonteius Capito*, with foure Legions, and *Clodius*
Macer in *Africke* with a competent army, neither of them likely to repaire that which *Nero*
had ruined. There remained then in armes *Servius Sulpitius Galba*, a man of great wealth
and ancient Nobility, who had been eight yeeres Lieutenant in neerer Spaine, to the reaſonable
contentment of the countrey, with an hoaſt of one Legion, and the Aydes belonging thereto.
Upon him *Vindex* finally reſolving diſpatcheth into Spaine, and other countreies adjoyning, ſe-
cret letters declaring his purpoſe to the Lieutenants. *Galba*, in whom age had abated the heat
of ambition, experience and dangerous times engendred a wary and fearefull proceeding,
thought as then upon nothing leſſe then diademes and kingdomes, having given himſelfe over,
for certaine yeeres paſt, to an idle and obſcure kinde of life, ſequeſtered as it were, and retired
from affaires for feare of *Nero*; under whom to doe ill was not alwayes ſafe, alwayes unſafe
to doe well, and of doing nothing no man conſtrained to yeeld an account. Whereupon the let-
ters arriving, he ſtood much amazed, divided in minde what courſe he ſhould follow: to truſt
them? peradventure it was but a traine: to diſcloſe them and ſend them to *Nero*? that were
indeed to put in his head an eternall jealousie, and himſelfe into a needleſſe perill: and perhaps
alſo there might be good meaning. Whereupon in ſo doubtfull a caſe, the extreames ſeeming
dangerous, he tooke the meane way, ſuppreſſing the letters, and not entring into the cauſe any
further, reſerving to governe himſelfe in the reſt, as events and occurrents ſhould lead and di-
rect him. The other Lieutenants ſent all their letters to *Nero*, betraying *Vindex*, betraying the
cauſe, whereof themſelves anon were partakers.

Now *Vindex* certaine dayes after the Calends of March, though not fully aſſured,

yet hoping well of Galbaes intent, and presuming good lucke to so good a meaning, assembled them of his province, such chiefly as were chiefe in their countrey for credit, and chiefly had bene touched in goods or in honour. To whom recounting in order the tyrannies of Nero, namely his paring of "France to the quicke, to the utter destruction of so many men, the universall decay of so goodly a countrey, he exhorted them all to take armes, to succour themselves, to succour the Romans, and to free the whole world from so heavy a yoke. Or if, which the gods forbid in so good a case, yet let us (quoth he) sell him our lives in the field with honour, seeing we cannot possesse them with safety. For another Prince (our broken state, and age voyde of vertue, not bearing a free common-wealth) we have here at hand a man of great birth, great wealth, and great forces, one that hath made honourable proofe of himselfe, at home, and abroad, in all respects worthy the place, Galba Lieutenant of "Aragon. If you like of the man, there remaineth then only we muster the countrey to the most that we may, without whose swords all talke of warre is but vaine, and this pernicious. His demands being all accorded by common consent, he levyeth a power, many men, and few souldiers, taken upon the sudden, not disciplined, not trained to the order of service; he publisheth edicts diffaming the person and government of Nero. Then causing Galba to be proclaimed, he writes him a letter, now, or else never, to declare himselfe in favour of mankind against that monster of Nature, to furnish the body of an hundred thousand French men in armes, and more if need were, of a head. The Sequani, Aedui, Arverni, Remi, and the flower in a manner of France, were all of the party, conferring men, horse, armour, money, and what else was requisite for service in field. Rufinus, Flavius, Asiaticus with others were appointed Captaines, and Vienna seate of the Warre; whose next neighbours, and ancient enemies, the Lugdunenses banded themselves against them and the cause, or the cause for their sakes. Many conflicts between them, and skirmishes during the warre, so thicke, and so hotly pursued, that one might perceive much private choler passe under the shadow of publike pretences. The Lingones likewise and Treveri, and some other Cities, forsaking their fellows, linked themselves with the Legions confining. Three Legions, as before it is said, with their aydes, Verginius had in his charge; who seeing all France on a fire, and that now of force he must either rebell with the rest, or warre with the rebels (for so they were styled till they prevailed) in private beholden, for publike respects misliking of Nero, no admirer of Galba, with Vindex proceeding highly displeased, the example being unseene, that a Province should be a Prince-maker, thus unresolved, resolving this only, that he would not be resolved by others, determined to stand on his Guard, and gathered his men about him in haste, valiant souldiers and expert in service, and likely to sway where they went.

Of the other side the Lieutenant of Aquitania, against the troubles of France, requested the assistance of Galba his neighbour, who then at new Carthage kept a law day: but none perceived how that he had taken a wrong addresse. For Galba receiving the letters of Vindex, and being advertised that warrant was out for his death to the Procurators, had debated the matter a fresh with his friends. Some unwilling to play their state at a cast, wisht him to stay and attend to what head the humours in Rome new stirred would gather: as for the Procurators, they might be prevented; and warned is halfe armed. To Titus Vinus, then Lieutenant of the Legion, and anon chiefe in favour with Galba, that course seemed unsafe. Armed indeed (quoth he) for a while against a Procurator or two: nay, put case we could hang up these few in our places, shall we live, doe you think, for lack of a hangman? Give us armes against Nero, and then we are armed. But perhaps sith nothing is past on our part, he may be perswaded to call in his sentence againe. Even good Princes are jealous of soveraigne points, and that string being touched, have a quicke care. They have bought it full deare which ignorantly have sate in their chaire of estate, that have worne their diademe to keepe it from resting, or

upon

upon like occasion. Germanicus, as some here may remember, because one or two in the army had only a purpose to salute him Prince, was never well brooked, till by his owne death he had payed the price of other mens rashnesse. Corbulo, even that Corbulo, which had quieted Germany, subdued Armenia, broken the Parthian spirits, brought Arsaces line on his knees before Nero, after he had so highly deserved at his hands, it cost him his life, that some men in secret thought him a fit man to succeed. We are, as they say, openly proclaimed, we have an army in field: shall he then repent it, that never repented but when he did well? Let him loose that list for succours from Rome, where liberty is lost, fit men to free others. Galba and Vindex their swords and their armies must purchase our freedome. This opinion prevailing as possible to prove, but of force to be followed, a day was appointed by Galba, therein to dispatch the freeing of slaves. The Countrey came in at the day suspecting the matter, apt to receive any new impression. And Galba having placed of purpose before his tribunall, a mantle of images of great personages executed or banisht in Neros time, and fetched from exile a young noble man, out of the next Ilands, to stand by his seat, his army about him, spake in this wise. My fellow souldiers and friends, we are at this present assembled to enfranchise our bondmen, to bestow upon others that great benefit of liberty and freedome: which we our selves, whom both nature and fortune hath freed this long time, have smally enjoyed. The life I have led hitherto will sufficiently discharge me from any aspiring conceit, and my owne conscience beareth me witnesse, that I speake not upon any malice, or private respects. It grieueth me to say, but it helpes not to hide that which every man seeth. Hath even bondman under a cruell master passed a yeere of harder service, then we have done foureteene under Nero? What kinde of exaction hath he not proved to supply with extortion that which with shame he hath spent? What kinde of cruelty hath he not practised? If we should conceale or seek to suppress it, these dumbe stones would declare them. Behold poisoned his father and brother, abused and slaine his owne mother, murdered his wife, his master and what else so reservant or vertuous in Senate, in citie, in province, without any difference of sex, or of age. I neede not to speake of the sorrowfull sighes and bitter teares of so many young gentlemen bereft of their fathers, so many wives robbed of their husbands, so many great men deprived of their countrey, which cry vengeance upon such a Prince. A Prince? nay, an incendiary, a singer, a fidler, a stage player, a cart driver, a cryer, no Prince, nay no man, that hath a man to his husband, and a man to his wife, but a monster of mankind; against whom what Vindex in France hath already intended I am sure you doe know, and I, for my part, I am most sorry to heare. The whole course of my former life hath bene otherwise removed from ambition in court, from ayming too high: and this little that remaines of my dayes I could heartily wisht were spent in more ease. But sith, I know not by what my misfortune, some have imposed upon me a part, which I never meant to sustaine, and least of all at this age, I will not refuse, if you also approve it, to sacrifice this old carcasse of mine for the wealth of my countrey, not as Emperour, or Augustus, which sacred names I adore afarre off, not daring to approach them, but as---The speech was not finished, when the souldiers, and people with one common voyce interrupting, saluted him Emperour. Galba commending their zeale to the good of the Empire, and accepting the substance refused the name, terming himself Lieutenant of the Senate and people of Rome. Next care was to muster more men, to make good the revolt: the countrey was prest and souldiers came in of all hands: new Legions and Aides were enrolled, and to helpe at a need, a ship of Alexandria laden with armour, without master, without mariner, without passenger, arrived at the port: which accident, besides that the wrecke came in good season, increast to the cause reputation, as though against Nero the gods had furnished weapons from heaven. Then he ordained a Councell in forme of a Senate elected out of the chiefeſt

"Lusitania.

chiefeſt and graveſt men of his traine, and a guard of young gentlemen to watch and ward at his lodging, he publiſhed ediſts, and ſends them abroad to every province, exhorting them all to take armes, and concurre in common againſt the common enemy. Many revolted from Nero and came to the ſide: M. Salvius Otho with the firſt, then Lieutenant of "Portingall, bringing his jewels and plate, which Galba made into money.

In high Germany, the ſouldiers conſidering the weakeneſſe of Nero; that France had already rebelled; that Spaine made a Prince; that the reſt of the countries were likely to follow, if not all for the ſame, yet all againſt Nero: viewing their owne forces, and ſtrength now united, which before lay diſperſed in troupes and in bands, ſtrangers to Galba, and greatly diſdaining that one ſimple Legion ſhould impoſe them a Prince, finally concluded to make it their benefit, and beſtow the Empire themſelves. A fit man they needed not ſeek farre off: Verginius Rufus the Lieutenant, though of a Gentlemans houſe, and no higher, in ſtrength of body, matters of action, and all other things excelled Galba: in birth what if Galba were better? Catulus the top of his kinne fled diſhonourably away in the Cimbrian warre, where Marius, baſelier borne then Verginius, worthily ſlucke to it, and ſaved the ſtate. Hereupon they got and breake downe tumultuoſly the images of Nero, ſalute Verginius Prince, inſcribing his name in the banners. Verginius ſeeing the matter grow to a tumult, and being unable to reſiſt their violence, ſhewed to yeeld in ſome degree againſt Nero, but not for himſelfe, much leſſe any other named abroad. For his part he ſaid he had no need of the place, which all men beſide ſo greatly deſired: nor was not to ſuffer, but ſuch as by order of Senate ſhould be appointed: that they were the men to whom that election belonged, whoſe right he would ſurely maintaine againſt whomſoever. The ſouldiers being in part thus appeaſed, he commands the inſcription to be defaced, and with his whole army entred France, pretending to warre againſt Vindex. The City of Bezanson, which firſt reſuſed to receive him, he ſtraightway beſiegeth. Vindex to ſuccour the towne and levy the ſiege, or bid him battle, if it might be no better, with twenty thouſand men commeth againſt him. Lying encamped not farre aſunder, there paſſed letters betweene them: whereupon they ſcerely met and conferred together, none elſe being preſent on either ſide. Their concluſion was friendly, doubtleſſe joyne againſt Nero: ſome thought to ſet downe Galba alſo; and it was not unlikely. Thus departing as friends, each to his campe, Vindex ſecure as in a quarrell already compoſed, and nothing attending leſſe then the ſhocke, meaning to enter the towne, and reſoſe his army with all his men made towards the gates. The ſouldiers of Germany lying at the walles, and perceiving the army approach, marching, as it ſeemed, directly upon them, not privy to their Generalls purpoſe, or not willing to loſe ſo faire an occaſion, ranne out without bidding, and falling upon them at unawares and in diſarray, not able on a ſudden to remedie the error, as men newly trained, and unexpert in warre, ſlew them all in a manner, and ſpoiled the carriage. Vindex ſeeing the unluckie ſucceſſe of this unlooked for battell, having loſt in a manner the flowre of all France, and ſuſpecting fraude of Verginius ſide, as though he meant to entrapp him, and ſend him to Nero, ranne himſelfe upon his owne ſword: many coming after beſtowed their blowes upon the dead carcaſſe, ſeeking a colour for praiſe or reward if Nero prevailed. After this ſlaughter the ſouldiers preſſed Verginius againe to accept of the Empire, and embages came almoſt from every quarter requiring the ſame, with aſſured promiſe of all poſſible aſſiſtance, if not, ready to returne to Neroes obedience: but Verginius bewailing the heavy miſhap of his unfortunate friends reſecteth the ſpeech, and marcheth forward in France. This end had Iulius Vindex, a man in the courſe of this action more vertuous then fortunate; who having no army provided, no legion, no ſouldier in charge, whiles others more able lookt on, firſt entred the liſts, challenging a Prince upholden with thirty Legions, rooted in the Empire by foure deſcents of

anceſtors,

anceſtors, and fourteene yeares continuance of reigne, not upon private deſpaire to ſet in combustion the ſtate, nor to revenge, diſgrace, or diſhonour, not to eſtabliſh his own ſoveraignty, things which have moved moſt men to attempt; but to redeeme his countrey from tyranny and bondage, which onely reſpect he regarded ſo much, that in reſpect hee regarded nothing but his own life or ſecuritie. For when it was ſhewed him, that Nero by publike ediſt had prized his head at "ten thouſand thouſand ſeſterces; Well, quoth he againe, and he that kills Nero, and brings me his head, ſhall have mine in exchange. And though in this action fortune gave vertue the check, and by a ſtrange accident, which mans wiſedome could not foreſee, overthrew the enterpriſe, yet muſt we confeſſe, that Vindex firſt ſtirred the ſtone, which rowling along tumbled Nero out of his ſeat.

Of Vindex revolt the firſt newes came to Nero at Naples, about the twentieth of March: whereof he made ſhew ſo lightly to ſet, that he would not vouchſafe once to intermit his accustomed paſſimes and pleaſures, but rather ſeemed to rejoyce, and embrace the occaſion, as falſely ſet out ſilly to convert to his coſers by the law of armes the ſpoile of ſo large and ſo wealthy a countrey: as ſupper alſo receiving more letters of freſher advice, and certainer danger, he ſuſtained them onely ill chance, which thus by rebelling had troubled his drinking, and ſo for eight dayes he neither wrote letter, nor gave out order for any diſpatch. At length through Vindex ediſts, ſo thick and ſo biting, being awaked, he warned the Senate by letter to avenge his cauſe, and the common wealths, excuſing his abſence by reaſon of ſickeſſe. In Vindex ſtill, ſupporting the reſt patiently, one thing above all troubled him moſt, that his ſkill was imatched in playing: wherein he thought ſurely there was not his peere; eſt ſooner demanding of them about him, whether, without flattery, they knew any in that profeſſion more ſkilfull then him: by this then ſo manifeſt an untruth, in an Art that he had ſo painefully laboured, he perfectly learned, he willed them to eſteeme of the reſt. The Senate, receiving the letters, ſtammering and fearing, adjudged Vindex a traitour, the ſelfe ſame men which ſoone after beſieged the like upon Nero. But urged by newes upon newes, at laſt in a fright he repayed to Rome: where not calling Senate nor people together, but ſome principall men to the Palace at unreaſonable houre of the night, as to conſult of urgent affaires, he ſhewed them certaine ſecrets, and new ſtrange devices of mulick by water instruments diſcourſing of the manner and difficulty of each, and that he had found out a way to make them ſound both ſweeter and louder, and ſhortly meant to produce them in ſtage, if Vindex would give him leiſure to doe ſo. But hearing that Galba and Spaine had rebelled, he tare his clothes, beat his head, and could in no wiſe receive any comfort, till ſuch time as the Senate by decree had declared Galba enemy to the ſtate. Then reſuming courage, and ſomewhat revived with ſome rumours of Germany, he returned to his riot and careleſſe licentious life, and putting Galbaes ſervants in priſon, ſeized his goods and ſet them to ſale. The like did Galba with Neroes in Spaine, and found a great deale more ready chapmen.

Now as the tumult beganne, it is ſuppoſed credibly, that Nero had purpoſed to have made away all the governours of armies and provinces, as being conſpired againſt him; to murder all exiled perſons, leſt they ſhould joyne themſelves with the rebels; all French he could finde in the Citie, as being friends to the cauſe; to poyſon the Senate in banquet; to ſet a fire the Citie, turning the wilde beaſts among them which endeavoured to ſtop the courſe of the flame. But ſetting apart the device, not as diſliking, being ſo ſuteable to his proceeding, but as deſpairing to bring it about, he determined a voiage in perſon, ſending before in the meane ſeaſon Petronius Turpilianus, and Rubrius Gallus with certaine others againſt them. To furniſh the journey; his chiefe proviſion conſiſted in carriage for playing furniture in concubines ſhorne and polled as men, armed with hatchet and target according to the Amazonian faſhion. For muſtering of men there were but few able enrolled and

moſt

"That is, about foure ſcore thouſand pound.

most of them bondmen. Money was hardly and with much ado a little extorted. For where in time of civill sedition most neede is of money, and a wise Prince will least grieve the subject with new imposition, as seeming to stand in some sort at his courtesie, and having to employ his body beside; Nero in peace no storer for warre, was forced then to offend, when he should in reason have sought to have wonne, and yet raised lesse with more opposition then ever, reputation now waining, a contrary faction being on foot. As for policies, and plots of warre, he told his familiar friends, he had one most assured. As soon as he entred the province, he would venture himselfe unarmed amongst them, and with silence and teares move them to compassion, and so they returning to former obedience without more ado, he would the next day merrily sing, in that merry company, sonnets of victory, which he willed to be composed out of hand against the time came.

As Nero was thus busily occupied in making provision for the warre, against Galba and Vindex, letters were brought in at dinner of Verginius defection, and the rest of the armies. Whereupon in a desperate rage, he tare the letters, overturned the table, dashed two cups on the ground, which he dearly esteemed, and casting away all care of himselfe, notwithstanding the perill pressed no nearer, he called for poison, which he put up in a golden box, that his death at the least might be according to his estate, and so walked forth into the Scrvilian gardens. From thence he sent of his trusty servants to Ostia to make ready the ships, purposing to have fled with his friends into Egypt, and there to have taken himselfe to his musicke to get him a living: sottishly supposing in Egypt an imaginary surety to himselfe by his musicke, when he could not live safely Emperour at Rome. To that purpose sounding the mindes of the Tribunes and Centurions of the Guard, and finding them some to draw backe, some flatly refuse to goe with him, one among others directly to tell him, that sure his best way were to make an end of himselfe, he was distracted into divers opinions, casting about what course he should follow: flee to the Parthian, whom of late he had pleased? to Galba, who peradventure might pay his estate: or were it else better in lamentable sort and mournfull weed to goe out abroad, and in the place of common assembly, most humbly for that which was past demand pardon: or else if he could not obtaine it, that at least they would grant him the government of Egypt. This liked him best, and thereof he framed a speech, which afterwards was found in his papers: but fearing the people would pull him in pieces before he came to the place, he deferred the matter till the next morning.

Nymphidius Sabinus and Sophonius Tigellinus were Captaines of the Guard, preferred by Nero from nothing to that honourable place, and now the first to forsake him. But Tigellinus, as a person infamous and generally hated, prevailed not much; Sabinus had the credit with the souldier: who affirming that Nero was already fled into Egypt, and promising donative in Galbaes name * of thirty thousand sesterces a man, and * five thousand to the souldier abroad, much more then would or could be performed, easily wanne them to leave him, who had as they thought already left them, and so to pronounce Galba Emperour, not upon any speciall liking they had to the man above others, but whilst some doubted, some other denyed, Galba pretending directly the suit, and no counter-suit appearing, they were content to accept him for Prince. Their fellows which warded that night foreseeing the issue, and coveting in this creation of the new Prince a part with the rest, left Nero asleepe alone in the garden. Who being awaked about midnight, understanding his Guard was departed, leapt out of his bed, and sent about for his friends: from whom receiving no answer, he with a few went to their lodgings himselfe. The great Monarch of the World, adored erewhile as a god, attended upon and guarded by thousands of friends, of souldiers, of servants, now as a page knocking at doores findeth all shut against his unfortunate state. Thus in adversity destitute of

* 274. l. s. s.
6. pence.
* 39. lib. i. s. s.
3. pence.

ayde,

aid, of counsell or comfort of friends, hee returneth home, where finding his chamber rifled, the chamberlaines fled, his box of payson removed away, he sought for Spicillus the "fencer or some of his sort, by whose hands hee might be dispatched: and finding none, "Gladiator. wanting alike both friends and Foes, he ranne desperately out, as though hee would have throwne himselfe headlong into the Tiber: but his heart failing he repressed his pace, and thereupon desiring some secret place to recall his wits, and resume courage againe, Phaon his freed man offered his house foure miles off in the countrey, which Nero accepted; and so accompanied with foure men onely, Phaon, Epaphroditus, Sporus and Neophytus, fleeth away badly apparelled, and worse mounted, covering his head and hiding his face with a handkercheffe. As he was in the way out of his Citie, approaching the campe of the Guard, he heard the souldiers shouting and wishing good lucke unto Galba, and ill to himselfe. In riding along, his horse starting aside, his face was discovered, and he known and saluted by one of the Guard which met him by chance. Whereupon forsaking horse and highway, thorow bushes and briers, he crept in at the last into a thicket of reeds on the back side of Phaons farme-house, who perswading Nero in the meane while to sit in a pit out of the which sand had beene digged, he refused that favour, denying to goe alive under ground, and so cast himselfe downe close in the reeds till they had beaten a hole in the wall, thorow which Nero upon all foure crept into the backside, casting himselfe upon a simple pallet in a back roome.

Whilst Nero thus lurked, the Senate assembled in counsell declare him enemy of the state, and punishable more majorum, sending out to seeke him and bring him alive. Concerning the choise of a new, although in their secret opinions Verginius deserved to resume the benefite which he had put into their hands, yet being not willing to enter into further troubles, and raise up new civill warre, without which Galba, who had already foreprized the place could not be set downe, following the souldiers example they onely agree all upon Galba. By this time they about Nero were instant upon him to rid himselfe quickly out of the contumelies and indignities, which anon he should be forced to endure. To whom yielding himselfe, he commands to make ready for the funerals, weeping and wailing at every word, what great pittie it was, that so good a Minstrell should be cast away. In the meane season, certaine letters which were brought to Phaon from Rome he snatched away, and finding therein the Senates decree, demanded what more majorum meant, for that piece of Law he had never perused: understanding it was that his neck should be looked in a forke, and himselfe whipped naked to death, having in horrore so shamefull an end, he took up two rapiers which he had brought with him, and trying the points how sharpe they were, put them up againe, desiring some of them to beginne and shew him the way to be manfull, but desiring tovertuous example out of so vicious a schoole, a Court so corrupt, he desired in vaine. And now the horsemen sent by the Senate approached, which Nero perceiving, by feare encouraged, ran himselfe thorow, Epaphroditus his secretary at his request helping to dispatch him the sooner, for which service he was afterwards put to death by Domitian, who thought it not meete to suffer any to live, which had in any sort lent his hand to the death of a Prince. Thus Nero a Prince in life contemptible, and basefull in government, having thereby disgraced himselfe both of the love and feare of his subjects, ended his daies the eighth of Iune in the one and thirtieth yeare of his age, and fourteenth of his Empire, at the first having ruled the state with reasonable liking, insonmuch that Trajan was wont to say, that even good Princes were short of Neros five yeare: but after breaking forth into all infamous behaviour, and detestable oppressions and cruelties, and being withall a Prince weak in action, not of verue sufficient to uphold his wices by might, hee was at the length thus overthrowne.

Nero being slaine, the people and Gentlemen, but principally the Nobilitie, the principall

capall object of tyranny, sacrificed to the gods and feasted for joy: some also ware Bonnets, as being newly enfranchised. The Senate assembled again, decreeth thanks to Nymphidius in most exquisite manner, extolling his high wisdom and tender care over the state: confirmeth to Galba all princely prerogatives and imperial titles; making thereof a publicke instrument, which the Consuls sent him in post: and moreover concludeth upon a solemne Embassage of honourable personages with instructions, beside congratulations and complements, humbly to desire with speed his presence at Rome. Then was it purposed, that information might proceed against the accusers. The matter concerned some mighty men which had lived in times past by the losse of their neighbours, and touched somewhat a secret of State overthrowing and abolishing the instruments of the Empire. Notwithstanding their doings were so much detested, and the memory of their malice so fresh, that the order passed by voices in Senate, making them all with the rest of the ministers of Neros tyranny, punishable more majorum: but was onely executed against some base persons, which had gained but little, and done little harme: the principall malefactors brake therow well enough, and escaped the danger.

While matters thus passed in France and at Rome, in Spaine Galbaes souldiers in part were in termes to forsake him, and hardly reclaimed. About the same time also a freedman of Nero had bestowed upon Galba a present of bondmen prepared for a practise: who according to their instructions watching opportunities, as Galba by a narrow passage entered the bath, using their tongues, when time was, for hands, and exhorting one another not to let slip the occasion, were suddenly apprehended, and being examined what occasion they meant, and put to the rack, confessed the treason. Anon after these hazards so hardly escaped, the news came to Galba of Vindex death, and that upon so great a victory most men were willing Verginius should take the Empire upon him, or else would return to Nero againe. Galba extremely afraid writes to Verginius, beseeching him most instantly to joyn in defence of the liberty and Empire of Rome: himselfe notwithstanding as destitute and forlorne, and weary of the world that went so against him, leaving Vinius Lieutenant in the army, retireth to Clunia, repenting of that he had done, and wishing againe his private estate, as though in this case there were any meane betweene himselfe, or the cause, in very good season comes Icelus his freedman from Rome in seven daies thither, reporting that Nero being yet alive, but not to be found, the souldier, the Senate and people had pronounced Galba Prince, that straight thereupon Nero was said to be slaine, but himselfe not believing it, went to the place, saw him lye dead, and so came his way. Two daies after Vinius came from the campe, declaring to him the particular points of the Senates decree. Galba receiving the news with great joy, as greatly above expectation, priviledgeth Icelus to weare gold rings, advanceth Vinius to chiefe place in credit about him: and laying aside the name of Lieutenant, assumeth the title of Caesar, preferreth Cornelius Laco to be Captaine of his Guard, and judging his presence necessary to settle the state, giveth out order for his voyage to Rome with his army by land.

New at Rome Nymphidius making his count that Neros fall was his onely deed, that no recompence is sufficient for bestowing the diademe but the diademe, that Galba was old, and scarce could last out in a little to Rome, not by degrees, but with a maine course drew all to himselfe. The Guard in respect of their donative, were at his devotion, to be employed as he should direct them. The Lords of the Senate courted him daily, and seemed to depend wholly upon him. Whereupon usurping authoritie undue to his place, he commands by and by Tigillinus his companion to put off his sword and surcease from his office. The Consuls upon a displeasure, that they had sent the publicke patents not by his souldiers, nor signed with his seale, the carriers commission, he had once determined to have deprived.

And

And laying the plot for himselfe he biddeth to banquet the principall men of the City: he sets under hand to put in the souldiers heads to present supplication to Galba, to establish Nymphidius captaine for life without any fellow. To pleasure the people and get the good will of the commons, he permits them to vex and torment whom they could catch of Neros crew. Spicillus the "fencer they tyed under the images of Nero, trailed him along the streets, and dispatcht him in the place of publicke assemblie, Aponius an accuser, they overthrew, and drew carts loaden with stones over his bodie, beside many other outraged and slaine, and some, as it happeneth where the reine is let loose to the furious multitude, innocently: insomuch that in Senate a grave and honourable counsellor openly protested, that in short time there would be great cause to wish Nero againe, as being more tolerable one tyrant then many, and better to live where nothing then where all things were lawfull. Thus Nymphidius, sonne to Nymphidia a libertine and old servant in court, and Martianus a fencer, secretly aspired to the Empire, working in Rome by certaine gracious women and Senators, and sending to Spaine Gelianus one of his friends to espye the proceedings and actions of Galba.

Macer in Africke, the state being troubled, mustered men, and pretended for himselfe; but being for avarice, and crueltie hated extremely, and finding no followers, could neither maintaine it with strength, nor leave it with safety. Galvia Crispinilla Neros schoole-mistresse in matter of pleasure and lust, when Nero was dead, misdoubting mischances, sailed into Africk, by her advise Macer beset the sea-coasts, and forbade any corne should be transported, meaning to famish the Citie of Rome. Fonteius Capito, Lieutenant of low Germanie, some thought had a meaning also for himselfe. Certaine it is that sitting in judgement, the partie aggrieved appealing to Caesar, he skipped out of the seate where he sate, into a chaire of estate set up on high, and then bade him tell on his tale before Caesar. But Fabius Valens, Lieutenant there of a Legion, greatly befriending Galbaes part, sware to him first he with his company, and the rest of the army followed the example, Verginius, the onely concurrent of Galba in speech of the people, having overthrowne Vindex, and mastered France, notwithstanding his souldiers after the death of Nero was knowne, pressed him againe in such vehement sort, that one of the Tribunes drawing his sword, willed him to accept of it or the Empire, persisted constantly in his first resolution: and receiving anon advise of the Senates decree, himselfe most willingly, his souldiers hardly, and with much ado were perswaded sith lower Germanie had sworne to sweare allegiance to Galba. The rest of the Provinces without any difficultie accepted him all.

Now Galba disposing as Prince the affaires of the Empire, fineth the Cities of Spaine, which were not so forward to further the cause, and some he dismantled: certaine Procuratours and officers he putteth to death, their wives and their children, a crueltie practised no not by Nero, much lesse expected in Galbaes beginnings. He directeth out warrant to Trebonius Garrucianus Procuratour of Africa to put Macer to death, dismise the Legion lately mustered, and quiet the Countrey: and appoints in Verginius place Hordeonius Flaccus Lieutenant in Germany. Then with coat-armour on backe a sickly old man, himselfe and his men in warlike order march over the mountaines. The Cities of France that tooke part against Vindex be punished with losse of revenew and Countrey: the rest were relieved, their tributes a quarter abated, themselves made Citizens of Rome by meanes of their money, and Vinius; who carrying an ill minde, and serving in great place a weak master, made open sale of his Princes free graces and favours. At Narbon the Embassadors sent from the Senate met him in a dutifull manner, whom Galba received courteously with

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friendly

friendly and familiar speeches and feasted in sober sort all with his owne, though otherwise he had plenty there of Neroes waiters and service sent by Nymphidius. But anon Vinus which wholly possessed and governed the old man, counselled him to put off popularitie as not becoming his place, to accept of Neroes provision, and to become royall in expence and service. Verginius having delivered the army to his successeur met Galba on the way, received of him not as in displeasure, and yet with small honour. So dangerous a point it is yeato have but onely refused the Empire.

At Gellianus returne Nymphidius hearing that Laco was Captaine already, that Vinus had all the authoritie and credit, that his messenger was suspected and watched of all, not suffered to talke with the Prince in private, not once to approach to his person, was wonderfully moved in minde. Whereupon assembling the chiefe of the Guard, he shewed them, that Galba was for his owne part a good harmelesse old man, but misse-led by two persons much of Tigellinus making, Vinus and Laco: and therefore it were not amisse to send one or two in the name of the whole to make him remonstrance, that remooving away these two from about him he should be more welcome, and better accepted. This speech seeming strange and absurd, to prescribe to a Prince of those yeeres, as it were to an infant, his counsell and servants, he taketh a contrary course, and writeth to Galba in terrifying manner, That the matters at Rome were doubtfull and dangerous, that Macer in Africke had stayed the Ships, the Legions of Germanie stirred a new, the like was reported from Iewrie and Syria. But perceiving that Galba gave to his tales small eare and lesse credit, and having the souldiers all well affected, he determined to prevent and give the attempt, notwithstanding that Clodius Celsus a sober wise man and one of his friendes plainly protested, that in his opinion scarce any three persons in Rome would accept him for Emperour: but the rest scoffed it out, named one Mithridates of Pontus, Perhaps, quoth he, Galba seemes some body new to the Romanes, whilest he is absent, but when they shall see that bald head, and rived face, he will seeme the very reproach and disgrace of the dayes in which he was Prince. And so they concluded at midnight following to bring Nymphidius into the campe and proclaim him Emperour. But when the Evening was come, Antonius Honoratus principall Tribune assembling the souldiers under his charge, demanded what evill spirit had bereaved them of understanding, moving them so suddenly and without cause to change their allegiance. If Nero deserved it, what mother, what wife, had Galba then killed? or for what misdemeanour would they forsake Servius Galba to preferre a Curtizans sonne? with whose blood they should ere it bee long, if they would bee directed by him, both revenge Neroes death, whom he first betrayed, and shew themselves loyall to Galba, against whom he intendeth: willing them lastly to reckon in reason what successe might tenne thousand attend against the consent of the Empire armed for Galba. His souldiers thus being perswaded, perswaded the rest all in a manner to remaine in Galbaes obedience. Whereupon a shoute being made in the campe, Nymphidius supposing the souldiers had called him, or hasting to confirme the wavering, and prevent the tumult, went thither himselfe with torches and linckes, having learned without Booke an oration composed by Cingonius Varro, to pronounce there among them. But finding the Gates of the campe made fast, and souldiers in armes on the walles, he feared the matter, and drawing neere demanded what they meant, and by whose warrant they had put themselves so in armes. And when it was answered by all agreeably, that they knew not, nor would not accept other Prince beside Galba, Nymphidius finding the perill, joynd with them, and wished also long life and prosperitie to Galba. Augustus commanding his followers to doe all the like. And so by the souldiers, which guarded the Gates, being admitted with a few of his traine, he was at his entrie welcomed in with a dart hurled at him, which one Septinius bare off with a buckler. But seeing so many at the receipt with naked swords prepared against

against him, he fled, and being pursued was slaine at the length in a souldiers cabin. The day following his body was laied out to view in an open place railed about.

Galba being yet in his way and hearing of Nymphidius death, commanded the rest of his favourers and complices to be executed: among which Mithridates of Pontus paid for his mirrh, and Cingonius Varro who penned the oration. As Galba drew neere to the City at the Milvian bridge, the Mariners met him, whom, being by Nero taken from service by sea, and inrolled into a Legion, Galba had commanded to return to their former estate. But they being many in number, and loath to go back to the Gallies againe, beset the high way on both sides, demanding their Eagle and ensignes tumultuously, and so without order, that the Prince could neither be heard nor seen of the people making his entrie: neither could he appease them by putting them over to another time of greater leisure and better audience, but taking deterring as a kinde of denying, seditiously they murmured and followed with out-cries. And some of them also drew out their swords, as though they would obtaine it by force, which by sure meanes they could not. Whereupon Galba commanding the horsemen to ride in amongst them, slew of them being unarmed seven thousand, and of the residue allotted every tenth man to suffer, putting the rest close up in prison, which nevertheless he after enlarged to his disadvantage.

Now Galba, being with generall applause and great good liking of the Empire placed in state, behaved himselfe under expectation. And though in most points he shewed himselfe a vertuous Prince, yet were not his well doings so well accepted, as those disallowed which were otherwise. All persons unjustly exiled by Nero, as well of the Nobility as meaner sort, with their children he mercifully restored againe to their countrey and honour, though not to their wealth. Contrarily Petronius Turpilianus, an ancient man and once Consull, without forme of processe or order of law, hee commanded to die, being charged with no other crime, but onely that he had beene faithfull to Nero, and would not betray him as the rest. Then was represented a plausible and gratefull spectacle, Elus, Polycletus, Locusta, Patrobius, Petinus and others in fetters drawne through the City and publicly executed, as ministers of Nero in mischieses, whereas Tigellinus the Master, not without notable congruities, was by Galba protected. And notwithstanding the people in Theatres and all common assemblies ceased not importunately to demand his death, as an accomplishment of due and exemplary justice pleasing to God and to man, yet gold with Vinus and Vinus with Galba weighed so much, that not onely he received undeserved protection, but also for his sake the people were rebuked by publike edict. Whereupon Tigellinus solemnizing the feast of his deliverance, Vinus rose from supper with Galba and went thither with Crispina his daughter to banquet, upon whom Tigellinus bestowed a courtesie of * a thousand thousand sesterces in ready money, and beside all the jewels and Carcanets of his principall minion which saie there at table, by estimation * six hundred thousand sesterces. Beside Tigellinus one Halorus of all Neroes instruments the most pernicious, was likewise by Galba protected, and preferred also to an honorable office. Now for neerenesse Galba was newed extremely, a vice though incident to age, yet doublelesse in a Prince much disliked, and in a new Prince dangerous. To a certaine Musician which had wonderfully pleased, hee gave with his owne hands out of his owne purse * twenty sesterces: and to his Steward at the making up of his Bookes a reward from his Table. But that which was most materiall of all, and prepared the way to his fall, was his hardnesse towards the souldiers: to whom large donative being promised in Galbaes name, and requiring if not so much, yet so much at least as they were wont to receive, he wholly refused the suit: adding withall, That souldiers he took up in the muster, bought not in the market. A saying no doubt fit for a great Prince in a more vertuous age, but not so in those

* That is about eight thousand pound English.
* Almost five thousand pound.

* Three hundred English.

d = In division
 of nations.
 at = In composition.
 o-

* Crispina.

a Pashici gestamen Orthon.
Iuvenal. Sat. 11.
b Per libertinam
aulicam infima-
tus Nerois facile
sumum inter a-
micos secum tenuit,
congruentia
morum.
Suet. Or. c. 2.
c Delapio Nerois
in aurore Aitae,
assumpto in con-
scientiam Orthon.
S. c. Ann. 13.
d At Senecae
intreating: Plat.
Ann. 13. Descri-
tur familiaritate
suavia, post ex-
gressu & comita-
tu Orthon & p. ite-
ma ne ita uide-
mularum agere,
p. uia. Enstia-
nia p. ite. uia. uia.
uque ad ciuilia
arma nonne priore
infamia, s. uia.
tegre, s. ite. uia.
egit, p. ite. uia.
& p. ite. uia. uia.
perantur.
* Praefectus urbi,
e Sueton. cap. 17.
somewhat dis-
ting from Tacit-
us writeth, Pifo
rem repente e me-
dio salutarium
tulia apprehen-
dit, filiumq; ap-
pellans, in castra
perducit.

f To this saying
alluded as it may
seeme, Dagala-
phus matter of
the horse to Vi-
lentinian the Em-
perour, who be-
ing demanded in
counsell by his
master, what
partner he were
best to assume of
the Empire, an-
swered briefly,
Si tuus amas habet
patrem, si remp-
dium quere.
Marcellin. l. 26.

partie, suspecting the counsell of Vinus as partiall and grounded upon a marriage pretended between * his daughter being a widow, and Orho an unmarried man; a matter wherewith the eares of the Prince, by reason of tale-carriers in court, were not unacquainted. I think also that Galba was touched in part with care of the common-wealth, which might seem in vaine transferred from Nero, if it were to be left upon Orho. For Orho had spent his tender yeares without ^a regard of his ho- nour, his youth afterward in all dissolute disorder, ^b in grace with Nero ^b through emulation of vice: and therefore Nero had left in his custody, as with one that was privy to his lusts, ^c Poppæa Sabina his principall minion, till he had dispatched his hands of Octavia his wife: soon after upon an apprehension of jealousie, he sent him ^d away into Lusitania, colourably to be Lieutenant there. Orho having govern- ed the Province with all curtesie, and being the first that came into Galba, and therewith a man of action, and of those which were present during the war of great- est account, readily conceived hope of adoption, and dayly took himselfe better assured, being well favoured of most of the souldiers, and greatly beloved of Neros court, as one like to their late master. But Galba after the news of the German re- bellion, although of Vitellius as yet he understood no certainty, being doubtfull to what issue this violent proceeding of the Armies would grow, and reposing no trust in the City-souldier, proceedeth to declare a successeur, the onely stay, as he supposed, of his estate. And calling to him beside Vinus and Laco, Marius Cel- sus Confull elect, and Ducenius Geminus * Provoost of the City, after some speech used of his age, ^e he commandeth Pifo Licinianus to be sent for, either upon his own choice, or as some have reported, at the instance of Laco: who cunningly pre- ferred him as a meere stranger to himselfe, whereas indeed they had in Rubellius Plautus house, had long acquaintance together, and the good opinion which went generally of Pifo, gave credit to his counsell. Pifo was sonne to Marcus Crassus, and Scribonia, nobly borne on both sides; in countenance and presence (after the ancient sort, rightly to judge) severe, but to them which interpreted all to the worst, seeming too fowre. That quality of his, the more it was by some men, carefull in that behalfe, misdoubted and feared, the better it pleased the man, who was to adopt him. So Galba taking Pifo by the hand, is said to have spoken in this manner.

If I should as a private man only, by an act of the Curia and assent of the Priests, as the manner is, adopt you, it would be both an honour for me, to take in my fam- ily the progenie of Marcus Crassus and Pompey, and a glory for you, to adjoyne the honourable encrease of the ^f Sulpitius and Lutatian houses to your own nobil- ity. But now being by the consent of gods and men called to the Empire, I am moved by your rare towardnes, and the love I beare to my countrey, to offer unto you, without your trouble, the princes place, that, for which our ancestours have con- tended in armes, which by armes myselfe have obtained: following herein the example of Augustus, who placed in estate next to himselfe, first Marcellus his sisters sonne, afterward Agrippa his sonne in law, then his daughters sonnes, and lastly his wives sonne Tiberius Nero. But Augustus, as it seemeth, sought a succe- ssour in his family, and I ^g in the common wealth. Not that I lack some, neare me in blood, or companions in armes, whom I could respect: but neither did I by am- bition attaine to the Empire, and of my judgement herein may be prooffe, not only mine own friends passed over, but yours also. A brother you have, noble alike, in yeares before you, well worthy of this honour, were not you the more worthy. Your yeares are such, as are setled from the affections of youth, and so spent; as nothing

"nothing past needeth excuse. Hitherto you have tasted onely of aduerse fortune: "prosperity searcheth more deeply the mind; for miseries are borne with patience, "felicity corrupteth. Integrity, friendship, round and free dealing, the principall "gift of the mind, you for your part, no doubt will retaine as heretofore; but in o- "thers towards you, in respect of your degree, you shall finde it to be otherwise: "flattery will break in, and pleasing speeches, and the most pestilent poison of all "true meaning, private respects for private advantage. We two this day common "plainly together, others rather talk with our estate, then our persons: for indeed to "perswade a Prince that which is meet, is a point of some pain; to flatter any Prince "whatsoever, needeth small endeavour. If this vast body of the Empire could stand "without governor balanced in due proportion & order, the free Common-wealth "might worthily have taken beginning from me: but now it is come long agoe to "that passe, that neither mine age can benefit the people of Rome any way more, "then in finding them a good successeur, nor your youth, then in yeelding them a "good Prince. Under Tiberius, Caius, and Claudius, we have been as it were the in- "heritance of one only ^h family: it will be in stead of liberty, that we begin to suc- "ceed by election: and now the Julian and Claudian lines be spent; adoption will "still finde out of the best: for to be descended of Princes, is a matter of meere for- "tune, and so is esteemed: in adoptions our judgement is most incorrupt, and fel- "dome abused; and if we will choose of the fittest, the voice of the most will point "us our man. Set Nero before your eyes, whom, being descended of so many Cæ- "sars, his own infamous life and intolerable cruelty cast out of state, nor Vindex "with an unarmed Province, nor I with ⁱ one Legion: neither was there before a "precedent of any Prince by publick sentence deposed. We that came in, not by "descent, but called in by war and opinion of desert, how honorably soever we carry "our selves, yet shall we be sure to have our enuiours. And yet be not dismayed, if in "this troubled and shaken estate of the world, one Legion or two be not yet settled. "I myselfe found not all so sure at the first: and when this adoption shall be heard of "abroad, I ^j shall cease to seem an old man, the only exception they take now against "me. Nero shall doubtlesse be missed, and wished alwaies among the lewd sort; you "and I must provide, lest good men also do wish him again. To admonish you long- "er is not for this time, and all my intent is fully performed, if I have, as I hope, "chosen aright. The surest and shortest rule to sort our good men from evill, is to "waigh what your selfe would under another Prince have allowed or blamed: for "you have not here, as in kingdomes, a certain race borne to soveraignty, and the "rest to be slaves; but you are to govern a people, which cannot bear, neither bon- "dage, nor liberty meere without mixture.

These and the like words Galba used as ^k creating a Prince, but the rest that were present, spake as to a Prince already created. Pifo is said to have uttered no moti- on, as of a minde either troubled or excessive in joy, neither then nor afterward when every mans eyes were fixed upon him. His speech to his father, and soveraigne was respectie, and reverent; concerning himselfe very modest: in countenance and gestures not changed, shewing himselfe rather ^l able to furnish the place, then desirous. Then consultation was had, where the adoption should be pronounced; "before the people, in the Senate, or in the camp, the camp was preferred, to ho- nour the souldier thereby, whose good will and favour, as it was by mony and crow- ching not to be bought, so got by good meanes would not be contemned. In the meane season *Publike expectation*, which suffereth not any great secret long to be secret, had as it were, beset the Palace about: and the same finding an issue, was af- terward

g To wit, senex
Tac. 5. Hist.
principem Gal-
bam senex a legioni
auctoritate factum.

h That is, Galba
by way of in-
struction: the
rest flattery
and fawning.

i Tac. 3. Hist. de
Iunio Blaſo Nu-
lino repentinus ho-
noris, adeo non
principatus appe-
tens, ut patrum
effugeres, quin
dignus crederetur.
* Pro restis, that
is, unto the peo-
ple assembled in
consessione.

^a Who being privileged to weare gold rings : *Quem annulis donatum*] In Spaine when he brought the news of Neroes death. *Annalis d. nre* is all one with *equeſtri dignitate donare*. Tac. 2. Hilt. *potulante exercitu ut liberum suum Nerois* death. *Annalis d. nre* is all one with *equeſtri dignitate donare*. Tac. 2. Hilt. *potulante exercitu ut liberum suum Nerois*

Aſtaticum equeſtri dignitate donaret inhoneſtam adulationem compeſci; (Vittellius) Dein nobilitate ingenti quod palm abra-

rati inter ſecura convitia largitur honoratque Aſtaticum annulis ſcedum mancipium, & malis tantis ambrosijs, Sueton.

^a Vittelio. primo imperii die aureis donavit annulis super cenam, quam mane rogantibus pro eo cunctis delectatis efficitur.

nec talem equitum ordinis maculam; [speaking of the fame man which Tacitus Dio lib. 48. *donaſtis eis et xauris aurum,*

xuris tie qđ ierulan elox elegetasr (*Aureus pñ Mens*) That is Augustus honoured Menas with golden rings, and en-
tered him among the Equites. For in ancient time, though afterward wealth increasing every one began to brevier
gold, yet thē παλαιοὶ χρυσῆν ἐδίδον ὡς τὰ τοιαύτα κατὰ πόδας ἀποτίμωσαν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς χρυσοὺς κἀκὸν
πρὸς τὴν βασιλείην καὶ τὴν ιεροσύνην χρησάμενοι ὑστέρησαν καὶ οὕτω ποτε χρυσαυτοί γεγονότες, οἳ εἰς τὸ περὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, κατὰ τὸν ἀνοικιστικόν.
pōn, quos ab patre miles, ac sic bellatoris in loco ἀνατιθέμενος ἑαλέμενος τὸ δωμάειος εἰσελάττει. That is. Among the ancient
Romans it was not lawfull for any (I meane not of those only which had been some time slaves, but of all others
free born and liberally brought up) to weare gold rings, except he were either Senator or Eques, and therefore the
Princes belowed thus upon the freed men whom they favour as a great honour, though otherwise they wearings
of gold, as being thereby made better than common freed men and equall in degree with the Equites. This privi-
ledge the Prince conferred not onely upon his own, but also upon other mens liberty, (although inviolis et integritas
tibus patronis it was not lightly granted, or if it were) and it drew with it jus ingenuitas, i.e. not to
exclude the patrono ab hereditate liberi, lib. 40. Digest.

[illegible]

3 Poppæa Sabina } Concerning the matter how it passed between Nero, Poppæa and Otho, read Suetonius Othone cap. 3. and Plutarch Galba differing from Tacitus in some little circumstances. But to this place of Tacitus

Apeneadum generis qui sextus & ultimus hæres

Polluit, & claudit Julia sacra Nern.

Poluit, & clauſit ſuiſa iuſta Nerō.
 ¶ I ſhall ceaſe &c. *Deſinam videri ſenex* id eſt, *Deſinam contemni quaſi ſenex*. Non legiones, non claſſis perinde firmo
 imperii munimento, quam numerus libitorum. Tac. 4. Hiſt. in the perſon of Titus. Literally to conſtrue, it may ſeeme
 ſomewhat ſtrange, that a man ſhould ceaſe to ſeeme aged, becauſe he had adopted one that was one and thirty yeers
 old, as Piſo d was, to whom in common intention he might have been father, and ſo was reputed to all conſtrued Tac. 1. Hiſt. }
 tions, and purpoſes in law. But Adoption, as Generation, doeth in a fort eternize, and eternitie knoweth no
 ſecondſſe.

8 That being of ancient time observed as cause to breake up assemblies] Cic. in Vatinius. Angustus omnes ufque ad Romulo decreverunt, Jove fulgente cum populo agi nŕas eŕŕe. Philippica. 1. Jove tonante cum populo agi non eŕŕe ſuis que ab Romulo decreverunt. Jove tonante cum populo agi nŕas eŕŕe. Philippica. 1. Jove tonante cum populo agi non eŕŕe ſuis que ab Romulo decreverunt. In noŕŕis commentariis ſcriptum habemus : Jove tonante fulgurante comitia populi habere nŕas. Non after. Comitiorum ſolum vitium eŕŕ fulmen, quod idem omnibus rebus auŕpitiŕum optimŕum habemus, ſi ſuiŕum

9 Where each man maketh choice of his fellow] This manner of mustering was, that the first man should chuse the second, who in the battel should stand fast beside him, the second, the third, and so forth, each his mate till the last man. An army so gathered was in the opinion of those ancient times thought in a manner invincible, and unquestioned it had very many singular commodities. *Livi. l. 9. Ad Padimonis lacum Hetrusci, lege sacra coactio exercitus, cum vir virum legisset, quantum nuquam alias ante simul copis, simul animis dimicavimus.* Much after the same manner *Zenoph. l. 1. 1. 10. 11.* describeth the Persian muster, either because it was so indeed, or because in his judgement, being an excellent commander, so had become the best. Cyrus the Generall maketh choice of 200. trained Gentlemen such as he knew most fit for the service. Each of those 200. choose four more Gentlemen: and so rising up to 1 thousand Gentlemen, every Gentlemen maketh choice of thirty common souldiers namely 10. targets, 10. slings, 6. pikes, and 10. bows.

10. Their donative which they had used of duty to receive] The Princes liberalities to the souldiers were called *Donativa*, to the people, or otherwife to his friends, *Corgiaria*, doubleless becaufe at the first certaine meafures called *congii* of wine or oyle were bestowed, and afterward other things were given, yet the ancient name remained. Tac. 12. Annal. *Additum nomine Nervini donativum militi, congiarium plebi.* And Sueton. 'Nerone, of the selfe same thing: § cap. 7. *Draditus (Δρογὴ) in forum tyro, populo, congiarium, in liti donativum proposuit.* Which property of speech Tully, as it *Draditus* (Δρογὴ) in *forum tyro*, populo, congiarium, in liti donativum proposuit. Which property of speech Tully, as it seems, not regarding, useth *congiarium* in stead of donativum 16. ad Attic. ep. 8. *Ani vet ad tres legiones Macedoniae, que ius secundum mare superum sicut, quas sperat suas esse. Ea congiarium ab Antonio accipere noluerunt.* Or rather, as I thought, the word *donativum*, came in with the Empire not known in the free state. Donatives the Princes usually bestowed upon some great victory, or other extraordinary occasion. Claudius was the first which at his creation promised to the souldiers Donative, fiftene thousand sesterces a man, that is, about sixscore pound sterling. *Primus Cesarum fidem militi: etiam premio pignorat, sicut* & Suetonius: and when Nero his adopted sonne did take *togam g. cap. so.* *senilem*, he gave them another Nero at his entry promised donativum ad exemplar paterna largitionis, Tac. 12. Annal. and after the conspiracy of Piso was detected, *bina nummum millia vinitum manipularibus divisi*, that is, about fixteene pound, and divers times in the Græcian journey, inducing as it were by so many precedents a kinde of necessity to his successors. Nymphidius promised them in Galbaes name thirty thousand sesterces, that is about twelvelfcore pound, but Galba at his coming paid nothing at all. And here in the adoption of Pifo: *nullum oratione aut lenocinium addidit, aut pretium.* Adrian following a more greaceable court to that time, in the adoption of Verus bestowed three hundred millions of sesterces upon the souldiers: and Antonius at the marriage of his daughter Faustina exceeded *usque ad donativum militum*, Spartian.

V. *An Embassy to the armies in Germany.*

THe newes growing dayly fresher of the German revolt, and the city being ready to admit and believe all news when they are evill, the Senat ordered, that Embassadors should be sent to the armies. It was besides secretly debated

desperate upon new desires, by little and little proceeded so far, that so oft as Galba was feasted at Othoes, under pretence of a banquet benevolence, he distributed to each man of the cohort which waited, an hundred sesterces. Which, as being a publike largeness, Otho strengthened with secret rewards to particular persons: so confident a corrupter, that whereas Coccius Proculus a billman of the Guard had a suite with his neighbour about a small parcell of ground, which lay doubtful between them, Otho with his owne money bought the neighbours whole ground, and freely bestowed it upon him: such was the insufficiency of Laco the Captain, grossely to oversee not onely close practises, but even those dealings, which all the whole world espied beside. But at that time Otho appointed Onomastus one of his freedmen for master workman to contrive the treason, who bringing Barbius Proculus the watch-word-carrier of the billmen, and Veturius a Centurions Lieutenant anon to his master, after that Otho by sundry speeches, and much private conference, perceived them to be craftie, and bold, fit for his purpose, he lades them with rewards in hand, but much more with promises to come; giving them money to assuage the mindes of moe of their fellows: and so two common souldiers tooke upon them to transerre the Empire of the people of Rome, and accordingly performed it indeed. Few were by them made privy to the principall purpose, and they by divers devises incited the hovering mindes of the rest, drawing into the association the chiefe of the souldiers preferred by Nymphidius, as being suspect to the present estate; the meaner sort, and the rest, by means of the anger and displeasure conceived upon despaire of their donative so often differed: some also there were, whom the memory of Nero, and desire of former licence did move: in generall, all were afraid they should finde a change in the service. This contagion infected also the Legions and Aides, whose faith was weakened already, when as they heard their fellows of Germany had left their allegiance. And so ready were the bad to rebell, yea the good to dessemble, that upon the fourteenth of January, they had determined, as Otho returned from supper to have taken him up by the way, had they not feared such casuall chances, as night might have bred; and by reason the souldiers were lodged scatteringly throughout the whole towne; and that drunken men would a great deale more hardly agree; not for any care of Commonwealth, which they purposed, when they were sober, to pollute with the blood of their Prince; but lest in the darke by error it might chance, that instead of Otho, some other man should be offered to the Pannonian and German souldiers, & so be accepted for Emperor, the most part of them not knowing Otho by sight. Many signes of treason even now as it were discovering it selfe, were suppressed by the conspiratours: some other in Galbaes hearing Laco the captaine put away with a jest; a man little seene in souldiers affections, and of anyd-vise, were it never so excellent, whereof himselfe was no actour, an enemy, and against the skilfull obstinately contentious. The fifteenth of January as Galba was sacrificing before Apolloes temple, Umbricius the Priest, by view of unprosperous entrailes, foresheweth dangers at hand, and a home enemy in Othoes audience (for he was the next man) who contrarily construed it as good lucke on his side, and happy successe in his affaires. Anon after, Onomastus bringeth in word, that the master carpenter, and those which had undertaken the worke at a price, stayed for his coming: for that was the watch-word agreed between them, to signifie, that now the souldiers were drawing together, and the conspiracy ripe. Otho faining an answer to such as demanded the cause of his departure, that he had certaine old tenements to buy, which he suspected were ruinous, and therefore would have

*6. Aureum nummum
faith Philars.
Suet. that is, 15.
s. 7. d. ob. Now
this cohort or
bad consisted
of a thousand
souldiers, so that
his whole libe-
ralitie that way
cost him one
dinner. 781. li.
5. s.
* Publicam impu-
m, or rather du-
puzier.
** Spiculator.*

*d Suet. Otho. 6.
yeel'seth another
reason: s'p'it
refectus coloris
qua tunc excubab-
bat, no oteratur
invalia qual e-
jussem statione
C. Caus fuerat
occisus & de-
ferus Nero.
Medina quique
tempus religio, &
Mariani ex-
emerunt.
e For before he
had said, that
multa e Germania
& illius vici
remained in
Rome.*

them viewed before, * following his servants direction, went through Tiberius house into the Velabrum, and thence to the golden Milliarium under the Temple of Saturnus. There three and twenty Bilmen attending his coming salute him Emperor: and as he stood amazed, trembling for feare at their fewnesse, they snatch him up hastily into a chaire, and with their swords drawn carry him away. As they went forward toward the Camp, about so many moe souldiers joyned themselves, some acquainted indeed with the cause, but most for the wonder and strangeness: part with shows, and drawn swords, part holding their peace, meaning so to proceed, as the event should direct them. Julius Martialis warded as Tribune that day in the Campe: who being either terrified with the greatness of so sudden a treason, or else fearing the Camp was further corrupted, and death, if he should make shew of resistance, gave most men to misdeem by his dealing, that he was somewhat of counsell with the case. The rest likewise of the Tribunes and Centurions preferred present security before duty with danger: and generally after that manner were their mindes and affections inclined, that into so horrible a treason few only durst enter; more wished it so, and all were contented to suffer it to passe. Galba in the meane while ignorant of all which had passed, was busily occupied about his devotion, importuning now the Gods of another mans Empire, when as suddenly word was brought, that a Senator, they wist not well who, was carried to the Camp, and straightwaies that it was Otho. Anon flocked thither out of all quarters, as they happened to meet him, some making the feare more then it was, some lesse, not forgetting even then to fall to their flattering biace. The matter being consulted upon, it was thought convenient, to sound the minde of the Cohort, which warded in the Palace, not by Galba himselfe, whose authority was to be reserved intire for greater exploits, but by Piso: who calling them before the staires of the house, used this speech. It is now, fellow-souldiers, six daies, since that I was, not knowing what after might befall, and whether this name were to be wished, or feared, adopted Caesar: with what successe to our house, or to the Common-wealth, that lies in your hands: not that I am for mine own particular, afraid of any heavy chance that can happen: froward fortune I have proved with the most; and the good I do take to bring no lesse danger: but my fathers case, the Senats, and the whole Empires I lament, if this day of force we must either kill or be killed; a hard choice for any good man. In the last troubles these comforts we had: the City was kept clean without any blood-shed; the Star passed over without any discord; order was taken as it seemed, sufficient, by declaring a successfour, that hereafter also there should be no new occasion of war. I will not extoll and magnifie here mine ancient house, or modest behaviour; neither in the comparison with Otho, need we to reckon up vertues: his vices wherein he alone triumphs, have ruined the State even then, when he was but a friend of the Emperours. By his gesture and gate should he deserve to be Prince, or by that womanish attire he weareth? they are foully deceived, whom riot deceives with shew of liberality: to cast away and consume well may he be learned; to give in good order he hath not the skill: bodily pleasures & banquetting, wanton dalliance with women, these be the points which now he proposeth himselfe, these he accounteth the prerogatives of Princes; whereof the lust and pleasure shall be only his own, the shame and ignominy redoundeth to all: for never any man yet used the Empire well, which he got by ill means. The consent of the world made Galba Emperor, & Galba by your consent made me. If the weal publick, the Senat, the people, be frivolous names, and no substance, yet for your own interest provide, fellow souldiers, that the rascallest

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** Imixtus libris.
Spiculatores.*

** Vt quisque ob-
vius fuerat, se.
Othoni, or Orbe-
niam, as I
think.*

“fort be no Emperour makers. The Legions abroad have some time mutined a-
 “gainst their Generals; that had been heard of: your truth and good name hath re-
 “mained as yet to this day untouched: and Nero also forsook you, not you Nero.
 “Shall lesse then thirty renegates and traitors, whom none would permit to choofe
 “their Centurion, or Tribune dispose of the Empire? do you allow the example? do
 “you wink at their crime, and so make it your own? the provinces will usurp the like
 “licence, & the end of these treasons will fall to our share, the end of those wars u-
 “to yours. Neither is there more gotten by murdering your Prince, then by keep-
 “ing your hands innocent and clean: as well shall you receive of us a donative for

“ Spiculatores.

* Principales.
* E Librarias
1819.

f Suetonius some-
what otherwise
cap. 20. omnes
qui accersuntur,
perire natiuitas,
excepta Germani-
corum oscillatio-
ne. His necesse
videtur quod se
agros & trivialis
deus magister fo-
rvisor, in excitat-
ionis auctoritate
se ferunt, hinc
deus per igno-
rantiam loco uno
retardati.

while he like a goodly trim Captain, with his courageous friends, so they may be in covert, kept close within doores and shut up the gates, meaning belike to attend the siege there? much help might one hope for at bondmens hands, if the agreement of so great a multitude, and their first indignation which is always the hottest, were offered to cool: that therefore the party dishonorable was also more dangerous: or if needs they must die, then better to meet and encounter the danger: that would at least breed Otho more envy, & were withall most for their honour. As Vinus replied against the opinion, Laco, at the instigation of Icelus, persisting in privat displeasures to the overthrow of the publick estate, beginneth to charge him with menacing and threats: and Galba without any longer delay gave himself wholly to follow their counsell, which had the fairer shew in appearance. Yet first was Piso sent to the Campe, as being a young man of great name and gracious, fresh in mens favour, and enemy to Vinus, either because he was so, or that Vinus ill-willers did wish it to be so; and it is thought rather he was so indeed. Piso was scant gone abroad, when first a flying rumour without Author was spread, that Otho was slain in the Camp: anon, as in great lies it falls out, some affirmed they were present, and saw it; a report which men partly rejoycing and partly not curious, easily beleaved. Many supposed this rumour was framed, and increased by some of Othoes men, being now thrust in with the rest, and giving out untruly good newes of purpose to allure Galba out of his hold. But upon the report howsoever, not onely the people and simpler sort clap hands, and declare immoderately their affections, but most of the Gentlemen, and Senators without temporizing, as being now freed of feare, break open the gates, rush into the Palace, pressing forward to Galba, protesting how sorry they were, the revenge of his quarel was thus prevented by others, the greatest cowards, and such as in danger dared the least, as triall made proove, being most excessive in words, and hardy of tongue. Thus whilest all affirmed, and no body knew, Galba yeelding to an untruth so generally footed, puts on * a breast plate, and being not able for body nor age to sustaine the presse which came in upon him, was lifted up in a Chaire. In the palace Julius Atticus met him, one of the " Bilmen, holding out a bloody sword in his hand, with which he cried aloud he had slain Otho. My friend, quoth Galba, who bade thee? a man of rare vertue to keep in awe a licentious fouldier, whom neither threats could terrifie, nor flattering speeches corrupt and abuse.

[illegible]

By this time the souldiers were wholly agreed, with so great fervencie favouring Otho, that not content to assist him in companies with their bodies, they cast a ring about him with banners, as he stood * in the midst of the ensignes in the Tribunal, in which a little before the image of Galba was planted in gold, not suffering the Tribunes or Centurions to approach, yea and further the common souldier bidding beware of Officers. All the whole Camp resounding with clamours, with tumult, with mutuall encouragement: none of those different chantings of dull flattery practised among the popular: but as they espied any souldier coming, they would take him by the hand, embrace him in their armour, set him fast by them, beguile him the oath, recommending sometime their Emperour to the souldiers, and sometimes the souldiers to their Emperour. Neither was Otho slack for his part to stretch forth his hands, to bow himselfe to every meane person, * to throw kisses abroad, and what fervile crouching else not fit for an Empire! When the whole Legion of Mariners had sworn allegiance, trusting now to his strength, and supposing it requisite to incense them in Common, whom as yet he had only incited in severall, standing upon the Rampier of the Camp, he begius in this manner. "I am

"come here, as you see, to your presence, my loving companions: but what I am, that cannot I tell. A private man I will not be termed, being named Prince by you; nor Prince well I cannot, whilest yet another possesseth the place: your name also, whether traitors or true subjects, shall be likewise in doubt, till it be decided what manner of man you have in your camp, an Emperour of the people of Rome, or an enemy. Do you not heare how my death, and your punishment are both required at once? so evident it is, that we can neither perish, nor be safe, but joyntly together: and perhaps Galba, according to the measure of his discretion, hath promised it already, as one that could finde in his heart, unaskt, unrequired, to murder so many thousands of most innocent citizens. A horror pierceth my heart as oft as I call to remembrance the dismall entry, and that only conquest of his, when he did in fight of the City command to be slain the tenth person of those, which upon their humble request he had received into his protection. Such was his unprosperous entry: and what glorious fact brought he beside to commend him withall to the Princes place, saving the slaughter of Obultronius Sabinus and Cornelius Marcellus in Spain, of Betuus Chilo in France, of Fronteius Capito in Germany, of Clodius Macer in Africk, of Cingonius in the way, Turpilianus in the City, Nymphidius in the camp? Nay, what Province is there, what camp any where, that he hath not, as he pretends, amended and corrected, but in truth with cruelty misused and stained with blood? Those things which other men account hainous faults, he termes them gentle remedies: cruelty he clokes with the name of severity, and wretched covetousnes he termeth provident sparing; your stripes and indignities ancient discipline. Since the death of Nero it is scarce seven moneths, and yet hath one Icelus already raked more together, then all that rable, Polyclerus, Varinius, Elius, and their fellows have done in so many yeares. And certainly with lesse covetousnesse, and more respect would Titus Vinius have raged if himself had been Emperour: now he oppresseth us as vassals, and holdeth us vile as strangers: the only wealth of that man were enough for the donative, which daily is cast in your teeth, but never paid to your purses. And lest we might hope to better our estate, at the least when Galba were gone, he hath fetched out of exile one, that in cruelty and covetousnes he judged likest himself. You saw, fellow-souldiers, by that notable storm, that even the gods much abhorred that untoward adoption. The Senat, the people are of the same minde: your part now only remaineth: your valour and vertue is looked for: you are the men who adde strength to good causes: without you, be the attempt never so worthy, it shall never take any worthy effect. I desire you not to a war, I call you not to any dangerous exploit: the souldiers be all of our side, and that one unarmed cohort, which waits upon Galba, endeavors not now to defend him against us, but rather detaines him from scaping out from us: when you shall come in their view, when they shall see my ensigne, this will be their only contention, who shall in my behalfe do greatest service. No delay in that enterprise is to be used, which never is commended, before it be ended. Then he commanded the Armory to be opened: armes by and by were taken contrary to custome, and order of service, where the Prætorian and Legionary man is severed by his different cognisance: with Helmets and Targets they mingle themselves, among the Aid souldiers: no Centurion nor Tribune encouraging them, they become Capitaine and encourager, each man to himselfe; and that which chiefly encouraged the bad, the good were discouraged, and quite out of heart. Now Piso being scared away with the noise, as the sedition grew fuller and hotter, with showts resounding even into the City, by this time had joyned himselfe to Galba again, who

h For so Tacitus faith a little before: *dissensus clamor plebis & servitiorum, eadem Thaisi & consularium exitium persequentium.*

i Elius was left by Nero, at his pilgrimage into Achaia, as his vicegerent in Rome, with absolute authority: and with him Polyclerus: which two as *Nymphidius witnesseth, & Polyclerus souldier sayd* *esse in Roma.* Of Varinius Tacitus maketh mention 15. An Varinius interfectus est: *causa ejus aule ostensa fuit.* Suetonius tabernæ alumnus, corpore detorto, succisus securibus primo in centumviris, deinde optimis ejusque criminibus coeque valuit, ut gratia pecuniaque necandi etiam nulli premeretur. k Or have my watchword given them. l Suetonius c. 6. addeth: *Ad evadendum pollicentibus militum animis nihil magis pro concione testatur est, quam id demum se habiturum, quod sibi illi reliquissent.*

was in the meane season issued out of the Palace, and come neare to the place of publick assembly. Marius Celsus likewise had brought an heavy answer againe: whereupon some thought it expedient to retire into the Palace againe, some rather to possesse themselves of the Capitoll, some other to take the Rostra: but the most did only impugne the opinions of others, and as often it chanceth in Counsels crossed with evill successe, that way was commonly judged the best, whereof the time was forepassed. It is reported that Laco, unwitting to Galba, had a meaning to have slaine Titus Vinius, hoping belike by his death to mitigate the souldiers, or mistrusting he was confederate with Otho, or els upon private displeasure: the time and the place bred scruple in the matter: for when men are set in a killing, it is not so easie to stop when you list, and many other accidents staied the purpose; fearefull messages, the slippings away of his friends, their courage being all quailed, and of those which cheerefully at first made moit ostentation of loyalty and stoutnesse. Galba was driven to and fro with the croud of the company, as it waved up and down. The standing in * Temples and Churches on every side were taken to view this * sorrowfull sight: the people all mute, with countenances amazed, and listening eares; no tumult, no quietnesse: such a silence as argued great feare, and great anger: notwithstanding it was carried to Otho, that the common people were a putting in armes: whereupon he commanded his men to march in all speed and prevent the danger. So the Roman souldiers, as if they had gone to pull Volageses or Pacorus out of the throne anciently possessed by Ariaces line, and not to murder their own Emperour unarmed, and aged, dispersing the people, trampling the Senate under foot, set spurs to their horses, and fiercely in armes rush into the Place of assembly: neither did the sight of the Capitoll, nor reverence of the Temples about, nor the Princes past and to come, terrifie them from committing that abominable act; whereof the next successor is the revenger. The ensigne-bearer of Galbaes cohort, Atilius Vergilio by report, as soon as he saw as farre off the armed men, marching in array, pluckt down the image of Galba, and dashed it against the pavement, by that it did plainly appeare, that all the souldiers were wholly for Otho. The people unbidden make away in all haste, leaving the place of assembly voide, or if any seemed to linger, they were drawn upon by the souldiers. At Lacus Curtius Galba was tumbled out of his chaire to the ground, through the fearfulness of them which bare it. His last words are diversly by divers reported, as they admired or hated the man: some say, he humbly demanded, what ill he had ever deserved, requesting onely a few dayes respite to pay their donative. The most do agree; that he offered stoutly his neck, to doe their pleasure, and strike, if it seemed so good to the Common-wealth: it mattered not much to the murderers what he did say. The very man that slew him is not certainly known: some say Terentius Evocatus; others Lecanius: the more received opinion is, that Camurius, a souldier of the fifteenth Legion, pierced his throat with a sword: his armes and legges (for his breast was armed) others did miserably mangle and hew: many stabbes, upon a savage and beastly cruelty, were bestowed upon the headlesse carcassee. Next after Galba, they assailed Vinius, of whom likewise there is question, whether the present feare waited his speech, or else that he cried aloud. They had no commandment from Otho to kill him: which, whether he fained for feare, or confessed as associate of the conspiracy, the fame of his lewd life doth make it more probable he was guilty of the treason, whereof he was cause. At the first wound in his hamme he tumbled down before the Temple of Divus Julius, and after by Julius Carus, a Legionary souldier, was thrust through

m Or, the standings upon the common halls and Temples. * Basilica ac templa sua res seque hie pariterque apparet. Plur. Senec. lib. 3. de ira. Frontinus judiciorum basilica resonant.

* Ingens profectio for praefectus. Tacitus. 2. Hist. 93. Luxu & saginis mactantur. Plur. turne this place. *de corpore videri non potest, sed videri n. for he himselfe remained still in the camp Suer. c. 6. while this tragedy was playing, a circumstance which in reason Tacit. should not have touched so lightly.* o Equites, vis praed. Galba, parumper restituerunt, detente rursus incitatis. Suet. c. 19.

p Thores, or Lorica lineata supra.

q Tac. Supra. Calpurnius, Titus Vinius detentum morsu mortalium odio flagrantem occidit.

That is, beside the two Consuls.

13 Or his principall bondmen: *E prioribus servis* [Primoribus servis] it would be, as I think. *Servorum enim alii priores, alii Medii sunt*; of Primoribus Tacitus maketh mention Annal. 4. *Lygdamus etate atque forma charus domino, inique primoribus ministris erat*. Now that dispensators were of the better sort, it appeareth by that of Suetonius: *Nervae, Ciceronis dominus servorum numerum indicit* (Nero) *nec nisi ex tota cuiusque familia probatissimos, ne dispensatoribus quidem amanuensis excoctis recepit*.

14 Seventy three years. Galba was born, saith Suetonius, *Messala & Lentulo* [Coff. 9. *Calendas Jan. Anno ab urbe condita 751*.] *Id est 82 a. 18. Jul. Febr.* So that Galba lived but 23. daies only above seventy years, and yet Suetonius in two or three places agreeth with Tacitus, onely Xiphilinus hath 72. which is the most.

VIII. After the death of Galba, the newes growing hotter of Vitellius and the German revolt, how the City stood affected between him and Otho.

THE City thus terrified, and having in horreur both the hainousnesse of the late fact, and the old conditions of Otho, was put in a further feare, by the newes of Vitellius revolt, which were in Galbaes time suppressed, that men should beleieve no more had rebelled, save the Army of upper Germany alone. But then seeing two of all mortall men the most detestable creatures, in floridnesse, incontineny, and wastefull life, fatally elect, as it were to ruine the Empire, not onely the Senators and Gentlemen, who had some part and care of the State, but the Commons also openly began to waile and lament. Their talk was no more of the fresh and bleeding examples of the late murdering peace: but of civill wars recorded in ancient Story, of the City so oft surprized by her own Citizens, Italy wasted, the Provinces spoiled; of Pharsalia, Philippi, Perusia, Mutina, famous names of common calamities. The world was subverted almost, even when good men strove for the State: notwithstanding there remained when Caius Julius, there remained when Caesar Augustus was conqueror, the forme of an Empire. If Pompey had prevailed, if Brutus, the popular State would have stood: now whether for Otho, or for Vitellius should they go to the Temples! that both praies were impious alike, both vows alike detestable, between two, in the war of whom this alone you might know, that he which should win, would be worse then before. Some secretly wished Vespasian with the Eastern Armies; and as he was more liked then either of the other, so did they greatly mislike to multiply wars and calamities: and again Vespasian was not altogether without exception; the onely Prince before his time, which changeth to the better.

1 Two of all mortall men the most Otho and Vitellius are here compared aslike, in opposition both to a good Prince: 2. Hist. as unlike, with notes of distinction, opposed the one to the other. *Vitellius ignaviae voluptatis Otiosi Princeps*. *Vitellius* centre & gula sibi ipsi hostis: Otho luxu, sevitia, audacia reipub. extinctioni deditur. Of the one side an ill minde in a man of nothing, of the other an ill minde joyned with courage and edge.

2 If Pompey had prevailed, if Brutus, the popular State would have stood. Of Brutus I cannot say it in question carrying that honourable minde which no doubt he did to the libertie of his country: but surely for Pompey I cannot asseme it, his doings asseme rather the contrarie, and Tacitus himselfe reacheth us otherwise. 2. Hist. *M. x. p. ubi infima C. Marius & nobilium servissimus L. Sulla, victum armis libertatum dominum non vertunt*. Post quos Cn. Pompeius occultior non melior, Salust. apud Sueton. lib. de clausis grammaticis. *Pompeius oris probi, antroque invictandi*, Appianus 2. *Εργον*. maketh a report of a word that escaped Pompey, *Pompeius oris probi, antroque invictandi*, Appianus 2. *Εργον*. maketh a report of a word that escaped Pompey, a man not used to dissemble that way, a little before the battell at Pharsalia. *ταπεινὸν δὲ ἀνδρὸς ποτὶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς* *δὲ δὲ ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ ἔστιν ὡς ἐνδοξοῦ* *ἀνδρὸς ποτὶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς* *δὲ δὲ ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ ἔστιν ὡς ἐνδοξοῦ*. That is, Pompey before

heset his men in array at the battell of Pharsalia, to them about him let fall unawares a word, whereby it was discovered that he himselfe if the victory had gone on his side, would still have retained the monarchy. This day, quoth he, whether soever of us two shall win, will be the beginning of great calamity for ever to the Roman estate. Of the same opinion is Tully also in his letters ad Atticum, whose judgement, as of a man of affaires, and in respect we may justly account above all exception, lib. 8. epist. 11. *Neque enim est ille, ut nos beati simus, ut regnare videamur*. De Pompeio & Cesare. lib. 9. epist. 6. *Mirandum in modum Ciceronis noster suum regni similitudinem concepit*. *et hoc est illud*. That is, I tell you this upon mine own knowledge Lib. 7. 9. *Ex victoria tum multa mala, tum ceteris tyrannis exisset*.

3 The onely Prince which before his time changed. For after him Titus his son changed also the same way. Suet. Tit. cap. 1. *Titus amor ad delicie generis humani: tantum illi ad promerendam omnium oblationem vultu ingenii, vultus, et fortuna superstit: & (quod desillimum est) in imperio, quando privatus, neque etiam sub patre principe, nec odo quidem, neque superatione publica caruit*.

XI. The revolt of the Armies of both Germanies, and rising of Vitellius.

NOW will I set downe the beginning and causes of Vitellius commotion. After that Julius Vindex with all his host was slaine, the Army growing insolent with spoile and glory, as having obtained, without paine and danger, a most rich conquest, loved much better exploits and fighting, rewards and booties, then ordinary pay, they had passed before a long, fruitlesse, and hard service there, partly through the qualitie of the soile, and climate, and partly through the straitnesse of discipline, which in time of peace being rigorously observed, by civill wars is utterly dissolved; corrupters being ready at hand on both sides, and fugitives escaping as then without punishment. Men, Armour, Horses they had sufficient for use, and ornament too; but before the war they had no further acquaintance together, but with the men of their owne Troupes, and Companies: the Armies lay severed in severall Provinces, then against Vindex the Legions being assembled in one, and having proved themselves and the forces of Gallia, fought now a fresh occasion of warres, and new troubles, not terming them as they were wont friends, and allies, but enemies and conquered persons. The tract of Gallia, which lies upon Rhene, having followed before the souldiers side, advanced themselves then with the formost to instigate the armies against the Galbians, for so now they called them, disdaining the name of Vindex as stale. Thus being incensed against the Sequani and Hedui, and so further, as the townes were in wealth, they conceived in hope sacking of Cities, wasting of Countries, rifling of houses; irritated next after covetousnesse and presumption, principall vices of them which be stronger, by the perversenesse of them of Galia foolishly bragging, that Galba had released a fourth part of their tribute, and generally made them Citizens of Rome in despite of the Army. Moreover it was given out craftily, and rashly beleaved, that in the Legions every tenth man was allotted to die, & the ablest men of the Centurions should be called: from every quarter hainous rumours, sinister reports from Rome, the Colony of Lions discontented, and as it were a nursery of tales by reason of their constant affection to Nero: but greater matter to forge out a lie, and win it credit the camp it selfe did yeeld upon hatred, feare, security also, when they had measured their owne abilitie. Aulus Vitellius entering the yeare before about the first of December into lower Germany, with great care and diligence had visited and surveied the standing camps of the Legions: many he restored to their roomes, to their fame and honor, most part to win favor, and some upon judgement, undoing that with integrity, which Fontains Capito upon bribery and lucre had done displacing or placing for money in degrees of service: neither were his doings accepted after the measure of an ordinary Lieutenant general, but in a far higher degree. And as among the severer sort Vitellius was thought base and demisse, so his favorers termed it cour-

these speeches and many such like they had wrought and incensed the souldier so, that even the Lieutenants, and Captaines of the side did scantily thinke it a possible matter to quench their choler; when they of Vienna in very good season, foreseeing their danger, with 3 sacred veles and infules afore them, as the army marched, embracing their armour, their knees, their feet, mollified the souldiers mindes: beside, Valens bestowed upon them a three hundred sesterces a man. Then was the antiquity and dignity of the Colony respected: then were the words of Fabius, commending unto them the lives, and welfare of the Viennenses, patiently heard: being notwithstanding to forfeit their publicke munition, each man according to his ability with private provision helped the souldier. But the report went constantly that Fabius favour was bought with a large summe of money: the man, a great while needy and poore, becoming now rich on the sudden, cloaked not well the change of his fortune; exercising excessively the lusts and desires which long poverty had kindled; and of a beggerly yong man a prodigall old. Afterward the army marched on slowly thorow the Territory of the Allobroges, and the Vocontii, the Generall setting to sale the length of his journies, and places of lodging; bargaining shamelessly with the owners of the grounds, and magistrates of the Cities, and that in such threatning manner, that he offered to set 4 Lucus a free towne of the Vocontii, on fire, till he was appeased with money: where matter of money was wanting, there payment was made with women and such like pleasures. And so at the last they came to the Alpes.

1. A luckie signe] Many of the Latin stories (for to them and their disciples this vertue is peculiar) account it, I thinke, a capitall crime to let downe any notable mutation in fate without many prodigious for *omnia*, miraculous *omnia*, &c. inducing the change, moit of them being counterfeit, and coyned to drive - in the Reader into an exact, many happening commonly, and remembered only when any notable event did ensue. In the second booke, and thoes death, we have another tale much of this making, or somewhat worse, with a preface to give it force, and As for our Eagle here she was surely either a notorious counterfeit, or else not worthily ignorant of what would befall, thus to give *omni* hand dibum of great prosperity, which in effect dured but a moment.

2. Nothing else but strangers and enemies: contrarywise themselves a Roman Colony] And so was Vienna too. The Emperor Claudius in a speech in Senate which yet is extant at Lyons gravely in brief: ORNATA ILLA ECCE COLONIA VALENTISSIMAQUE VIENNENSIVM QVAM LONGO INTER-
PORE HVIC CVRIAE SENATORES CONFERT? And Tacitus himself almost in the next sen-
tence, Tum veniens dignitasque colonie valuit, speaking of Vienna, so that both being Colonies, and both external
like, this Rhetorick of his was here out of season.

3. Sacred veils, and infules: *Velamenta & infule*. *Velamenta* & *infule* signes of submittion and humble demitting of mercy. 3. Hilt. Antonius Primus vehemently assailing Cremona, *primus velamenta & infule pro mea ostendit*. And Cornelanus waiting the Roman Countrey, *sacerdotes suis insignibus velatos esse supplicat ad capitulum tradiditque*, sixth p. Lixij, and the same Livy lib. 3. *Humiliprocul arator*. (Cathagines postu Septu.) *capitulum vaticque oleæ Carthaginiun occurrit mavis*. Now *capitulum* hath Varo and Festus, were certain *velamenta*; *laxa, quibus sacerdotes & h. sine, templaque velabantur*, so that by their deferution there shuld seeme to be no great difference betwene *velamenta* and *infules*.

between *velamen* and *infulus*.

4. *Lucus* a free town: *Municipium id Poenontiorum est*. *Municipium* and *Colonia* though used indifferently in many good Authors, yet indeed, and in preciseless of speech carry severall senses, and to both *Lucius* 2. Hist. put them as divers. *Dispersi per municipia & colonias Puteolani*. The difference is that *municipia* in *strata* *no exaristis* *as agri-male*, and *coloniae* *ex civitate educuntur*. Gellius 4 lib. 16. *ex oratione D. Hadriani ad Italicos*; distinguishing them in this manner. *Munice persunt cives Romani ex municipiis suo jure & suis legibus utentes munera tantum cum P. R. no municipaliter per*, & *quo munere capessendo appellati videtur: nullis aliis necessitatibus, nullo a P. R. libe afficiunt, quam antiquum P. R. eorum fadus fuisse offerit*. *Coloniae autem nec municipiis est; non enim vivunt ex hisse in civitate, nec suis radicibus mutantur sed ex civitate quasi per plateas sunt, & jura institutaque omnia P. R. non sui arbitrio habent*. Now that *Lucus* was indeed *municipium*, according to the exquisite use of the word, may appear by Pliny lib. 3. cap. 4. *Poenontium civitatis federatae duo capita, Vasio & Lucus Augusti*.

XI. *The journey of Cæcina from Coleyn with thirty thousand men thorow the Penine Alpes into Italy.*

Aecina gained more spoile, and shed more blood. The Helvetians (a people of Gallia anciently in name for warlike men, and after for the memory of their renowne) having not heard of Galbaes death; and refusing to be

beat Vitellius devotion, and exasperated his forward and troublesome disposition. *ferunt itera obsequia gentibus Semigermanis, suorum.*

The warre was commenced through the ravenings and hastinesse of the one and twentieth Legion; who by force took away certaine money, which the Helvetians had sent to the pay of a garrison, in a Castle anciently kept by their owne men, and at their owne costs. The Helvetians being highly displeased at the fact, intercepted letters sent from the army of Germany to the Legions of Pannonia, committing a Centurion, and certaine souldiers to ward. Cæcina desirous of warre, and ready to revenge faults as they fell, without giving time of repentance, removed his Campe hastily forward, wasteth the countrey, and sacketh a place well peopled, by reason of the pleasant and wholesome bathes, and through long peace beautified with build-ings in forme of a free towne: word also was sent to the Rhoetian Aides to assaile the Helvetians backs, as they made head to the Legions. The Helvetians fierce before danger, in danger feareful, thought at the first tumult they had chosen a cap-taine Claudius Severus, yet wist not at all how to handle their weapons, to keepe their array: they had no common counsell amongst them to direct their doings all to one end: to venture the battell against the old experimented souldier, would be their ruine: to try the siege seemed unsafe, their walles being decayed, and fallen for age: on the one side was Cæcina with a puissant Army, on the other the wings and Cohorts of Rhoetia, and the Rhoetian youth practised in armes, and trained up souldier-like, on every side there was burning and killing: in the midst the Helve-tians stragling, flinging weapons away, and for the most part wounded or wandring in disarray, fled to the mount Vocetius; and being straightway by a cohort of Thra-cians beaten downe from their hold, and chased by the Germanes and Rhoetians, they were in the woods and coverts put to the sword: many thousands of men were slaine, * many sold to be slaves. And as the Army, having spoiled the countrey, marched toward Aventicum head-City of the Nation in battell array, messengers were sent to yeeld up the City: which being accepted, Julius Alpinus a principall man was by Cæcinaes sentence adjudged to die, as one which had raised the trouble: the rest he referred to Vitellius to pardon, or punish as pleased him best. Where-upon the Helvetians send Embassadours thither: it is hard to say whether of both they found Emperour or Army, harder to be appeased: the souldiers require the towne to be razed, they bend their weapons and fists against the Embassadours faces; and Vitellius for his part spareth no threats, nor speeches, till Claudius Cossus one of the Embassage, a famous Oratour, but cunningly cloaking his Art with an apt kinde of feare, and so much the more of force to perswade, appeased the souldi-ers furious wrath: * as usually the common sort is suddenly changeable, and with-in a moment as prone to pity, as it was before excessively cruell: with shedding of teares, and importunate begging a better answer, they obtained at length that their City should be saved and pardoned. Cæcina having staid a few daies in Hel-vetia of purpose to heare how Vitellius resolved, and withall preparing to passe the Alpes, received from Italy a joyfull message: that the Syllan wing which lay about Pothad sworn to Vitellius. They had served in Africk under Vitellius being Pro-consull, and afterward being removed from thence by Neroes appointment to passe into Egypt, and staid upon the troubles of Vindex, and so remaining in Italy, they went to the side, perswaded thereto by the Decurions, who being be-holding to Vitellius, and utterly unacquainted with Orho, extolled the strength of the Legions coming, the fame and renowne of the German Army; and as a present for a new Prince, they brought over to his side the strongest free townes beyond the Po, Milan, Novara, Eporedia and Vercelles. That advertise-

** Sub corona circumdata. Corona capiti imposita, faith Gellius, lib 7. cap. 4. following the opinion of Salinus the Lawyer, signum fuit capivorum venationis. Antiquitus, faith the Lawyer, mancipia jure belli capta coronata induta ve-nebant, & idcirco dicebantur sub corona venire. Caro lib. de re militari, alluding to this custome, better it were, faith he, ut populus sua opera potius ob rem bene gestam coronatus supplicatim eat, quam re male gesta coronatus crearet. * Vestis mos vulgo mutabilis fuit.*

* Sub corona
venusta. Corona capiti im-
posita, fifth
Gelling, lib 7.
cap. 4. follow-
ing the opini-
on of Salu-
stius the Law-
yer, *signum sui*
capitum ve-
nustum. Anti-
quitus, faith
the Lawyer,
maximipale
belli capia con-
nis tridita ve-
niebant, & id-
circo dicuntur
(sub)coronis ve-
re. *Coro lib.*
de re militari,
alluding to
this costume,
better it were,
saith he, ut po-
pulus sua opor-
tunis ab rem
bene gestam suppi-
cium eat,
quam re male
gesta. *coronatus*
reast.
* Vest mos
suble mutabit
fugit.

a As the Prin-
ces oftentimes
did.

This number and this time continued even to Diocesi: *ἕως τοῦ γὰρ (sayeth he) ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἀποφύγετο, καὶ οὐ πλείονος χρόνου ὡς πλείονος ἔσται ποτὶ ἀπαύξει.* That is, *For in our time no man beareth the Office for a whole year, nor much commonly for more then two months,* lib. 43. Now of these Consuls the two which entered the first of January were *ἐπιφύκιαι*, named the year, and were called *ordinarii*: the rest *minores*, as being obscure and not heard of abroad.

3 Crime of Majesty and treason: *Lex Majestatis* in the ancient free common-wealth comprehended only pointed disgraceful impertinence in State: *quis proditor exereitum, aut plebem fiditissimam denique male gesta Republica majestatem populi Romani minuisse.* Augustus put in ure against libellers, whereas before *scissa aguebantur, dicta impunita erant*, or at least not punished with the penalties *ipse Majestatis*. In Tiberius, Caius, Claudius and Nero's time was *tauerum crimen eorum, qui crimine vacabant*, as Pliny speaks, that One was accused to Tiberius, and all was majesty: *quod venditis hortis statum Augusti simul mancipasset* ¹ another *quod violasset perjurio nomen Augusti.* ² A third because of uncharitable speeches, that he had set up his own image higher than those of the Princes, and that in another image he had cut off the head of Augustus, and clapped in place one of Tiberius, for living of coll. ³ Another making an Epitaph for the Princes long, before he was dead, arraigned and condemned. ⁴ Another, *quod effugium principis promissionem ad usum argenti vertisset.* ⁵ Another, for that he had done greater service for the Prince, then that he was able any other way to requite it. ⁶ Another, for that in his story he had commended Calsius and Brutus enemies of the Monarchy, and dead above threecore years before. ⁷ Others because they were descended of those which in their time had been of neare acquaintance with Pompey. ⁸ Another because he had been a follower of Germanicus, of whom Tiberius without just cause had ever been jealous. ⁹ Another for making a Tragedy wherein certain verses were of doubtful understanding. In Claudius time ¹⁰ one was arraigned, and condemned of majesty for dreaming a dream, another for being dreamed of. In Nero's time one ¹¹ Calsius, *quod ad imagines majorum eorum C. Calfii effigiem cultusque et inscriptionem Ducis PAR. I. U. M.* And infinite more for such trifles as these. Seeing therefore that *lex majestatis* had been so late so odiously executed, it pleased the pardoners to say that which indeed was extortion, crime of majesty, the manner whereof was so hateful, that in respect of it even other good laws were neglected.

[illegible]

in the free state were derived abroad by the Senates appointment, for so (y) Velleius seems to divide them) they were devised for a recompense of old souldiers, who having spent the flower of their age in the service of their country, small reason it were to turn them a begging when they were aged. Wherefore Sylla, Cæsar and the Emperor following, at the end of their service rewarded the old souldiers with an honourable maintenance of land of inheritance. In this kinde of Colonies at the beginning (2) *universæ legiones ducuntur cum tribus, centurionibus, & suis* where they were placed. *Secundariorum Arausio, Sexcentorum Arelate, Septimanorum Biteris, Decimanorum colonia Martius Narbo.* In proesse of time this good order decaying, (3) *non in omni universæ legiones, sed ignoti inter se ducuntur, diversi manipulis, sine flore, sine effectibus mutis, quasi ex alio genere mortaliū repente in unum collecti, numerus magis quam colonia:* and the proof thereof was according, the souldiers slipping away in provinces, in quibus stipendia erant, and leaving the colonies desolate. Whether upon this or whatsoever occasion, apparent it is, that Hispalis and Emerita were both decayed, and therefore with new families here by grace from Otho stocked again.

XVII. The Rhoxolani a people of Sarmatia vanquished, and slaine by the souldiers of Mæsia.

Mens mindes being set upon civil warres, externall matters were lightly regarded: by reason whereof the Rhoxolani a people of Sarmatia, having the winter before slaine two cohorts, ventured more boldly to invade Mæsia. Their former exploit, & conceit of themselves had assembled nine thousand horse, more minding the spoil, then provided to fight: whereupon the * third Legion with the Aides assailed them suddenly as they were straggled and carelesse. The Romans had all things fitted for fight: the Sarmatians being scattered, or through greedinesse of spoil heavily charged, their horses being tired by reason of their burdens and slippery wayes, as if their hands had been tied behinde them, were hewed in pieces. It is wonder to see how all the Sarmatians valour is as it were out of themselves: to fight a foot no nation so cowardly, on horseback by troupes they are hardly resisted: but then the weather being wet, and the frost somewhat thawed, neither their staves, nor long two-handed swords served in stead, through the sliding of their horses, and great weight of their cataphracts, a kinde of harness, that Princes and Noble-men use, composed of iron plates or stiffe bend-leather, which as against blows is sure and of prooffe, so if one be borne down by the force of the enemy it maketh him unable to rise up again: beside they sunk into the snow being deepe, and not able to beare: contrarily the Roman souldier in his easie * corselet nimble and light, a farre off with a * dart, or with lance charging upon them, and with a light sword neare at hand, the case so requiring, gored so long the unarmed Sarmatian (for it is not their manner to ward with their buckler) till at length a few which remained fled to the marshes: in the one place the mortallnesse, in the other the miserie of their wounds wasted them all. When this was by certain advise understood at Rome, Marcus Aponius Lieutenant generall of Mæsia was honoured with a * triumphall image, Fulvius Aurelius, * Titus Julianus, and Numisius Lupus Lieutenants of the Legions with Consular ornaments, Otho rejoycing, and drawing the glory to himselfe, as if he also were fortunate in war, and had by his Leaders and armies enlarged the Empire.

1 Honoured with a triumphall image: *Triumphal statua* Tacit. 4. Annal. *Jaque nec enim laudate in urbe statua, &c.* And the sentence because of the same matter. *Prætoris ducis imperatorisque triumphalia insignia* Tacit. 15. Annal. *Triumphal ducis, and Triumphal insignia* for the same. So that we may reasonably gather *Triumphal ducis statua*, to be either the same with *Triumphal insignia*, or else part of them, and yet meaning the whole. This title of honour, *Triumphal ducis* unknown in the free Commonwealth, was conferred, as I meane to suppose, by Augustus upon Tiberius Anno Domini, condita 742. Sueton. (a) *Tiberio* *Quæ obis & ceteris & ceteris* *inquit insignis est* (Tiberius) *prætoris* (ut quidem patet) *triumphalibus ornatus* *hominis non, nec antea capere tribu* *guere* *hominis*. But (*) Dio writeth that it was to Augustus two years before first granted: *Antea quæ obis & ceteris & ceteris* *inquit insignis est* *hominis* *non, nec antea capere tribu* *guere* *hominis*.

antiquæ obis quæ obis & ceteris & ceteris *inquit insignis est* *hominis* *non, nec antea capere tribu* *guere* *hominis*. That is, Sacrifices were made to the gods in the name of Agrippa, yet was there no triumph decreed unto him. For he did not at the first certify the Senate concerning the successe of his actions. Whereupon in succeeding ages men of his place following his example neither wrote to the Senat, neither accepted the grant of triumph, but contented themselves with triumphall ornaments alone, and so consequently to Tiberius. The cause as I judge of the invocation was, that to Augustus who of the old state left nothing standing but names, and hardly that, the pomp triumphall seemed a thing too full of majesty for any subject, and therefore seeking every way to cut the sinews of liberty, and yet to retain a shadow of ancientie, he cunningly converted the solemnity of a triumph into *Triumphalia insignia*. Only the Princes themselves or their children, as Germanicus in Tiberius time, solemnly triumphed Next to *Triumphalia* in lower degree of honour were *Consularia Insignia*, or *ornamenta* *prætoris*, and *Prætoris* likewise, *prætoris* *prætoris*, under them, obtained by those, I suppose, whom Dio in sundry places termeth, *prætoris* *prætoris*, *prætoris* *prætoris*, and lastly *Quæstoria ornamenta*. To make them as Consuls, Prætors, Quæstors fellowes. Tacit. 4. Hist. *Multo cum honore verborum Agrippiano triumphalia de bello civili data sed in Sarmatis expeditione fagebatur, adduntur Antonio Primo consularia, Cornelio Fulvio, & Arrio Vero prætoris insignia.* Annal. 11. *Decreta Narcisso quæstoria insignia, &c.*

XVIII. A mutinie of the Guard souldiers.

ABout the same time upon a small sparkle a flame of sedition arose, from whence no danger was feared, to the destruction almost of the City. Otho had commanded the seventeenth Cohort to be called from Ostia to Rome, and charge was committed to Varius Crispinus, one of the Prætorian Tribunes, to furnish it with Armour. Which that he might do at more ease, and without interruption, the camp being quiet, at the shutting of the evening he opened the Armoury, and commanded the Carts of the Cohorts to be laden. The time wrought suspicion, the cause bred a crime, the affecting of quietnesse proved to a tumult, and weapons scene among drunken persons stirred up a desire in them to be doing. The souldiers mutin and charge the Centurions and Tribunes with treason, affirming they purposed to put in Armes the Senate, and Senators men against Otho, some upon ignorance, and overcome with drink, the worst seeking occasion to spoile the common sort (as it is commonly seen) desirous of novelty howsoever: and as for the better and sounder part, the darknesse did not permit them to shew their obedience, And first they murder Crispinus the Tribune, and the severest of the Centurions repugning to their seditious attempts: then taking arms, and drawing their swords, on horse-back they make toward the town, and the Palace. Otho that night had the principall men and women of the City at banquet: who standing amazed and misdoubting what it might be, a casuall rage of the souldiers: or a practise of the emperor, whether were more danger to stay and be taken or to flee and disperse, sometime make shew of stoutnesse, sometime bewraied their feare, still casting an eye upon Orhoes countenance, who, as it falls out where minds yeeld to suspicion, did feare, and was feared. And fearing no lesse for the Senators sakes then for his own person, he both sent by and by the Captaines of the Guard to appease in some sort the souldiers anger, and *willed his Guests to get them away in all possible speed. Then might one have seen magistrates, every where cast down the marks of their office, eschewing the multitude of followers & servants, old men and women in dark without torch creep this way and that, few to their own houses, most to their friends, and meanest Clients where they least would be lookt for. The souldiers furiously break open the gates of the Palace, and thrust into the banquetting place, rudely requiring a sight of Otho, having wounded a Tribune Julius Martialis, and Vitellius Saturninus * Lieutenant of a Legion, as they endeavoured to withstand their violence. On every side armes and threats, sometime against the Centurions, and Tribunes, sometime against the whole Senate, frantick upon a

consideration of their common utilitie : the Tribunes, Centurions, and common souldier, by labor or licence, by vertues or pleasures, according to their severall inclinations, were drawn to the party. Before Titus coming both the Armies had sworn allegiance to Otho, the newes of his being in State, as the custome is in such great matters, being brought in great post, and civill waris ripening by leisure, into which the East, that had a long time beene quiet and peaceable, the first of all began for to enter. For in time past the most mightie and puissant civill warres, beginning in Italy and Gallia, were undertaken with the power and strength of the West; and they which maintained them in the East, as Pompey, Cassius, Brutus, Antonius, ended alwaies unfortunately, and Syria and Jewry more often heard tell of, then saw any Cæsars, the Legions had never mutined, onely sometimes were led out to brave the Parthian, speeding not alwaies alike: and during the last civill war, when the world was shaken elsewhere, among them was assured tranquillitie; then faith toward Galba. But after it was publickly knowne, that Otho and Vitellius went about with impious armes to prey upon the Romane estate, the souldiers began to storme, that others received the favors of Princes, and they served continually as slaves. From thence they grew to consideration of their owne forces: seven Legions they saw at hand, and two Provinces, Syria, and Jewry, with a huge multitude of Aide-souldiers: then Egypt adjoyning with two Legions, and on the other side Cappadocia and Pontus, and the strength which lay encamped against the Armenians: Asia and the rest of the Provinces, plentiful of money, and of men not furnished: all the Islands of that sea, and the sea it selfe shut up and yeelding security in the meane season to prepare for the war. The forwardnesse of the souldiers was not unknown to the Generals: nevertheles it was thought expedient to attend the issue of the other war then being on foot, with double lesse mutuall jealousies, between the conquering and conquered party, would never suffer any sound and perfect intelligence between them: neither mattered it much whom fortune should favour, Vitellius or Otho: even singular commanders by prosperitie would grow insolent, much lesse might good proofe be expected of these, whom discord, sluggishnesse and riot would ruine: whereof the war would overthrow the one, and the victory the other, both of them through their owne vices and faults. So till occasion should serve: the open taking of armes was deferred by Vespasian and Mutianus, having entred but lately into these communications, whereas the rest had conferred thereof long before; the better sort upon love to the common-wealth, the rest, some allured with the sweetnesse of spoile, some pricked thereto by reason of their doubtfull and decayed estate at home: so the good and the bad, upon causes unlike, with like affection ardently all desired the warre.

Or lying out
of the way
from *Intellectus*
and *Othoes*
strength, *scilicet*
(*um*).

1 By the maine sea, *Asdemionibus spatiis* i. *per azum*, in opposition to *litus & oram legere*, seu *praeter eam*. So that the meaning of the place is, that Titus from Coriath to Cypres went along by the coast, and from Cypres into Syria by the maine sea.

[illegible]

Hij den Koning van Portugalte Afschied
 Elichscheide, ende hi reisde om hem te zoeken.
 Dionysius Afschiet de whole Iland en vercoopte sy Aen den Koning.

3. The fire of the Temple. A point proposed, but forgotten to be handled, unless we will take that word *quantum in aperto*, as a sufficient discharge thereof, which were somewhat hard, being spoken particularly of the altars; whereas Homer maketh distinct and expresse mention, both of *Altar* and *Temple*. But in *The Temple* and

4. Prayers and pure fire] If it were an unbloody sacrifice, as by these words it should seeme, it may reasonably

be doubted wherefore mention is made before of the choice of beasts, of the fibres of Kids, and anon *Cæcis compluribus hostiis*. But perhaps there might be bloody sacrifices before the Altar, although upon it none but unbloody.

is A figure ribbing continually round] The figure which Tacitus describeth is a *Conus*. Maximus Tristrameth
ἡ περὶ αὐτὴν ὁ ἀρχαῖος τῆς ἀριστερᾶς οὐκ ἐστὶν εἰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ καὶ τοῦ δεξιου ἀφ' ὧν ἔχεται ὁ κύβητος
ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ κυλίνδρου That is, it is a *Cylindrus*, or rather a *Conus*. That is, it is a *Conus*.
That is, it is a *Conus*. That is, it is a *Conus*. That is, it is a *Conus*. That is, it is a *Conus*. That is, it is a *Conus*.
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That is, it is a *Conus*. That is, it is a *Conus*. That is, it is a *Conus*. That is, it is a *Conus*. That is, it is a *Conus*.

6 Received the favours of Princes. ¶ He seemeth to have expressed the very words of Iosephus 4. εὐχάρη. η. γ. β. συν-
νοήσαντες ἄλλοις ἀλλήλοις ἐν στρατοῖσι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς οὐρανοῖς διὰ ματασίαν ἐκείνων, αὐτοὶ δὲ διαπραγματεύοντες ἑαύτους ἐν μίμῃ. Th. Pausan. στρατιω-
τικῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀδύνατον ποιεῖται φύσιν, ὅπως φησὶν ἐπιθυμοῦντος διαφροσύνην οὕτω οἷος βέλονται τὸ θυμὸν αὐτῶν, καὶ μετ' ἐλπίδος κληρούμενοι καταδύναι υἱόν τε δου-
ρεόεντας. διὰ τὴν δὲ πάλαιον κακοδομίαν τὸ πλεον ἐκ νεότητος καὶ τοῖς κατέστην ἐπὶ τοῖς χειρὶ ζώνεται ὡς ὑψίστην, καὶ παύειν τὴν ἀξιολύπειν ἀρχὴν
καὶ δύναμις ἔχεται. That is, The leaders and souldiers banded themselves together, and openly fought to make a
change furiously crying; These souldiers which live in Rome at their ease, which never could abide to care so much
as the rumour of warre, chuse whom they lift to the Empire, and upon hope of gaine pronounce Princes. Whereas
they who had passed thorow so many paines, and were now waxen old under their helmets, must yeeld that au-
thority to other, and ther having in their owne Camppe a main fittell of all other for government : &c paulo post :
χημαίης ἢ μέγιστον αὐτοῖς πότε τὸ ἥμισυ τίς Σελῆμ, ἔστιν, οὗτε πλεὺς πενήτων, καὶ πλεῖστα τῶν βασιλείων ἐν πολέμοις ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ σπου-
δαίην πρὸς μετὰ τὸ πάμπαν, τὴν ἐν Εὐγενίου τοῦ πρώτου Οὐρανίου πόλιν καὶ ἀρχὴν ἔσται. That is, That not onely they would employ
their forces to the establishing of such as shoulde be agreed upon, having present with them three Legions
and Auxiliary forces from the Kings ; but that the whole Eaft would conspire, and so much of Europe as flood out
of feare of Vitellius.

II. *A counterfeit Nero oppressed in the Ile of Cythnus.*

ABout the same time a false alarme was given to Achaia and Asia, as if Nero were approaching: for the report going diversly concerning his death, many gave out untruly that he was alive, and many beleev'd it. The adventures and attempts of the rest of those counterfaits we shall hereafter declare, in the pro-
cessse of this work. Now at that time a bond-man of Pontus, or as others have writ-
ten, a libertine of Italy, skilfull in instrument and voice, and thereupon, beside
some resemblance in countenance, being more fit to deceive, adjoyning unto him
certaine fugitive and beggarly vagabond persons induced by great promises, taketh
the Sea: and being by violence of weather driven into the Ile of Cythnus, he affo-
ciated to him certaine souldiers which passed that way out of the East, command-
ing the rest to be slaine which refused; and spoyling the Merchants armed those of
the slaves which seemed most puissant of body. Moreover he assayed by sundry
devises to practise the Centurion Sisenna, who carried in the name of the Syrian
Army to the souldiers of the Guard, Right-Hands in token of concord; untill such
time as Sisenna for feare, and suspecting violence, left the Iland and fled secretly a-
way. Thereupon the terrour was dispersed abroad, and the matter growing fa-
mous, many lent their eares willingly thereto, upon desire of change, and dislike of
the present. Thus reputation daily growing to the cause, it was by a matter of mee-
chance wholly overthrowne. Galba had granted the government of the Provinces
of Galatia and Pamphylia to Calpurnius Asprenas: to waite him were allotted two
Gallies out of the Navy at Misenum, with the which he arrived at the Ile of Cyth-
nus. Upon his arrivall the Masters of the Gallies were summoned to come unto
Nero: who at their coming composing himselfe to heaviness, and requiring, as
their late master at his souldiers hands, their faithfull assistance and service, prayed
them to set him a land in Syria or Egypt. The Masters, partly perswaded, or else
fraudulently, answered that first they would take with the souldiers, and so having
prepared their minds would returne: but the whole was truly reported to Asprenas,
by whose perswasion his ship was forced and taken, and he, whatsoever he were,

slaine. His body was carried into Asia, and thence brought to Rome, wondred at for the eies, and haire, and sternnesse of countenance.

III. *Annus Faustus, after much adoe and some sturre in the Senate, condemned of promoting.*

* Tac. A. 13. In oratione Curtii Montani, and immediately following, where you shall finde him sorted with Egnus Marcellus.

IN a diffentious state, and through the often changings of Princes, waving betweene licence and liberty, even small matters were not shut up, without great adoe, Vibius Crispus, a man for money, might, and wit, accounted rather among the great men then the good, called to his answer in Senate Annus Faustus a Gentleman, who had made profession in Neroes time of accusing: for immediately upon the election of Galba the Senators had ordered, that the causes of the accusers should be heard and examined; an order diversly construed and drawne, and against a weake defendant in force, so against a mighty too weake. Beside Crispus employed the terrour of his greatnesse, and the uttermost of his might, particularly to overthrow him, as the accuser of his brother, and had drawne a great part of the Senat into that opinion, to require him to be executed, being neither defended nor heard: contrarily others favouring the defendant, so much the more because the plaintiffe seemed too mighty, were of opinion, that a time should be granted, the crimes specified, and the man, though culpable and odious, should notwithstanding not be excluded from common right of being heard in his justifications. Which opinion prevailed at the first, and so the hearing of the matter was some few daies put over: but in the end Faustus was condemned, albeit not with the generall assent of all parts that his lewd conditions deserved: some men disliking, not that the crime was so punished, but that it was done at his suit, whom they well remembered to have exercised himselfe the same profession with gaine.

III. *The power of Otho by land.*

* And so out of Moesia likewise the Legions marched, but came no further then Aquileia. Tac. b The story is at large in Tac. 1. 4. 1. and in the life of Agricola. c For his intended expedition ad portus Cassis, as I thinke, and upon the revolt of Vind. x. retaining them still in Italy.

THe beginning of the war was prosperous on Othoes side. For at his commandement the Legions marched out of Dalmatia and Pannonia, being in number foure, out of which two thousand men were sent before, the Legions followed after with competent journeyes, the seventh lately gathered by Galba, the rest ancient, the eleventh and thirteenth, and the fourteenth greatly renowned for their service in repressing the British rebellion; and Nero had increased their glory, chusing them out as the most speciall men: whereupon they remained long faithfull to Nero, and were great favourers of Othoes proceedings. But these Legions the more strength and forces they carried with them, the more confident they were, and consequently the slower in coming forward: the Auxiliarie Cohorts and Wings came before, the corps of the Legions followed after. Moreover the city it selfe furnished good store of souldiers: five Prætorian cohorts, and certain Coroners of horsemen, the first Legion, and beside two thousand "Fencers; a base supply, but in civill wars used even by severe commanders. Annus Gallus with Vestricius Spurinna were appointed to lead this power, and sent before hand to put themselves in possession of the bancks of the Po: because their first determination had failed, seeing Cæcina had already passed the Alpes, whom they hoped might have been kept within Gallia. Upon Othoes person a choice company of "Spearemen attended, accompanied with the rest of the Prætorian Cohorts, and the old souldiers of the Guard, beside an excessive number of those

which

which had served at Sea: His voyage was with diligence and speed, as appertained, nor wastefully spent in riot and pleasure: himselfe with his iron brigandine marching before the ensignes on foot, not decked, nor trimmed, but souldier-like, and unlike the name that went of him.

The beginning of the warre] In declaring of this great and important action betweene Vitellius and Otho, I finde Tacitus, atleast in my conceit, much inferior to himselfe otherwhere; omitting many necessary circumstances, confounding things together, affirming contrarieties in appearance, and generally leaving his Reader not so fully satisfied, as in History is to be looked for. As first in the circumstances of Otho the principall person, whose paces and foot-steps would have been numbred, Tacitus bringeth him out of the City accompanied in a manner with all the Senate, toward the latter end of March, and as we found by collection out of (a) other Writers upon the seven and twentieth day. Then here shewing his souldier-like manner of marching before his souldiers on foot, in the end he bestoweth him and his company no where: whereas indeed the Senate was left at Mutina, and himselfe marched toward the enemy, as far as Brixellum a city upon the Po, and there sending out his Captains stayed behinde, as it appeareth in Plutarch, and Tacitus elsewhere; circumstances, in mine opinion, not so lightly to have been pished over. From Brixellum, saith Plutarch, were dispatched away Celsus, Paullinus, Gallus and Spurinna. Tacitus seemeth to say, that Gallus and Spurinna were dispatched at Rome, and sent before hand ad (b) occupandas Padi ripas, which if it were meant to guard the South-side of the Po, & so to stay the Vitellianists at least from passing the river, since they could not stop them in the mountains, a few being able to keepe such a passage against a great army, hath good reason. But Gallus did not foobserve it. If to put himselfe in possession of both sides of the Po, and so to have the whole river at commandment, how could he with a few withstand Cæcinaes whole army, having no advantage of the place? Now to the leading of Gallus and Spurinna sent before, from what place soever, ad occupandas Padi ripas, Tacitus assigneth five Prætorian Cohorts, equitum vexilla, legio prima Adjutrix, and two thousand gladiatores: in the proceefe of the Worke, assigning the gladiatores to the government onely of Martius Miccer a third man, and after him to Flavius Sabinus, and setting the other two farre enough asunder, Spurinna at Placentia with three Prætorian Cohorts, one thousand Vexillarii not named before in the survey of their whole power, and a few horse, and Gallus with Prima adjutrix, cannot tell where, nor when, & upon what occasion they divided themselves; but where soever he was, taking Bebricum in his way to Placentia, he was in all reason of the North side of the Po. Then for his other three Captains Paullinus, Celsus and Proculus, whereof mention is made in the preparation of the war here in the setting out they have no charge at all assigned them (and to say the truth, I cannot see any great masse of men they could have, leaving Otho sufficiently guarded) nay they are not so much as once named. By way of probable conjecture we may suppose, that Proculus, as being Capitaine of the Guard, stayed at Brixellum, and attended upon Othoes person. But Celsus and Paullinus are not named before in the battell ad Cassoris. Where suddenly within twelve miles of Cremona they appeare, and not farre from Bebricum (where Gallus was left) never mentioned before, besides many other with prima legio, under their leading, being the peculiar charge of Gallus. So that to rove at that which was our Authors fault, not to set downe plainly, we may imagine, that Paullinus & Celsus were sent afterward from Brixellum to the camp at Bebricum, either to take joynt charge with Gallus, or else charge in his place, as it is more likely, and that thereupon Gallus withdrew himselfe, perchance to recover his fall mentioned 2. Hist. seeing there is no mention of him in the action ad Cassoris; and in an action which passed at Bebricum, we shall finde him by and by away, where notwithstanding Tacitus left him. Now whereas Tacitus upon not prosecuting a little skirmish of the gladiatores against the Vitellianists, maketh Otho to send for his brother Titianus, whom he had left at Rome, to make him Lieutenant Generall, Plutarch with greater reason and probability, saith it was done after the battell ad Cassoris, upon dislike of Paullinus flow proceedings; and that Proculus Capitaine of the Guard was sent withall; but when they came to Bebricum I cannot determine. Now if Otho were at Brixellum, Paullinus and Celsus at Bebricum, where shal we say the great consultation was holden, where Otho, Titianus, Proculus, Paullinus and Celsus were present, and Gallus absent? Here Tacitus sayeth us againe, and Plutarch releeveth us shewing that Otho removed from Brixellum to Bebricum, to consult with his captaines of the manner of proceeding in the warre. Thus much of Otho and his Captaines, it followeth of their power, which was of two sorts, brought from Rome and sent for from abroad. From Rome of fixe sorts. 1. Quinque Prætorie cohortes: 2. Equitum vexilla: 3. legio prima Adjutrix: 4. Gladiatores: 5. Cætra Prætorie cohortes and 6. Classici. With Gallus and Spurinna, 1. Quinque Prætorie cohortes: whereof three were with Spurinna in Placentia, the other two belike with Gallus. 2. equitum vexilla without number; 3. legio prima Adjutrix Classici ex reliquis casibus a Galba ad pontem Miliarium: 4. two thousand gladiatores: in the siege of Placentia we finde mention of a thousanda vexillarii: whether differing from all these, or portion of any, I know not. Then in Othoes traine Spiculatorum Classici corpora, as I thinke, 5. Cætra Prætorie cohortes, beside the five sent with Gallus: and yet many Prætorian souldiers were sent with the Navy into Narbonensis, so that surely all the rest were not here. Classici from whence soever they came, have ministered us, and will minister many men. Seven thousand were slain by Galba ad pontem Miliarium, and the rest decimated, & reliquis prima legio Adjutrix was composed. In the Fleet to Narbon there served also many as souldiers. Here we have Classi: orum ingens numerus: with Otho a thousand Classici inter Placentiam & Tivium intercepti, which by all circumstances were none of this company. And Turullus Cerealis had many Classici: but whence he had them, and how he became their Capitaine is not set downe. And beside all these we have in the third book another whole Legion & Classici differing from prima Adjutrix, which then was in Spaine. The power sent for by Otho from abroad was out of Illyricum onely, where at that present were seven Legions, to wit, two in Dalmatia, Vndecima Claudiana & quattodecima Gemina; two in Pannonia; septima Galbiana, and tertiadecima Gemina: in Moesia three, tertia Gallica, septima Claudiana, and octava Augusta, as it is declared elsewhere. Now all these being sent for by Otho, there marched at Othoes commandement, saith Tacitus, the

a Suetonius and Marcellinus.

b Perhance the meaning of the words a occupandas Padi ripas, is to put themselves in possession of the townes upon the rivers.

retained for defence of the Colony of Forum Julii, lest if all were employed in the land-service, the Fleet finding free passage by sea should suddenly surprize the city: twelve troupes of horse-men, and the choice of the cohorts, went against the enemy, beside a cohort of Ligurians being the Aide anciently belonging to that place, and five hundred Pannonians, which were not as yet marshalled in Companies. Neither was it long ere they met together, the battell on both sides standing thus. Part of the Mariners with Pezants among were placed above in the hills, which were by the Guard-souldiers: fast by them in the sea it selfe stood the Fleet prepared to fight, turning against the enemy a terrible and threatening front. The Vitellianists, whose strength consisted in horse rather than foot, placed their horse men against the Guard-souldier, and behinde the horse the cohorts in thicke and close ranks, marshalling the Pannonians in the hills adjoyning. The troupe of the Treveri charged unadvisedly, which charge the old souldier received with courage: and withall the Pezants in flank gauled them with stones, men fit enough for that kind of service, & such as being mingled with souldiers, though otherwise dastards, yet now in the victory dared as far as the best. As the Vitellianists were thus distressed, a greater discomfort was added by the Fleete, which in the meane season fetching about assailed their backs as they fought: so being inclosed on every side they had all beene doubtlesse destroyed, had not the darknesse of the night favoured their flight, withholding the winners from following the chase. The Vitellianists, albeit they had lost a battell, would not be contented: but sending for new supply gave a fresh assault upon the enemy, which by reason of the former successe was growne secure and lesse vigilant, slew the watch, entered the trenches, and gave the alarme to the ships; till such time as the feare, which at first is most terrible, settling by little and little, the Othonians drew themselves in safety to a hill there adjoyning, and then charged couragiously upon them. Much blood was there shed, and the Captaine of the Tungrian Cohorts, having long maintained the skirmish, were forced at length to yeeld up their lives: even to Orhoes men the victory cost blood, of whom diverse unadvisedly following were intercepted by the horsemen turning upon them. And so, as if a mutuall suspension of armes had been concluded upon, with covenant on the one side that the Fleet, on the other that the horsemen should not attempt any sudden invasion, the Vitellianists retired to Antipolis a free-towne of Gallia Narbonensis, the Othonians to Albingaunum a Colony of Liguria interior.

¹ The battell on both sides. In this conflict we have of Orhoes side mention distinctly of Classics, Pagani, Pratoriani, and the Navy. For Vitellius of twelve Turma of Horse-men, a cohort of Ligurians the choice of the two Tungrian Cohorts, five hundred Pannonians, and a little afterward Alpini beside: unless peradventure it should read Alpini in both places, and meant perchance of the Ligures: for what Pannonians should do here I cannot imagine, or if it were true, yet being strange, at the least Tacitus should have done well to have told us how they came thither.

VII. The estate of Corsica and Sardinia, and the rest of the Ilands there about.

THe reputation of Orhoes victorious Fleet easily held Corsica, Sardinia, and the rest of the Ilands thereabout in Orhoes obedience. But Corsica almost was ruined by the rashnesse of Decimus Pacarius the Procurator, who entred into an action, which in so great a preparation for warre, could nothing availe to effecting the Principall purpose, and yet served well enough to work his destruction.

For

For upon hatred against Orho, he determined with the strength of the Iland, to aid Vitellius; an aid vaine and to no purpose even if it had succeeded. Whereupon calling the principall men of the Iland, he declarerth his meaning, and commanderth Claudius Phirrhicus master of the Gallies there, and Quinctius Certus a gentleman of Rome, to be slaine, who opposed themselves against his proceedings: by the death of whom the rest that were present being terrified, sware allegiance to Vitellius, and consequently the inferiour fort partly upon ignorance, and partly to beare them company which did it for feare. But when as Pacarius began to take muster, to trie those rude people in training & other military duties, they waxing weary of that unwonted labor fell to recount their own weaknesse: that it was but an Iland, which they inhabited: that Germany and the Legionary power was farre off: and that even they were wasted and spoiled by the Fleete, whom both Cohorts and Wings did protect. Whereupon their mindes suddenly fell away, and so they conspired against him, not by way of open rebellion, but by privy attempt against his person. For which purpose chusing out a fit opportunity, as he was in the bath naked and without helpe, the multitude that followed him being departed away, they slew him and his company, carried the heads of them, as of Traitors, to Orho: by whom notwithstanding they were not rewarded, as also not punished by Vitellius, in so great confusion and disorder of the state, passing among greater crimes; and shadowed with other more hainous offences.

VIII. Certaine small actions of the Syllan wing in Italy before Cæcinaes entry.

NOW the Syllan wing, as before we have shewed, had opened the passage into Italy, and drawne the war over the mountains, the Countrey favouring not Orho, neither yet upon any speciall fancy to Vitellius; but as men whom long peace had broken to all kinde of slavery, they were easily possessed by the first comer, and not curious to side with the better. The whole countrey and cities lying betweene the Po and the Alpes, the most flourishing part of all Italy, was held by Vitellius souldiers: for the Cohorts which Cæcina had sent before him were now already come in. At Cremona a cohort of Panonians was taken, and betweene Placentia and Ticinum an hundred horse intercepted, and a thousand sea-souldiers: by which successe Vitellius men being animated could now not be stopped by bank nor by river. Moreover the inhabitants of Batavia and beyond the Rhene were enflamed the more even by the very sight of the Po: which they passed over against Placentia, and taking some of the enemies spies so terrified the rest, that be-
beins afraid the falsly reported Cæcina was come with his whole Army. Spurinna who then was within Placentia, certainly knew that Cæcina was not yet come, and if he did come, was certainly resolved to keepe his men within their defences, and not to hazard three Pratorian cohorts, and a thousand Vexillaries, with a few horse, against an Armie of old and approved warriors: but the unruly souldiers, and unskillfull of service snatching up their Ensignes and Banners, rushed forward, and as the Captaine endeavoured to stay them they bent their weapons upon him, not respecting their Centurions and Tribune, who commended the Captaines circumspectnesse, but the souldiers cried FOR ORHO, and stuck not moreo-
verto affirme, that Cæcina was sent for under hand. Spurinna yeelded to follow their folly, by force at the first, afterward making shew as if he were willing that his counsels might carrie more credit, if it happened hereafter the sedition to
coole.

¹ Hist. Quia presidio ale uni-
us latissima
pars Italie de-
fenditur: quibus
premissis Gal-
lorum, Le flia-
turum, Britan-
norumque co-
horts & Ger-
manorum vexilla.
² Disdaining
that the Po
should stay
them who
were accus-
tomed to swim
horse & man,
over the great
river of
Rhene, and
others at
home in their
Countrey. Tac.
³ Hist. Batavi
principio nandi
studio arma e-
tunc integris tur-
mis Abnenum
pertransierunt.

coole. When they were in the sight of the Po, and the night approached, order was given, that the campe should be entrenched and staked. That labour strange and unusuall to the city-souldier, abated their fiercenesse. Then they of the elder fort began to see their own error, and corrected their credulity; to lay open the fear, and the danger, if in those champion Countries Cæcina should with his Army environ them being as it were but an handfull: and now they beganne thorowcut all the whole Campe to use modest and dutifull speeches, and by meanes of the Centurions and Tribunes, who insinuated themselves, into their companies, to commend the wisdome of the Captaine, in that he had chosen out, for the strength and fear of the war, a Colony of that power and that wealth; and lastly Spuriinna himselfe, not by untimely exprobatin their fault, but by reason convincing it, wan them to his opinion, and leaving some behinde for scouts brought back the rest into Placentia lesse mutinous then before, and more at commandement. The walles were made stronger, the number of Bulwarks and Towers encreased, and provision made not onely of Armour, but of subjection and love of obeying; the only point which lacked in that side, when as otherwise they had of valour sufficient.

¹ Lying betwene the Po and the Alpes] Of Milan, Novara, Eporedia, and Vercellæ we have mention before lib. 1. of the rest being many and great townes, how they were at this time come to Vitellius side, nothing is set downe in Tacitus matters, in my opinion, not to have beene omitted, especially concerning Cremona. Plutarch seemeth to make Cremona, being one of the townes betwene the Alpes and the Po, to have beene kept and possessed a great while by the Othonians. And Tacitus here writeth, *capta Pannoniarum cohors apud Cremonam* by the Vitellianists, which cohort of Pannonians, whatsoever they were, and from whence soever they came thither (for Tacitus leaveth us to our guesse) may seeme to have been put in the towne by Otho for a Garrison, and taken by the Vitellianists with the towne, although the circumstances in Plutarch doe not fully agree with this reason of the time there.

IX. Cæcina cometh into Italy, and lyeth before Placentia in vaine.

BUT Cæcina, as if he had left on the other side of the Mountaines cruelty and licentiousnesse behinde him, marched thorow Italy with all modesty, he and his Companies. His kinde of attire the free Cities and Colonies construed as a signe of pride, because he gave audience to men which came gowned, himselfe being in his short souldiers coat of changeable colour, and wearing withall breeches after the French barbarous fashion: and as though they had beene interested thereby, they were grieved also to see his wife Salonina riding upon a goodly Pultray with a rich furniture of purple, albeit no man were wronged therein: such is the nature of man, and so deeply is the quality rooted in us, straitly to looke into the late prosperitty of others with an envious eye, & to require a moderation of fortune, no where so much, as in those wee have seene in an equall degree with our selves. Cæcina having passed the Po, and assayed by parlees, and promises to weaken the loyalty of Othoes men, being quit with the like on their part, seeing that the plausible names of peace and concord had often beene spent betwene them in vaine, converted his counsayles and cares to the besieging of Placentia in most terrible manner; knowing right well, that as the beginning of the warre should succede, so for the rest reputation would follow. But the first dayes worke was conducted rather by fury then according to skill meet for men of so long experience in service: without cover or defence they ventured rashly under the walles, their bodies surcharged with meat and wine. In that assault the Amphitheatre, a piece of most curious workmanship standing without the walles, was burned, set on fire either by the Besiegers as they hurled brands and balles of Wilde-fire against the

besieged: or by the besieged as they hurled againe. The townesmen being jealous, and prone to suspicions, beleevd that matter was ministred to the fire upon malice, by certaine neighbour Colonies, upon emulation and envy, because no piece of worke in all Italy was of that capacitie beside: by what chance soever it happened; whilest farther danger was feared, it passed not greatly regarded; when all perill was past, as if no greater misfortune could have befallen, then it was much sorrowed for and lamented: but in the end Cæcina was repulsed with losse of many of his men, and the night following was spent on both sides in new preparations. The Vitellianists make provision of plutei, crates, & vineæ, instruments to undermine the wals, and protect those which were to give the assault: the Othonians of timber logges and great waights of stones, and lead, and brasse, to breake thorow the works and overwhelm the adversaries. Both parties were pricked with shame, and with glory, and severall encouragements were used; the one side exalting the Legions and strength of the German Army, the other magnifying the honor of the city service, and of the Prætorian Cohorts: the one reviling the souldier within as sluggish and resty, and effeminated in the Race and Theatres, and the other rebuking the enemy without as a forrainer and stranger: assuming withall into part of the praise & dispraise the persons of Otho and Vitellius, affording indeed more plentifully matter of reproach then of just comendation. The day was scarcely yet sprung, when as the wals were replenished with men at defence, the fields did glister with armour and souldiers; the Legionary with their thick and close ranks, the Auxiliary loose and dispersed they attempt with arrows and stones a farre off to disfigure the highest parts of the walles, if any place were neglected or decayed by age, whether they make neerer approaches: Othoes men from above, with more poyze and certaintie, hurle darts upon the German Cohorts, which rashly came under a hideous note, and according to their countrey manner, with bodies naked, shaking their targets over their shoulders. The Legionary Souldier, covered with plutei and crates, undermineth the walles, raiseth up Mountes, and endeavour eth to wrest open the gates: of the contrary side the Prætorian souldiers having milstones of huge weight placed for the purpose, with fearefull noise rowle them downe upon the enemy: part which came under were overwhelmed, part wounded with darts, and slain or mangled: and so as in a confusion and feare, the slaughter encreasing below, and consequently their fiercenesse above, the Vitellianists retired with decay of reputation to the side; and Cæcina upon the infamy and shame of this siege so rashly attempted, lest he should seeme to sit still in the same ground scorned and to no purpose, passeth the Po, back again with purpose to goe to Cremona. As he departed away Turullius Cerealis with many of the mariners revolted unto him; and Julius Briganticus with a few horse: Julius was by birth a Batavian and captain of a wing, the other having served as a principall Centurion in Germanie, was easily wonne to Cæcinaes side. Spuriinna, upon knowledge had what way the enemy tooke, certifieth Annius Gallus by letters, that Placentia was defended, what had passed, and what Cæcina intended to doe. Gallus, mistrusting lest those few Cohorts within could not endure a long siege, and the force of the German Army, was bringing the first Legion to succour the towne: but when he received advise, that Cæcina was repulsed, and going to Cremona, he stayeth the Legion at Bebricum being hardly withhelden from mutining, because he would not lead them to fight. Bebricum is a village betwene Verona and Cremona.

notorious and unfortunate for two Roman calamities. ¹ Plutei, ² crates, ³ vineæ, ⁴ instruments to undermine the wals, ⁵ timber logges, ⁶ great waights of stones, ⁷ lead, ⁸ brasse, ⁹ to breake thorow the works, ¹⁰ and overwhelm the adversaries.

1 Plutei, crates and vineæ] Pluteus, saith Vegetius lib. 4. cap. 15. is a certaine moveable engine *contexta ad similitudinem absidis, & ciliis vel coris tecta, quam obidentes applicant mori, ejusque munitione protecti sagittis sive fundis vel missilibus defensores de propugnaculis exturbant, ut scalis ascendendi facilius præstetur occasio.* Vineæ according to Vegetius in the same place, and Lucan lib. 3. was a frame of wood, or hurdles, covered with earth, *sub quo subsidentes tuta ad subruenda murorum penetrant fundamenta.* Crates the same with the one or the other of them, or at least to the same purpose.

2 Notorious and infortunate] the two calamities here meant are the two great battels; the first betweene the Othomians and Vitellianists described in this book: the other between the Vitellianists and Flavians set downe in the next, more commonly knowne by the name of *prælium Cremonense*, and with greater reason, being fought under the wals of Cremona, and twenty miles from Bebricum, albeit then the first skirmish indeed began not about eight miles from Bebricum: 3. hift. and this former battell also was fought a great way from Bebricum, *immemorabile spatium*, saith Tacitus, and by all probability, many miles, as shall be declared elsewhere.

X. *Macer skirmisheth with the Vitellianists. Otho suspecting the rest of his Captaines, committeth the conduct of the war to Titianus his brother.*

Gladiatores:

ABout the same time, not far from Cremona, Martius Macer had a luckie day against the Vitellianists. For Macer being a man of courage and forward, put the "fencers in Boats and landed them suddenly on the other side of the Po. There the Auxiliaries of the Vitellianists were distressed, and the rest fleeing to Cremona, those which remained behinde slaine: but the winners were not permitted further to follow the chace, lest the enemy strengthened with new supply should turne head against them, and alter the fortune of the battell. That fact bred jealousie in Othoes men misinterpreting all that was done howsoever sinisterly, who eagerly as each was in courage most dastard, most lavish in tongue, so fought they by divers misconstruing criminations to put in disgrace Annius Gallus, and Suetonius Paulinus, and Marius Celsus, for them also had Otho made commanders. The principall fire-brands of sedition and discord were the murderers of Galba, whose being transported by feare, and the guiltinesse of their owne conscience, disturbed and troubled all good course of proceeding; sometimes breaking openly out into mutinous speeches, and sometimes by secret advertisements to Otho: who giving credit lightly to every base person, and standing in feare of the good, trembled and quaked, a man in prosperitie uncertainly carried, and governing himselfe in adversitie better. So he sent for Titianus his brother, and made him his Lieutenant generall in the warre.

1 So he sent for Titianus] This change of Captaines Plutarch with more reason putteth after the battell at *Castoria*: *τὴν νίκην (speaking of the victory at Castoria) οὐκ ἔτι τῶν ἀρχηγῶν ἀποδοῦναι ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχηγῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ.* That is, the victory being not fully prosecuted through the leaders fault, Otho sent to the army Titianus, and Proculus Captaine of the guard, and indeed the alteration is too great to be induced upon the slacknesse of a pettie companion, especially seeing we finde Macer, who committed the fault, still retained in his charge, and Paulinus and Celsus, two of the greatest men in the State, in a manner disgraced for the fault of another, according to Tacitus. Now upon this fault whensoever committed, to send from Britellum for Titianus at Rome (so many miles distant (for there we left him in the last words of the first booke) and bring him to Bebricum to the consultation, may perchance seeme strange to him that considereth how that from Othoes going out of Rome with his Army till his death were not above twenty foure dayes in all, and perchance not so much.

XI. *Paulinus and Celsus give Cæcina an overthrow.*

IN the meane season under the conduct of Paulinus and Celsus a notable overthrow was given. Cæcina attempts all falling to nothing, and the reputation of his army now wanting, much grieved his minde; he had been repulsed from Placentia; his Auxiliaries lately slaine, and when as the discoverers met one another,

ther, in those ordinary bickerings rather then materiall he commonly went to the worke: whereupon when Fabius Valens approched, lest the whole honor of the war should fall upon him, he hastened with greater speed then good counsell, to recover his glory. About (1) twelve miles from Cremona, at a place called Castores, he placeth secretly in the woods, joyning upon the high way, of his best Auxiliary fouldiers, commanding the horlemen to go out further, and so having begun the skirmish to give backe & retire, drawing on the enemy to follow in the heat of the chace, untill the ambush should rise: that purpose was bewrayed to Othoes Commanders. Paullinus was Generall of the foot, and Celsus of the horse. The Vexillaries of the thirteenth Legion, foure Auxiliary Cohorts, and five hundred horse were placed in the left battell; in the middle (2) three Prætorian Cohorts, ranked straightly together, kept their standing upon the high way: in the right battell the first Legion marched, accompanied with two Vexillary Cohorts, and five hundred horse: and out of the Prætorian & auxiliaries were led a thousand horse for an over measure if fortune hapned to go on their side, or otherwise a supply, if they should be distressed. Before the joyning the Vitellianists turned their backs, & Celsus, understanding the fraud, repressed his men. The ambush rising up early, as Celsus gave ground, followed so farre till they were circumvented themselves, for on the sides were the Cohorts, and the Legion to meet them in face, & the horsemen suddenly ranging out had inclosed their backs. Suetonius Paullinus at the first delayed some time to give to his foot men the signe of the battell: for being a person naturally slow and one who liked much better wary courses with reason, then happy by chance, he commanded the ditches first to be filled, the field to be made open and easie of passage, the battalions to be displayed, supposing it seasonably enough to begin then to overcome others, when as order was taken they could not be overcome themselves. By means of that delay space was given to Vitellius men to flie into the vines, where, by reason of the branches wrapped and knit one in another, it was troublesome to follow: and a little wood adjoynd which covered them; out of which they issued effoones and slew the formost of the Prætorian horsemen, there King Epiphanes, fighting valiantly on Othoes side, was wounded. By that time Othoes foot-men pressed forward and bare downe by maine force the enemies host, turning to flight even those also which came for to succour. For Cæcina sent not for his Cohorts together, but one after another: which thing in the fight augmented the terrour: for the feare of them that fled carried away they succours which came dispersedly, and never so many at once, as to restore the battell. In the campe also a mutinie arose, because they were fetched so scatteringly, and Iulus Gratus the Camp-master was put in prison, as though in favour of his brother, who served under Otho, hee intended some treason; whereas the Othomians had, on the other side, committed to ward Iulius Fronto his brother, a Tribune, upon colour of the same crime. But in truth every where the feare was so great, in those which fled, in those which met them in the field & at the campe, that unless Suetonius Paullinus had founded the retreat, not suffering his men to follow the victory, it was commonly talked on both sides, that Cæcina might have beene destroyed with his whole Army. Paullinus pretended that he was afeard, lest beside so much travell and so great a journey, the Vitellian fouldier should have issued forth of their Campe fresh against his men being tired, no supply remayning behind, if it fortun'd them to have beene defeated. Some few approved that reason of the Generall, but most men condemned the fact, and blamed him for it.

* King of what country? and how came he thither? & what became of him afterwards? great persons in a story require, in my opinion, a more exact and particular description.

(1) Twelve miles from Cremona at a place called Castor. This place *ad Castoris* is twelve miles (saith our Author) from Cremona, where the maine Campe, I think, of Cæcina lay, and eight miles at the least from Bebricum, where Paulinus and Celsus were encamped, howsoever they are here met in the middle way. Gallus, as it should seeme, was retired to cure himselfe of his fall, or at least, seeing here is no mention of him in the field, left to guard the Campe: as it seemeth also he was the time of the great maine battell described in the sixteenth Chapter.

(2) Three Prætorian Cohorts] Five Prætorian Cohorts were under the charge of Gallus and Spurius, two whereof three were at this time in Placentia with Spurius, and three more we have here now in Gallus campe, one too many: but Otho, we must say, was not far off to supply it out of the rest of the Prætorian Cohorts.

XII. *The description of a mutiny which happened in Valens Campe. Valens cometh into Italie and ioyneth his power with Cæcinaes.*

His overthrow did not so much dant the Vitellianists, as it reduced them to a more modest behaviour, not onely in Cæcinaes campe, who cast the fault on the souldier more ready to mutiny then fight; but the Army of Fabius Valens also (for now he was come to Ticinum) laying aside contempt of the enemy & desirous to recover their glory, began to shew to their Generall a more reverend and orderly obedience. For before a great and hot mutinie had hapned out, which I will now set downe from the beginning, albeit not in his proper time, because it was not convenient to interrupt the course of Cæcinaes actions. The Cohorts of Batavians, which in the warre of Nero were departed from the fourteenth Legion, and in their returne toward Britannie, hearing of Vitellius attempt in the countrey of Lingones, had joyned themselves,* as before we have shewed, to Fabius Valens, began to wax proud and insolent, vaunting and braving as they came to the tents of any of the Legions, that they were the men which had overruled the fourteenth Legion, bereaved Nero of Italy: that in their hands alone lay all the fortune and whole successe of this warre. That seemed contumelious to the souldier, and highly displeased the Generall, the discipline being by their wranglings and brawlings corrupted. At the last Valens, by their insolent behaviour suspecting perfidiousnes also, receiving advise, that the wing of the Treveri and Tungrians were beaten by Othoes Fleete, and that the Province of Narbon was in some danger of invasion, partly upon a care to defend his friends, and allies, and partly upon military policy to disperse these Batavians so mutinously affected, and of so great strength that they remayned together, commanded part of the Cohorts to goe & relieve them, which thing when it was heard and noyed abroad, the Auxiliaries mourned, the Legions stomached, lamenting they should be deprived in such a time of so many assistance of such valiant men: what should those so experienced, and conquerours in so many wars, when as the enemies were within view, bee sent away, as it were, out of the field? if the Province were a matter of more consequence then the Citie of Rome and safety of the State, why did they not all follow thither: but if the accomplishment of the victory, the strength and stay of the cause consisted in Italy, what reason then to breake of, as it were, the soundest and strongest limmes from the body? Upon these and the like presumptuous speeches, when as Valens by sending his Sergeants among them, went about to correct their seditious behaviour, they offered violence to himselfe, threw stones, and forcing him to flee, followed after, and crying, that the spoile of Fraunce, the gold of Vienna, & the price of their labours was by him embezeled, and hid, they spoyled his carriage, they pearced and searched his pavilions, and the very ground it selfe with their lances and darts: for Valens himselfe in a Bond-mans apparel lay unknown in the Tent of an under-captaine

* 1. Hist.

* It seemeth strange, that the Legions should be displeased with the departure of those, whose insolent and contumelious behavior they could not abide, if Tacitus say true not past six lines before.

tain of horsemen. Then Alphenus Varus the Camp-master, perceiving the heat of the mutinie past, and the souldiers by little and little to grow colder, adjoyneth a policy therunto: (1) forbidding the Centurions to meddle with searching & perusing the watch, and omitting to sound the Trumpet, by which the souldier is called to his charge. Whereupon they stood all amazed, looking one on another, astonished and dismaied to see themselves thus without head, or direction: and so with silence and patience, and lastly with teares and intreaty besought pardon of their offence. But when as Valens came forth above all expectation alive, weeping and badly attired, then was there joy and compassion, and a generall favouring of the man: and changing their former affections into gladnesse, as the common sort is in both without measure, they carried him in the midst of the Standards and ensignes, with praises and gratulations, to the Tribunall. Valens using a profitable and discreet moderation, required not any one to be executed for this transgression; onely in words reproved some few, lest if he dissembled the whole, he should be suspected the more: knowing right well that in civill wars the souldiers have advantage over the Generall, and are more bold to commit disorders, then the Generall may be to correct them. As they were entrenching at Ticinum, word was brought of Cæcinaes overthrow, and the sedition was almost renewed againe, as though by fraud and delays of Valens they had beene kept back, and come short of the battell. Whereupon refusing to rest any longer, without staying for their Generall they march forward, running before their ensignes, and hastning the ensigne bearers: and to in all speed joyne with Cæcina. Valens was also disliked and generally blamed in the Army of Cæcina: who pretended themselves to be agrieved, that they were left, being so far inferiour in number as a prey to the whole power of the enemies: highly extolling withall the strength of the other Army, partly to excuse themselves, and partly to flatter their fellows, left as conquered and cowardly persons they should be despised of them: and albeit Valens had more forces, almost double number of Legions and Aides to the other, yet were the good wils of the souldiers more inclining to Cæcina, beside curtesie, wherein he excelled the other, by reason also of his flourishing age, and tallnesse of stature, and upon a certain vaine favour of men. Hereupon there grew emulation between the two Generals. Cæcina contemned the other, as a lewd person of life and criminally noted: Valens scoffed at him as being proud and vain-glorious: but reserving their hatred in secret they joyned openly both in the common cause, by many letters, without respect of pardon, objecting to Otho his infamous life; whereas the Generals of Othoes side, notwithstanding the argument yeilded that way most plentifull matter, abstained from all reviling speeches against Vitellius: and in truth before their ends which on Othoes side was most commendable, of Vitellius most ignominious, the drowsie pleasures of Vitellius was feared lesse, then the hot burning lusts of Otho: and beside, the death of Galba had made Otho more terrible, and more odious: contrarily no man charged Vitellius with beginning the war. Vitellius in acceffe and belly-cheere was an enemy to himselfe: Otho in riot, cruelty, audaciousnesse, reputed more dangerous to the State.

* Forbidding the Centurions] *Vetitis vigilias obire centurionibus*. The Centurions charge was not *obire vigilias* but *obire tubæ sonum vigilias distinguere*. Whereupon they whose charge it was (in Polybius, some of the horsemen, in Vegetius, circitores) went about. So that the Centurions not sounding, the Round was not gone.

XIII. *Otho determineth to commit the matter to the hazard of a battell, and retireth himselfe to Brixellum.*

THe forces of Cæcina and Valens being joyned together, the Vitellianists refused not any longer to end the cause in a maine battell. Otho proposed the matter in counsell, whether way were more expedient, to prolong the war, or else to put it by and by to the fortune of a field. Then Suetonius Paullinus, esteemed the most expert man of that age in military affaires, supposing it agreeable to his fame and renown, to discourse of the whole manner of proceeding in this war, stood up, and declared his opinion to be, that making of halce was profitable for the enemy, and delaying for them, that all the hoste of Vitellius was come, certaine small forces remaining behind, which could not conveniently bee removed from the bank of the Rhene, for feare of invasion of those fierce nations: especially Fraunce standing also in some tearmes of rebellion: the souldier in Britanny had his hands full of the enemy there, and was also stopped by the sea: that Spaine had no greater store of souldiers: the Province of Narbon was frighted, by reason of the late invasion by sea, and the overthrow which they received, and that portion of Italy beyond the Po, now in the possession of the enemy, was watted with the passage of their Army, and having no helpe by sea, and by land shut in with the Alpes, could not be relieved from abroad: so that they could no where have come for their men, and an host without provision could not be entertained. Now the Germans, which of all the enemies were most terrible, having foggy and waterish bodies, would not, if the warre were prolonged to the summer, be able to endure the change of the foile, and the aire, that many Armies whose fury at the first rush could not be resisted, by delays and wearing out were brought unto nothing. Contrariwise they had all things themselves, well stored and well assured unto them: Pannonia, Mœcia, Dalmatia, the East, with their Armies, whole and untouched: Italie, and Rome the queene of the world, the Senate and people, titles never darkened, though sometimes overshadowed: wealth private and publicke, and infinite masses of money, which in civill dissensions is of greater force then the sword: the bodies of their souldiers were accustomed to Italy or to other hot countries: the river of Po lay before them as a defence: their Cities were safely manned and walled: and by the holding out of Placentia it was cleere to be seene, that none through distresse or despaire would yeeld to the enemy: and therefore in his opinion hee was to protract the warre. That within few dayes the fourteenth Legion would be come, a Legion of great reputation, with the forces of Mœcia: then might hee deliberate againe, and if it were liked to hazard the battell, fight with more power and greater advantage. Marius Celsus approved this opinion of Paullinus, and certaine which were sent to Annus Gallus (who was hurt with a fall off his horse a few daies before) to demand his advise, brought word that he also was of the same judgement. But Otho was willing to bring it to a battell: his brother Titianus and Proculus Captaine of the Guard, hastening upon ignorance and lacke of skill, protested that Fortune and all the gods, with the god-head of Otho, favoured the Counsailes, and would without question prosper the enterprise: descending to this grosse kind of flattery, lest any should dare to crosse their opinion. After they had concluded to fight, a new doubt arose, whether it were better, that the Emperour should with-draw himselfe, or else be present in the field in person: the selfe-same men taking also herein a wrong course, without any more opposition of Paullinus

* Not at Brixellum, where the consultation was holden, but he meaneth if they should, as he wished, retire with their power, in the Padana, and there stand upon their defence.

Paulinus and Celsus, lest they should seeme to hazard their Prince too venturously, perswaded him to retire to Brixellum; and so being exempt from the doubtfull events of the field, to reserve himselfe for the maine chance of the state. That day was the beginning of ruine of Othoes side. For with him a valiant company of Prætorian cohorts, of "Spearmen and horse departed away: and the rest which remained behind were quite out of heart, as having no confidence in their Generals: and Otho, whom onely the souldiers trusted, because he trusted none else: but the souldiers had not perfectly settled the Generals in their charges, but left their authorities at large and uncertaine.

* Spiculatores.

XIIII. *A skirmish between the Vitellianists and Macer with his Fencers upon the Po.*

ALl that was said or done was carried by and by to the Vitellian side, fugitives swarming as in civill wars, and the spies, upon desire to search out and discover other mens counsels, disclosing their owne. Cæcina and Valens lay still, quietly attending while the enemy should by his own rashnesse miscarry, meaning in lieu of wisdome to use the advantage of other mens folly. And so beginning a bridge, lest their souldiers should be made worfe with too much idlenesse & ease, as if they had meant to have passed the Po, & forced a band of "Fencers encamped on the other side, they commanded boats to be placed crosse the River, with their heads up the streame, in equall and convenient distances, & joyned them strongly together with plancks, casting ankers also to make the bridge steady and firme: but the Cable-ropes were not tied short, but plaid at length, that when the river should rise, the whole frame likewise might rise without hurting. Upon the end of the bridge a tower was planted, reaching to the uttermost boat, that out of it they might with their engines and shot displace, and drive away the enemies: the Othomians also upon the banck had builded a Tower, and did hurle stones and fire. In the middle of the river there was an Island, into possession whereof the Fencers sought to put themselves by boat, but the Germans by swimming prevented them; and when Macer saw a competent number of them arrived there, embarking of his best Fencers, he putteth over to assaile them: but neither were the Fencers of the like courage in fight to the souldiers, neither could they, tottering out of their boates, aime so certaine a blow, as the other steadily standing did from the land: and when as through sundry steppings aside upon feare the rowers and souldiers which stood at defence, were confusedly mingled together & put in disorder, the German souldiers leaping couragiously into the shallow, and hanging at the tailes of the boats, either clambered up to the hatches, or by main strength overturned the boats into the water. All which things passing after this sort in the view * of both the Armies, as they were matter of great joy to the Vitellianists, so to the contrary side they gave occasion to hate and detest him, who was author and cause of the losse. And the skirmish was ended indeed by flight and the breaking away of the boats which remained: but Macer was required to the slaughter: and when they had wounded him with a dart as farre off, they ranne in with their swords drawn to dispatch him, had not the Tribunes and Centurions come in to protect him. A little afterward Vestricus Spurinna by Othoes commandement, leaving a small garrison at Placentia, with his cohorts come to succour them: and anon Otho sent Flavius Sabinus Consul elect to command Macers Companies, the Souldiers being glad at the

* The one lay at Brixellum, and the other by all conjecture at Othoma, twenty miles asunder.

change of Captaines, and the Captaines by reason of so many mutinies, unwilling to enter into so dangerous a service.

XV. *That it is nothing probable, that in so corrupt an age, the souldiers would of their owne accord have surceased from civill warre, and by common consent, and advise of the Senate, deposing these two bad, have chosen a third good Prince.*

* *Plut. attributeth it to Cæsar not so probably.*

* *Sallustius apud Suet. lib. de clavis Grammaticis. Pompeius non probi, animi; invidiosus.*

IN some writers I finde it recorded, that the armies, either having in horror the war, or loathing both Princes, whose shames and dishonours were daily divulged more notoriously abroad, consulted among themselves to surcease the contention, and that either they by common consent should chuse a new Prince, or refer it over to the Senate's appointment: and that therefore the Generals of Othoes side, namely Paullinus, had counselled to delay and protract, hoping it would fall upon him, as being the most ancient Consular, a famous commander, and one that in the warres of Britanny had won great glory and name. For my part, although I could be induced to grant that some few peradventure secretly wished quietnesse in stead of discord, and for two most lewd and wicked, one good and innocent Prince, so I cannot be brought to beleieve, that Paullinus being so wise a man would ever hope in a most corrupt age for such moderation in the common sort, that whenas for desire of war they had troubled the peace of the State, now for love of peace they would abandon the war: or that armies in tongue and conditions so different, could condescend to so great an agreement: or that the Lieutenants and Generals, which for the most part were persons drowned in riot, beggerly and guilty of most hainous crimes, would ever have suffered any Prince but one polluted with the like vices, and of their owne creation, and therefore wholly obnoxious to them. That ancient desire of dominion and rule ingrafted now long ago in mens hearts, grew up and shot out with greatnesse of the Empire. For whilest our dominions were strait, an equalitie was easily maintained: but after we had subdued the world, destroyed all Cities, or Kings which stood in our light, or might worke our annoyance; when as we had leisure to seeke for wealth void of perill, there arose first hot contentions betweene the Nobility and Commons: sometimes factious Tribunes carried it away: sometimes the Consuls held a hard hand and prevailed: and in the Citie and place of assembly, some little skirmishes, and commencements as it were of civill warres, were attempted. Anon after Caius Marius one of the meanest of the Commonwealth, and Lucius Sulla the cruellest of all the Nobility, by force of armes overthrowing the free estate, induced an absolute governmet. After whom Cneius Pompeius succeeded, somewhat secreter, but nothing better: but after that time never was other question debated by armes, but who should be soveraigne Prince of the State. The Legions in Pharsalia and Philippi, consisting of Citizens, were not so moderately minded: much lesse may we think the armies of Otho and Vitellius would, of their owne accord, have laid downe their weapons. The gods were no lesse incensed against us: men were no lesse mad and furiously minded: the same vices reigning amongst us have induced the like dissensions & discords. That the wars were decided, and ended as it were each at one stroke, we are to attribute it to the cowardlinesse and faint heartednesse of the Princes, & not to the peaceableness of the armies. But the recounting of the dispositions & manners, of present and ancient times, hath carried me out of the way. Now I return to the order of the story.

XVI. *The*

XVI. *The great battell at Bebriacum: wherein Othoes side was overthrowne.*

WHEN 'Otho was gone to Brixellum, Titianus his brother carried the countenance and title of Generall; Proculus Captaine of the Guard the power and authority: Paullinus and Celsus, when as no man employed their wisdom and skill, were Captaines onely for names sake, and to be entituled to other mens faults: the Tribunes and Centurions, seeing the better contemned, and the worst sort in credit, were doubtfull of the event: the souldier notwithstanding was full of courage and heart, yet such as had rather contrive then execute his Generals commandements. It was resolved, that the campe should remove forward, and sit down in a place foure miles off from Bebriacum, so without reason and skill, that although it was spring time of the yeare, and so many rivers about them, yet were they distressed for water. There it was disputed whether the battell were to be given or not. For Otho by letters required to hasten the matter: the souldiers desired their Princes presence in field: many were of opinion to send for the Companies which lay on the other side of the Po. Neither can it so easily be discerned what had bene best to have done, as that it was the worst which they did: undertaking to go to the confluence of the rivers of Po and Olius, full sixteen miles from that place (a competent journey for an Army to march, & much too great for them which went to a battell) directly against the advise of Paullinus and Celsus, who held it unsafe to hazard the souldier, tired with the journey, & heavie laden with carriage, against an enemy, that would not faile, being lightly appointed, and having come scarce foure miles to charge upon them either as they marched in disaray, or else at the sitting downe as they dispersed themselves to fortifie the Campe. But Titianus and Proculus; when they were overcome by reason fled to authority, by vertue of their Office commanding the contrary: and indeed there was come a Numidian Horse-man in post from Otho with a sharpe message, in the which, as one that could not abide delays, and impatient to linger in hope, checked the Generals for their slacknesse, commanding them forthwith to put it to a field. The same day as Cæcina was busily occupied about making the bridge, two Tribunes of Prætorian Cohorts came thither, demanding to speake with him: and being upon the point to give audience, and make answer unto them, the skowts came running in haste, signifying the enemy was at hand: whereupon the parlee brake off, and so it remained uncertaine what they intended, whether to lay a traine for Cæcina, or to betray their owne fellowes, or else some other honest devise. Cæcina having dismissed the Tribunes, riding back to the Campe, found the signe of the battell already given by Valens commandement, and the souldiers in armes. Whilest the Legions cast lots concerning their order in marching to the field, the Horse-men issuing out charged, and were beaten backe very strangely, by Othoes men being fewer in number, even into the Trenches, had not the Italian Legion manfully drawne their swords, and by feare forced them to returne and make head upon the enemy againe. The Vitellian Legions were ordered and put in aray without tumult or feare: for the bushes and thickets tooke away the sight of the enemy, albeit he were neere. Contrarily in Othoes Armie the Generals with feare were put out of their skill: the souldiers neither loved nor trusted their Generals; the wagons and idle followers of the Campe troubled the workes of the souldiers, being confusedly mingled amongst them; and the High-way deeply ditched

* Great performances in those dayes had usually certaine African or Numidian horsemen to lead their traine, or for other sudden dispatches.

Suet. a. Epist. 124. Omnes jam sic peregrinatur, ut illos Numidarum rectorat equitatus, ut agmen cursu, immineat, utque est nullo esse qui occurrerent via designant, qui nonnullum hominem venire magno pulcre ostendat. Item Epist. 88. Martial. lib. 12. Epigram. 24. Non vellet Lybici niger caballus, succinctis neque choris antecedit.

6 According to Plutarch, from Bebricum they went 50. Itadia to that dry place the day after they minded to go an hundredth Itadia, but Paulinus dissuaded till the messlage of the Numidian horsemen took up the matter between them, and so they marched directly toward the enemy.

they were in row, from (b) that lodging they removed fixteene miles further, not directly, as it may be supposed, but declining on the left hand toward the Po, about foure miles beneath Cremona, at the confluence of the Po, and Oglio as they now call it, or Agele, or whatsoever, and yett (c) seemeth they fate not downe there, but went straight to finde the enemy in his own strength at Cremona. For (saith Tacitus) they had almost driven the Vitellian Horse-men (d) into their owne trenches: so that, in my fantasie, the poore innocent village of Bebricum, never heard of before, nor since, in somuch that no man knoweth where it stood, had little right to carry the name of this field, rather then Cremona, and yett all writers denominate it so, unless it were because the Othobonians, being broken, fled thither: for surely the battell was begun twenty miles off, and hard under Cremona. For the time of this battell, according to Iosephus and Egeſippus, it should seeme to have bene fought the very next day after that ad cafioris: but by Tacitus, in this case a more credible auithor, as in a matter done in Italy, it appeareth to have bene farre otherwise. Suetonius Othone, cap. 9. describeth the meeting of the two armies in farre other manner. *Apud Bebricum fraude superitis quum ipse colloqui facta quasi ad conditionem pacis militibus eductis, ex improviso atque inopis confustione dimicandum fuisse.*

2 Annus Gallus] In the confulation at Belvium he was absent. When he returned againe thither, and wherefore he stayed there when all the rest went out to fight, is not declared by Tacitus like as also many particulars concerning Cilius, Gallus, Titianus &c. worthy the remembrance in the yeelding of the Oethonians to Valens and Cœcina, which are well recorded by Plutarch, and ill left out by our Author, who to confesse a crutch, in this whole history hath behaved himselfe so well, that the onely thing we may perfectly understand, is, that he understood not the matter fully himselfe: and indeed for the particularities Plutarch writeth, that they which were present at the battell protested not to know themselves, *οὐκ ἠγάθον καὶ ἀνέγνωσαν. That is, for the disorder and confusioe.* Wherefore surely Tacitus is not excusable, seeing that Plutarch, who was lesse skilled in the Romane affaires, and had little occasion to know to much, of two bad hath for it done more intelligibly, being a man otherwise not to be named the same day with Tacitus.

XVII. *Otho understanding of the overbrow at Bebricum killeth himselfe. The souldiers about him, when they could not induce Verginius to undertake the place, yeeldt themselves to the Vitellianists.*

IN the meane while Otho at Brixellum waited for the newes of the battell without all passion of feare, and certainly resolved what he would doe. And first an uncertaine report of ill tidings was muttered without head or advow; then they which fled out of the battell came and declared that all was certainly lost. The souldiers ardent affection was such, that they stayed not for any comfort or encouragement from their Emperour, but contrariwise they comforted him, bidding him to be of good cheere: that there was yet new forces remayning, & that they would hazard all perils and suffer all extremities for his sake: neither was it flattery; but in unfained good meaning, upon a certaine instinct and furie, and mightily desired to goe to the field, to set up the side and recover the losses againe. They which stood farre off held up their hands and besought him: the nearest embraced his knees, especially Plotius Firmus Captaine of the Guard, who besought him often and instantly not to forsake his so well deserving souldiers, so loving and faithfull an Armie, averring that it was greater magnanimity to endure then to relinquish when fortune doth crosse: that stout men and valiant, even against fortune doe relye upon hope, whereas the cowardly dastards are hastily drawne by feare to despaire. As Otho seemed by his countenance to yeeld to these speeches, or else to reject them, so were there diversly shewings for joy, or gronings for sorrow. And not onely the Prætorians, the most addicted and partiall souldiers to Otho, but those also which were sent before out of Mœsia affirmed, that the Armie which was expected should alike obstinately maintaine the quarell: and that the Legions already were come to Aquileia; so that without all question a cruell and bloody warre might have beene renewed of doubtfull event to the one side and to the other. But Otho altogether aliene from any purpose of warre, To hazard, quoth hee, this vertue and valour of yours to needlesse dangers, I account it too deare a price of my life. The more hope you doe shew, if I list to live, the more commendation will

“of my death as being voluntary & not by constraint. Fortune and I have had good
“experience the one of the other: and nothing the lesse for that my time hath been
“short. I tel you, it is harder to moderate a mans selfe in felicity, the which he look-
“eth not long to enjoy. The civil war began on Vitellius party, & thence grew the
“first occasion to contend with arms for the Empire: but to contend no oftner but
“once, I for my part am purposed to give the example. And hereby let the posterity
“judge and esteem of Otho. Through my benefit Vitellius shall enjoy his brother,
“his wife, and his children: I seek no revenge, I have no need of such comforts.
“Others have kept longer the Empire, but let it be said, that none hath ever so vali-
“antly left it. Shall I suffer so much Roman blood again to be spilt, and the Com-
“mon-wealth deprived of so worthy Armies? Let this minde accompany me to my
“grave, & so surely it shall, that you for your parts would have died for my sake: but
“tarry you and live, and let not me be any longer a hinderance to your obtaining of
“pardon, nor you to my determination and purpose. To speak more of dying, or to
“use many words in that argument, I take to proceed of a cowardly courage. This
“take for a principall proove of my resolutenesse, that I complaine not of any. For
“to blame gods or men is their propertie that gladly would live. After these words
and the like, in courteous language, according to their age or degree, he required
the young men, and desired the old to get them quickly away and goe to the win-
ner, lest by slackening the time they provoked his further displeasure: rebuking ef-
fusions the unseasonable weepings of those about him, without any shew of altera-
tion in countenance, or signe of feare in his speech. Then he commanded those
which departed to be furnished with wagons and barges; burned all books and let-
ters containing any matter notably in favour of himselfe or disfavoure of Vitellius,
and distributed money sparingly, and not as one that should die. Then he called
unto him Salvius Cocceianus his brothers sonne, being in the prime of his youth,
and seeing him fore afraid and weeping, he comforted him, notwithstanding the case
touched nearer himselfe, commending his kindnesse, and naturall affection, and
reprehending his timorousnesse. What? were it possible, that Vitellius should bee
so hard hearted, and cruelly minded, as not to do him that one pleasure, whereas he
had preserved for him his whole house without harme? that at least by his hastie
dispatch of himselfe he deserved that some courtesie should be shewed to his kinred:
especially having forborne, for the love of his countrey, to seeke his last and utter-
most remedy, not upon extreme despaire, but then when as his army with instance
demanded to bring it to a battell againe. But, hee said, for his part he had gotten
renowne enough for himselfe, and nobilitie for his posteritie, after the Julian, Clau-
dian, and Servian families, having first of all men brought into a house of no great
continuance the honour of having an Emperour: and therefore he willed him with
good courage to live and go on, neither forgetting at any time that Otho was his
Uncle, nor yet too much remembering the same. After these things he willed all to
depart and give place, and gave himselfe a while to his rest: but a sudden tumult
interrupted the course of his last cares, word being brought in of the disordered &
outrageous behaviour of the souldiers: who threatned to kill all those which went
away, but were most eagerly bent against Verginius, whose house being shut they
beset round about. Whereupon Otho went out, and having rebuked the princi-
pall mutins, returning againe spent the time in waking and comforting them
which departed, untill they were all safely conveyed away. When it grew toward
night, hee quenched his thirst with a cup of cold water: then two Rapiers were
brought in: and after he had tried their points he put the one under his pillow: and
having

the death of Otho the more praise worthy the sooner heard of, put them out of feare.

XIX. *The estate of affaires at Rome: and the insolencies committed by the Vitellian souldiers after the victorie.*

^a Cerialia began the 12. of April, and ended the 19. so that after the death of Otho at *Brizellum* heard of at Rome, *Cerialis* had *ex mare* *speltabanus*, the day of his death, albeit the news came in post, could hardly be so late as the 18. of April, and not possibly so late as the 19.

BUt at Rome all was quiet, without any trouble or feare, the ^a playes of Ceres were solemnly kept according to the custome: and when certaine word was brought into the Theatre that Otho was dead, and that Flavius Sabinus Provest of the Citie had sworne all the souldiers in the City to Vitellius, in signe of joy the people clapped their hands and gave applause unto Vitellius. Then they carried the images of Galba with boughes of Lawrell and flowers about the Temples, heaping up together in manner of a tombe garlands and Coronets about Lacus Curtius, which place Galba at his death had embued with his blood. In the Senate all titles and honours usually conferred upon other Princes by occasions, and after they had reigned many yeeres, were straight wayes decreed to Vitellius: and withall praises concluded upon for the German armies, with solemn thanks for their good service, and an Embassage sent to congratulate. Letters also were read, written by Fabius Valens to the Consuls, in a stile humble enough: yet Cæcinaes modestie was better accepted in that he wrote not at all. But Italy was now more grievously vexed, and cruelly handled then during the war. The Vitellian souldiers dispersed in the free towns and Colonies pill'd and spoiled, polluted and ravished without any difference of right or wrong, holy or profane, but only following their ravenous and insolent humour, or else by money bought out to forbear: and some there were that counterfaising themselves to be souldiers slew their particular enemies. The souldiers also themselves were skilled in the Countrey, and designed out the well stored grounds, and well monied masters to pray upon, or if resistance were made, to destroy them; the Generalls being obnoxious and not daring to prohibit it: Cæcina was lesse covetous and more possessed with vain-glory: Valens was for bribery and polling infamous, and therefore a winker also at other mens faults, so many footmen and horse, so great violences, damages and injuries, especially the state of Italy being already greatly empoverished before, were hardly abiden.

XX. *Vitellius voiage from Germanie to Lions, and his actions there.*

^a *Primo imperio* die, faith *Suetonius*, cap. 12. contrary to the circumstances of this place.

IN the meane season Vitellius ignorant of his own victory, made preparation as for a war new to begin, and carried with him beside eight thousand souldiers of Britannie, the strength which remained of the German army: few old souldiers were left in the standing Camps, but new men levied in haist out of France to uphold the names of the Legions remaining behinde: and the charge of the militarie affaires there was committed to Hordeonius Flaccus. When Vitellius had marched some few dayes journey, he understood of the good successe at Bebricum; then that Otho was dead and the war finished: whereupon calling an assembly he highly extolled the valiantnesse of the souldiers. ^a After the speech, his Armie instantly requested him to create Asiaticus his freed man a gentleman of Rome: with shamefull flattery he then rebuked; and soon after upon a sicklenesse of wit, that which he had openly refused, he privily bestowed in banquet, and honoured with rings Asiaticus, a base abject slave, and one seeking to rise by ill meanes. About the same

time message was brought that Albinus Procurator of both Mauritanies was slain, and the Countreies had sided themselves with Vitellius. Lucceius Albinus was by Nero sent over Mauritania Cæsariensis, and Galba annexed the administration of Tingitana; so that he had forces of good moment under his charge: eighteen Cohorts, five wings and an infinite number of Moores not unfit for the warre, as men that usually lived of stealing and harrowing their neighbours. When Galba was slain he followed the party of Otho, and not contenting himselfe with Africk, had a purpose for Spaine, being disjoyned from it by a narrow straight. Hereupon Cluvius Rufus was afraid, and commanded the tenth Legion to approach to the shore, as if he meant to have shipped over: sending before certain Centurions to induce the mindes of the Moores to favour Vitellius: neither was it hard to effect. For the fame of the German Army was great throughout all the Provinces, and beside a report was spread, that Albinus contemning the name of a Procurator, had usurped a royall diademe, and the name of ^b Juba. So their mindes being changed, thereupon they went and slew Asinius Pollio Captain of a wing, one of Albinus faithfull friends, and Festus and Scipio two Captaines of Cohorts: Albinus himselfe as he went by sea from Tingitana to Mauritania Cæsariensis was slain as he landed, and his wife withall, who voluntarily offered herselfe to the slaughter. These things and allelse what was done Vitellius passed over without due examination, as his manner was with a short audience to turn over matters of greatest importance; a man farre unfit to wield waighty affaires. When they came to Araris, Vitellius willed the Army to march by land, and went himselfe down by the river, without any furniture fit for a Prince, but in his old beggerly array, till Junius Blasus governour of Gallia Lugdunensis, a man of high parentage, of a frank minde and wealth answerable thereto, furnished him of provision and servitours, and accompanied him honorably according to his estate: a thanklesse office and displeasing, albeit Vitellius sought by submisle and glozing speeches to cover his hatred. At Lions the Generalls met him of both sides, the winning and loosing. Valens and Cæcina he commended in open assembly, and set them about his chaire of estate: then he commanded the whole Army to go out, and meet his little ^c young son. Being brought and clothed in a ^d princely mantell, his father holding him in his armes named him Germanicus, and arraid him with all the imperiall ornaments: this excessive honour in prosperity, in adversitie served for a comfort. Then were the bravest and forwardest of Othoes Centurions put to the sword upon which occasion grew principally the dislike the Illyrian Armies conceived of Vitellius, and withall the rest of the Legions, partly by contagion, and partly upon envy to the German souldiers, projected warre in their mindes. Suetonius Paulinus and Licinius Proculus could not have audience, but were detained a great while in sorrow and heavinesse: till at length being admitted they produced matter of excuse, rather such as stood with the present necessity, then such as might stand with their honour: as that in favour of Vitellius they had betrayed their own fellows, alleading the length of the journey before the battell, the wearinesse of Othoes men, the shuffling of Cartes and the souldiers together, and many other matters of chance, as done by them for the purpose: and Vitellius beleev'd the treason, and acquitted them of the crime of fidelity. Salvius Titianus Othoes brother was clearely discharged, being holden excused both because he was so nearely tied by nature, and because he was a man of no moment. Marius Celsus had his life and honor saved: for his Consulship was reserved unto him. It was said and beleev'd, and afterward objected to Cæcilius Simplex in the Senate, that he sued to have bought that office with money, seeking withall the

^b The last King of Mauritania, subdued by Cæsar anno 106. cond. 708.

^c *Cæsar*, *the*. The Consul abroad *Julius* *Caesar* in the Emperours times, belike differing in furniture, in the free state the Prætors had also, and some of the Edils. ^d Of six yeeres old, *sonar*. ^e *trahendum* ^f Not very long: for *Marianus* caused him to be made away. ^g *Histor*.

ever they were overcome: that in the battell at Bebriacum the Vexillaries onely were put to flight, the strength of the Legion being not present. Wherefore it was thought expedient to send them back into Britanny, from whence they were called by Nero; and in the meane time, that they and the cohorts of Batavians should quarter together, by reason of the ancient jarring between them. Neither could they, having both weapons in hand and hating each other so deadly, agree long together. At Turin as one of the Batavians quarelled with an Artificer, as having coufened him, and a Legionary souldier took his part, and defended him as being his Hoast, their companions sorting themselves each to their fellow, from bitter words passed to blows: and a bloody battel had been fought, had not two Prætorian cohorts taken the Legionaries part, and so much increased their strength, that the Batavians were forced for feare to give over. Upon which accident Vitellius commanded to unite to his traine the Batavians, as well-willers to the cause, and to send the Legion away and conduct it over the Graian Alpes, by the way that missed Vienna; for they of Vienna also were had in a jealousie. That night the Legion removed, fires being left here and there negligently unput out, part of Turin was burnt: which damage, as many other bad effects of that warre, greater calamities of other Cities did utterly blot and put out of remembrance. The Legion having passed the Alpes, some of the most seditious among them carried their ensignes toward Vienna: but by the consent of the better sort they were staid; and so the Legion was transported into Britanny. The next feare that Vitellius had, was of the Prætorian Cohorts. And first they were separated: then in good sort and courteously called, with commandement to deliver up their armour to the Tribunes: and so they remained untill such time as the war was begun by Vespasian: then they resumed armes and were the strength of the Flavian side. Of the other Legions the first surnamed Classica was sent into Spaine, that by peace and rest it might wax tractable: the eleventh and seventh were returned to their standing Campes: the thirteenth set a work to build Amphitheaters: for Cæcina at Cremona, and Valens at Bononia made preparation to set forth a shew of Fencers; Vitellius being never so attentively addicted to serious affaires, that he would forget his pastimes and pleasures. And thus with good moderation he put them asunder. In the winning side a mutiny arose upon a sporting beginning, but that the number of them which were illaine made it a matter of earnest, and the whole warre more odious. Vitellius was in Ticinum at a banquet, and with him Verginius. The Lieutenants and Tribunes are frugall or riotous, according to the Princes dispositions: in like sort the souldiers severe or dissolute: in Vitellius traine all was disorderly and full of drunkenesse, more like to Wakes and feasts of Bacchus, than to a Campe where discipline should be. It happened that two souldiers one of the fift Legion, another a French Auxiliary, upon a jolity challenged one another to wrestle: and when as the Legionary was thrown, the Frenchman insulting over him, and they w^h lookt on divided themselves into sides, the Legionary souldiers taking themselves to their weapons made havock of the Auxiliaries, and slew two Cohorts of them. The remedy of this tumult was another tumult: Dust and glittering of Armour was seen as farre off: and suddenly it was noised in the Army, that the fourteenth Legion was returned with intention to fight: but it was their own rereward; which being perceived, that care was ended. In the mean season, as one of Verginius servants by chance came by, the souldiers charge and accuse him, that he was set to kill Vitellius, and rush thereupon into the banquetting place requiring the death of Verginius. No man doubted of Verginius innocency, no not Vitellius himselfe,

himselfe, although otherwise very suspicious and fearfull, and notwithstanding they demanded the death of so honourable a personage, and one which had once been their Generall, yet were they hardly appeased. Neither was there any man so oft shot at as Verginius in all seditious and mutinous assemblies: the admiration and fame of the man remained amongst them; but they hated him deadly, because he had contemned their offer. The day following Vitellius gave audience to the Senats Embassage, which he willed there to attend him; and going from thence to the Campe, he spake to the souldiers, commending their durifull disposition, and tender carefulnesse over his person: but the Auxiliaries fretted and fumed to see the Legionaries grown to that height of insolencie, and no punishment inflicted upon them. Whereupon the Cohorts of Batavians, lest they should attempt some desperate act, were sent back again into Germany, the course of affaires fatally tending to minister matter, as well to a forrein war, as to a civill. The French Auxiliaries also were turned home to their countreys, an excessive number, and straight at the first revolt assumed by Vitellius into the cause, for an idle complement of the warre. Now to the end that the treasure and revenues of the Empire, though diminished and wasted, might suffice for his excessive and prodigall donations, he commanded to lessen the number of souldiers in the Legions and Aides, forbidding supplies to be made, and offering dismissions indifferently: which action of his proved pernicious to the State, and unpleasant to the souldiers. For fewer now bare the same burthens; and perils and labours came thicker about; and their strength was wasted with riotous life by reason of such abundance, contrary to the ancient discipline and usage of our forefathers, under whom the Roman estate was governed and stood, by vertue better then money. From thence Vitellius turned to Cremona: and when he had seen Cæcinaes plaies, he was desirous to go to Bebriacum and view the place with his eyes of the late victory. The spectacle was ugly and grisly to behold: within forty daies after the battel, bodies torne in pieces, mangled limmes, figures of horses and men putrified, the ground imbrued with corruption and blood, the Countrey miserably wasted, the Trees and Corn trodden down and spoiled: that also was a point of inhumanitie that they of Cremona had strowed the way (2) with Roses and Bay, erected Altars, and sacrificed thereon: as the manner is to Kings passing by: which things, albeit they pleased them presently, turned afterwards to their ruine. Cæcina and Valens were by, and shewed the places of the conflict: from this place the Legions went out and charged: from hence the horsemen arose, from thence the Auxiliaries closed about. Now the Tribunes and Capitaines extolling each his own prowesse, with many a lie mingled some truths, or made of the truth more then it was. The common souldiers also with clamour and joy stept out of the way calling to remembrance the ground they had traversed, behold and wonder at the heapes of armour and bodies: and some there were whom the changeable fortune of humane affaires moved to pity and teares. But Vitellius as a man without all compassion turned not away his eyes, nor had not in horror to see so many thousands of unburied Citizens: but contrariwise jocund, and ignorant of his own lot which followed so nearely, he maketh a solemn sacrifice (3) to the gods of the place. After these things Fabius Valens at Bononia maketh a shew of Fencers: to the setting out whereof, furniture was fetched from Rome: & the nearer Vitellius came to the City, the more dissolute and corrupt was he and his Company, Stage-players associating themselves to the traine, and droves of Eunuchs, and the rest of the Buffons of Neroes Court. For Vitellius was an admirer also of Nero himselfe, and was wont to attend and follow him as he did sing, not by compulsion

* *Consulatus* aliorum consulatus, some indeed were stricken out, but every one, as it may seem, accomplished his ordinary time of two months. See the annotation upon the first book.

compulsions as many a good man, but selling his honour to nourish his riot and feed his belly, to which he had wholly enthralled himselfe. Now that Valens and Cæcina might obtaine some void months that yeare to be Consuls in, certaine others * were abridged of their time: M. Macer was passed over because he had bene a Captaine of Othoes side: Valerius Marinus whom Galba appointed was put over to another time, not upon any dislike, but because he was of a soft nature, and would gently put up a wrong. Pedanius Costa was omitted being disliked of the Prince, because he had attempted against Nero, pricked Verginius forward: but Vitellius alleadged other causes; and according to the servile custome of that time great thanks were given him beside.

1. Wakes and feasts of Bacchus] *Perigilia*, wakes and solemnities by night, in honor of some god, during sometimes for many nights together, in which indeed was practised all kinde of dissolutenes and insolency. *Can. unum & nox, & multi seminis maris, etatis tenera majoribus discrimen omne pudoris extinxissent*, as Livie speaketh. Of which kinde in the Common-weales of Greece were many, and many abuses growing thereof, as we well apperceive out of the Comedies of those times, and Plautus Aulularia, *Ego me injuriam fuisse sateo filiae meae, Cereus vigilis per vitium & que impulsu adolescentie*, and yet those of Ceres f. em. of all other to have been the most sober, and therefore thought to be retained by Tully, 2. de legibus Nocturna sacrificia mulierum, nescio propter oia que pro populo rite fiunt. *Acne quem inuito, nisi ut afficeret, Cereus, Greco sacro*. Vitellius saith Suet. cap. 10. *In Appennini quidam jugi etiam perigilium* &c. to which act of his Tacitus peradventure here alludeth. Now Bacchanalia were, as I think, nothing else but perigilia in honour of Bacchus, of all other the most dissolute, corrupt and desperate, of whose beginnings, increase, and destruction in the Roman state, read Livy lib. 38. and Tully lib. 2. de legibus.

2. With Roses and Bay, erected Altars] upon the coming of Kings and great personages, the custome was to strew the way with flowers. Herodianus lib. 4. at Caracallæ entry into Alexandria: *desubrigens se in stratis, et in throno sedens*. That is, *Thy honoured the Emperor with touches and strewing of flowers*, and lib. 1. at the coming of Commodus to Rome, *de Throno in thronum sedens, et in throno sedens, et in throno sedens*. That is, *as he approached near the city, as the Senate, and generally as many as dwelt in Rome came forth and met him every man as far off from the city as possibly he could, bearing bays and bringing all sorts of flowers then in season*. Claudianus Panegy. 2. de Stilicone.

Spectabant capide matres, spargunt & ornati Flore viae

3. To the gods of the place] In that religion every wood and field had his local gods, without whose good favour no humane action could in that place have any happy successe. So Æneas in Virg. 1. 7. at his entry into Italy.

geniumque loci primamque deorum Tellurem, nymphasque, & adhibe ignota precatur Flumina— and Orpheus in Sophocles Electra.

In Xenophon 1. *παύσ*. Cambyfes and Cyrus passing out of Persia, *αυτοβοήσαντες τοις θεοις, & εφ' ουσιν ηλθον εις την μεσην, & διελθόντες ενδιμνησαντες*. That is, *he sought the gods protectors of Persia, to send them forth favourably and with good speed*. And entering into Media, *αυτοβοήσαντες τοις θεοις, & εφ' ουσιν ηλθον εις την μεσην, & διελθόντες ενδιμνησαντες*. That is, *to receive them favourably and with good speed*.

XXII. One Geta a bond-man counterfaising himselfe to be Scribonianus Camerinus, and associating others unto him, was taken, brought to Vitellius and hanged.

About the same time a certaine fable, beleevd at the first, and running without controlment at the beginning, ended within few dayes. A certaine man counterfaised himselfe to be Scribonianus Camerinus, and that he had liuen in Neroes time for feare secret in Histria, because there the vassals and possessions of the old Crassi and the affection toward the name did remaine. So certain lewd persons being assured to furnish the play, the credulous common people, and some of the souldiers, upon ignorance of the truth, or else desirous of troubles, began to associat themselves unto him apace: but their Captain was intrapped anon and brought before Vitellius, and being examined what manner of man he was, when as they

found

found no truth in his answers, and that he was owned by his master by name and qualitie Geta a fugitive bond-man, he was executed after the manner of slaves.

XXIII. *Vespasian sweareth to Vitellius: then taketh upon himselfe the Empire in Jewry.*

It is scarcely credible how greatly Vitellius grew in pride and stothfulnesse, when as the souldiers sent for that purpose brought word out of Syria and Jewry, that the East had sworne allegiance unto him. For Vespasian, albeit onely upon a flying report without any certain author, was in every mans mouth, and commonly spoken of, and oftentimes as he was named Vitellius would startle. Then he and his Army, as being without any concurrent in crueltie, in lust, in oppression, brake out into barbarous and forein behaviour. But Vespasian in the meane season laying his plot for the war, entred into consideration of the forces both neare and farre off. His own souldiers, were so ready in his behalfe, that when he began them the oath and wished all prosperitie to Vitellius, the souldiers answered with silence, without either good wish or good word. Mutianus was not aliene from Vespasian, and toward Titus very well affected. Alexander the governour of Egypt had entred into the confederacie. The third Legion, because it was transferred out of Syria into Moesia, Vespasian reckoned as his own: and the rest of the Illyrian Legions it was hoped would follow. For the insolent behaviour of the souldiers which came from Vitellius, with their proud gestures and looks, and rude speeches, despising all others as base and inferiours, had wonderfully offended all the armies beside. But to enter into so weighty a war was a point not so quickly resolved upon: and Vespasian albeit he hoped the best, forecast sometimes the worst in his minde: what a day would that be for him, in the which he should commit to the mercy of the war himselfe of threescore yeares of age, and his two sons in the flower of their youth? that in private attempts a man might proceed and stop where he listed, but to them which desired the Empire there was no middle course, between the state of a Prince and the death of a Traitor. Further more he laied before him the puissance of the German army: a matter well known unto him: being a martiall man: that his Legions had never made triall of themselves in a civill war, whereas they of Vitellius had been conquerours therein: and the conquered party abounded more in complaints then in forces and strength. Moreover that in civill dissensions the faith of the souldiers was fleeting: and that there was perill to be feared from every particular man. For what would Cohorts and Wings avails, if one or two, to attaine the reward proposed by the other side, would desperately venture to kill him? so Scribonianus was slain under Claudius, and so his murderer Volaginius of a common souldier was preferred to the highest places of service. That it was a more easie matter to incite all in generall, then to beware of every one in particular. As he seemed to waver moved with these feares, both the other Lieutenants with the rest of his friends sought to confirme him, and Mutianus after many and secret conferences, now also in open councell spake to him in this wise. All men, which are to enter into great and important actions, ought to weigh with themselves, whether that which is undertaken be profitable to the Commonwealth, honorable for themselves, and easie to be effected, or at least not greatly difficult: withall the party that perswadeth unto it is to be considered, whether beside bare words and advice he adjoyne his own perill thereto, yea or no: and if fortune do favour the attempt to whom the principall glory accrueth. I call you *Vespasian* to the taking of the Empire, a matter as

much

* *Viro militari*, for Vespasian before he was sent into Jewry had bene Lieutenant of a Legion in Germanie, then in Bytanie, where he fought 30 battles, took about 20. towns, and adjoynd the Ile of Wight to the obedience of the Roman Empire, whereupon he received triumphalia ornamenta. Suet. Vesp. cap. 4.

"much for the safegard of the Common-wealth, as for your own honour. Next after the gods it is in your hand to attain it: and fear not as though I said it to flatter it is more near a disgrace then a praise to be chosen after Vitellius. We rise not against Augustus, a man of that deep insight, not against the wary old age of Tiberius, nor against the house of Caius, or Claudius, or Nero rooted by so many descents in the Empire: you gave place also to the ancientnesse of Galbaes house: to sleep any longer and abandon the State to be in this sort polluted and ruined, were a sloth and cowardise, yea although to live in that slavery were as safe for you, as it is dishonourable, which indeed is not so. The time is already* gone and fore-past when you might seem to have for ambition desired the Empire: the Empire must now be your sanctuary and refuge. Have you forgotten how Corbulo was murdered? a man of greater linage then we are, I grant: and so was Nero likewise then Vitellius. He that is feared is alwayes noble enough in his conceit that doth feare: and that a Prince may be made by the souldiers abroad, Vitellius himselfe hath shewed the way; a man otherwise which never served in field, never attained to any military renown, but preferred onely upon a dislike of Galba, and now so disliked himself, that Otho, whom he overcame, not by stratageme or strength, but by his own hastie casting away of himself, is become a notable Prince and much wisted for: whereas Vitellius in the meane time dispereth the Legions, disarmeth the Cohorts, and ministreth daily new matter of war. His own souldier if he had any courage or edge, it is dulled and worn away in tipling and brotheling houses, and following the Princes example. You have out of Jewry, Syria, and Egypt nine companies of Legions in readines, not wasted by war, nor corrupted with mutinies; but a souldier confirmed with practise and use, and harmed with happy exploits against foreign enemies. We have Navies, wings and Cohorts to strengthen our cause, and Kings beside most faithfull unto us: and that which is above all, your own experience and skill. Of my self I will not say much: this onely that I am not inferior to Cæcina and Valens: disdain not Mutianus for a helper, because you have him not a competitor: I prefer my self before Vitellius, and you before me. Your house is beautified with triumphall ornaments, & adorned with two goodly young men, the one already capable of the Empire, and in his first service renowned among the armies of Germany also: it were absurd for me not to yeeld up the Empire to him, whose sonne I would surely adopt if my self were Emperour. Now as concerning the reward and the perill, they shall not be equally parted between us. For if we do overcome, I shall have that honour which you will afford me: the danger and perill shall be alike to us both; or as it is better, rule you these Armies here, and commit over to me the war and uncertain events of the field. The conquered side liveth this day under better discipline, then the conquerours; anger & hatred, & desire of revenge inflaming them to valor, whereas the other through pride and breach of discipline wax dulle and blunt: whose secret and swelling wounds the war of it self will open and disclose: neither do I repose my self more upon your vigilant, frugall and discreet dealing, then upon the sluggish, doltish, and cruell proceeding of Vitellius. And beside all this our cause is more justifiable in war then in peace: for they which deliberate to rebell, have rebelled. After the Oration of Mutianus the rest came more boldly about him, exhorting and perswading him, and laying before him the Oracles and Prophecies, and the favourable aspects of the heavens: neither was Vespasian void of that kinde of superstition. For afterward when he was Emperour, he had openly about him one Selenus an Astrologer, to foretell and direct his affaires. Moreover certain old and ominous pre-

* Abiit jam & transactum est tempus quo posses videri concipisti, omni genitum est ad imperium.

† About twenty seven years old.

sages came to his remembrance. A notable tall Cypres-tree was in his ground, which suddenly fell down, and the day following rose up againe upon the same root and flourished, growing higher and better spread then before. That then by the consent of the Haruspices fore shewed great and prosperous matters: who assured him, when he was very young, of most high and honourable preferment. But at the first the Consulship, and triumphall ornaments, and the glory of the Jewish victory seemed to have fulfilled the prophecy: when he had attained to them, he believed then the Empire was portended thereby. Between Jewry and Syria lieth the Mount Carmelus, and so the god also is called, to whom according to the custome anciently received an Altar is erected, and all devoutnesse and reverence shewed, but without either image or Temple. As Vespasian sacrificed there, fraught with secret hopes in his head, Basilides the Priest often viewing and marking the entrailes, "Whatsoever it is, quoth he, & Vespasian, which thou intendest, whether it be to build a house, or to enlarge thy possessions, or to increase the number of servants, it shall be effected: the gods do grant thee a great roome, large limits and many men. These dark speeches were straight-waies noted and published, and now by the common voice of the people applyed and construed: neither was there any thing more vulgar in every mans mouth, and especially in his own audience; as to them which depend upon hopes, such kinde of speeches are most used. From this conference they departed with full resolution, Mutianus to Antiochia, and Vespasian to Cæsaria, the one being the head towne of Syria, the other of Judæa. The matter was first published, and Vespasian named Emperour at Alexandria by Tiberius Alexander, who made the most haste, and ministred the souldiers their oath upon the first day of July, which day afterward was reputed and celebrated as the first day of his reigne, although his own Army of Jewry began not before the third of the same moneth: and then in his presence they swore with such affection and heate, that they did not attend the coming of Titus his sonne out of Syria, who was a messenger of all matters between Mutianus and his father. The violence of the souldier over-ruled the whole action: for no assembly being called; the Legions not met together, the time and place not agreed of, nor the man determined upon, a point in that case of most difficulty, that should speak the first word: hope and feare, reason and chance, diversly distracted their mindes. Matters standing in these tearmes, as Vespasian came out of his chamber, a few souldiers after the wonted manner stood on a row, as to salute their Generall, but they saluted him Emperour: then the rest ran too, and heaped upon him the names of Cæsar and Augustus, and all titles of sovereign power. His conceits rose from apprehension of feare to the consideration of his fortune, notwithstanding there appeared in him no token of pride and arrogancy, nor change in so great a change; but being amazed at the sudden sight of so great a multitude, as soon as he had recovered his spirits he spake unto them souldier-like: and being received with a joyfull applause, he sent word to Mutianus of his successe. Mutianus at Antiochia receiving the message which he looked for, called the souldiers to the oath for Vespasian, which they most willingly accepted. Then he went to the Theatre, where the manner of that towne is to meet and consult: and made a speech unto them, as they flocked and fawned about him, in their own language, as he was a man competently eloquent in the Greek tongue also; and one that had the art to make the most shew of whatsoever he spake or did. But above all, that incensed principally both the Province and the Army, which Mutianus affirmed, that Vitellius had determined to transferre the Germane Legions into Syria, a rich and quiet service; and of the Contrary

Quem gessit saith Suet. per dius novissimos anni mensis a-bout the latter end of Claudius time.

Suet. Vesp. c. 5. apud Judæam Carmeli dei oraculum consuetum (Vespasianum) ita confirmare fertur, ut quicquid cogitaret vel volueretque animo, quantumlibet magnum, id esse perventurum polliceretur.

Suet. Vesp. c. 6. saith the matter was first broched and begun by the Syrian army.

* 5. to 20mas. Suet. c. to Idus, which is the eleventh day.

The souldiers affection toward Vespasian, and the manner and circumstances of his assuming the Empire, are well set down by Josephus lib. 4. c. 36. (who was present at the action) with some particularities not touched by Tacitus here, noted by Ege-sippus also lib. 4. cap. 27. it is the ancient Ege-sippus, and not rather an extract of Josephus.

trary side to remove the Syrian Legions into Germany, a hard and cold Countrey, and a place of great paines: for both they of the Province liked well of the souldiers company, to whom they were enured, and with whom many of them were linked in affinity and kindred; and the souldiers likewise loved the place of their settled Campes, as their own homes, being grown familiar with them, by reason of their long service there. Before the fifteenth of July all Syria had received the same oath. Moreover Sohemus with his Kingdomes adjoynd himselfe to the cause, a man of good forces; and Antiochus of wealth of long gathering, and of all the subject Kings the richest. Agrippa also, upon secret advertisements from his friends, departed from Rome unawares to Vitellius, and sailed hastily home: and likewise the Queene Berenice with all her might furthered the side, a Queene in the flower of her beauty and youth, and well beloved of the old Vespasian also, in respect of the great and rich gifts which she gave. All the Provinces which bordered on the Sea, as far as Asia and Achaia, and all the inlands to Pontus and Armenia, received the oath: but the Lieutenants thereof were without Armies, for as yet Cappadocia had no Legions assigned.

¹ The Theatre, where the manner of that towne is to meet and consult. For so all the Graecian Cities used to doe, as appeareth both by the Greeke Orators and Historiographers; a thing noted also by Antonius Ludo, *Septim. A. pientum, Prologo.*

*Quid truhicis tu togate Romule?
Scenam quod intromittunt tam cavi? noni?
Nobis pudendum est hoc, non & Atticis
Quibus theatrum curiae prebet vicem?
Nobis regibus sua loca sortita data.
Campus comitibus, ut conscriptis curia.
Forum atque rostra separat jus civium.
Vna est Athenis, atque in omni Graecia
Ad consulendum publicis sedes lo. i.*

² Cap. 8.

² Cappadocia had no legions. Vespasian being settled in state Cappadociae, faith. ³ Suetonius, *propter affluens barbarum. natus legiones addidit, consularique rectorem imposuit pro equite Romano*, yet by Tacitus it may seeme there was some power. Cappadocia Pontusque & quicquid castrorum dimittis praetenditur.

XXIII. The preparation of Vespasian and his side for the warre.

BERYTUS was elected for the place of their principall consultations. Thither Mutianus with the Lieutenants and Tribunes repaired, and the chiefeft of the Centurions and souldiers, and certaine choise persons out of the Jewish Army. So many footmen and horsemen together, and so great preparations of Kings striving to exceed one another made a shew of a Princes estate. The first provision for warre was to levy more men, and revoke the old souldiers which were discharged: certaine strong Cities were appointed out to make Armour therein: at Antioch gold and silver was coyned: and in all these severall workes great speed and diligence used by the means of good overseers. Vespasian also would go in his own person and encourage them, inciting the good by praise, the slow by example rather then correction, more ready to conceale the vices of his friends then the virtues: many he rewarded with Captaines and Procuratours places, many he advanced to highest degrees, although in some, Fortune supplied the want of good qualities. As for donatives to the souldier, neither did Mutianus in his first oration make any mention but sparingly thereof, nor Vespasian make any offer of greater in civill warre, then others were wonted in peace; a man notable and firme against these lavishings to souldiers, and therefore having his Army better in order. Moreover

Embassa-

Embassadours were sent to the kings of Parthia and Armenia to conclude a surceasance of armes, lest whilest the Legions were intentive upon the civill war, those nations should assault the frontiers behinde. It was agreed that Titus should prosecute the Jewish warre, and Vespasian should put himself in possession of the strength of Egypt. Against Vitellius it was thought sufficient to send a part of the hoste, and Mutianus to lead them, and the name of Vespasian, and the favour of fate, which findeth or maketh a way through all lets. Then letters were written to all the Lieutenants and armies, and order given out to invite the Praetorian souldiers, which hated Vitellius, upon promise of restitution to their places. Mutianus with an army not encombred with carriage, bearing himself rather as the Emperours fellow then as a servant, marched forward, not very stoutly, lest he should seeme for feare to delay, nor yet very hastily, but gave time for the fame of the action to grow; knowing that his strength was not much, and that men beleve alwayes greater matters of things which are absent: but there followed a great troupe, the sixth Legion, and thirteene thousand Vexillaries. The fleet he commanded to passe out of Pontus and meet him at Byzantium, being half in a minde to leave Moesia, and with his horsemen and footmen directly to go to Dyrrhachium, and withall with his ships of warre to shut up the sea toward Italy, leaving Achaia and Asia behinde him in safety, which, unlesse they were guarded with sufficient power, being without armies would lye open to Vitellius, and that by that means Vitellius himself would stand in doubt what part of Italy to protect, if at one instant Brundisium and Tarentum, and the coasts of Lucania and Calabria should be infested by enemies fleets. Thus the provinces were busily occupied in provision of ships, men, and armour; but the greatest difficultie was to get money: which Mutianus affirming to be the sinews of civill warre, respected not law or equitie in judgements, but only what way to procure masses of money. Crimes were daily devised against men of most wealth, and they spoiled: which manner of dealing being of itself grievous and intolerable, but in some sort excusable by the necessitie of the warre, remained also in peace afterward. For Vespasian himself, albeit at the beginning of his Empire he was not so obstinately bent to attaine unreasonable matters, yet upon his continuall prosperitie, and taught by ill masters, he took forth a bad lesson, and used it boldly. With his own purse also Mutianus furthered the warre, conferring privately that, which he would in more ample measure repay himself out of the common. The rest following his example in contributing of money, few or none had the grace to receive it again with the like vantage.

¹ Berytus] By the circumstances in the story of Josephus it may seeme, that here at Berytus was the first meeting of Vespasian and Mucianus, and that before all was dealt between them by the mediation of Titus, whom we finde in Tacitus absent with Mucianus in Syria, which had not needed if they had met before, and the matter been concluded upon. Surely in Tacitus of their first meeting no place is set downe, and it may seeme strange how two Lieutenants Generall could come personally together before the warre was openly undertaken. But they not coming together before their open declaration in armes, there had been no place left for that good oration, which Tacitus meant howsoever to bellow on Mucianus: although for the truth of the story, and the circumstances of matters which passed in Jewry, and Syria, I am content to beleve Josephus better, who, as I have said, was an eyewitness of the whole action.

² Marched forward] Josephus *ἀνέβη, 4. cap. 40.* *ὁ Μυτιανὸς δὲ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαρινὰν θάλασσαν, ὡς ἔργον ἔσται.* That is, Mutianus fearing to commit himselfe to the sea because it was the deep of winter, brought his army by land thorow Cappadocia and Phrygia. How it could be *ἐπὶ τῇ χειρὶ*, the deepe of winter, when as without question the warre was begun sometime in July, or at the furthest in the beginning of August, I cannot imagine.

³ To leave Moesia and with his horsemen] It appeareth in the proesse of the story, that he took the way of Moesia, of whose whole journey from Syria, till we finde him in the third book fighting with the Dacians, we have not one word set down by Tacitus; as likewise after that action, till his entry into Rome, in the fourth book: points in my judgement very materiall in a good story, and greatly to the satisfaction of the Reader.

XXV. The armies in Mœsia, Pannonia and Dalmatia adhere to Vespasian.

^a Suet. Vesp. c. 6. writeth that not the three Legions, but 200. out of the three Legions came forward to Aquileia: no doubt erroneously.

^b Tacitus 14. Annal.

THE affaires of Vespasian were in the meane season hastened forward by the Illyrian armies affection toward the side. The third Legion gave example to the other two Legions of Mœsia: the seventh furnished Claudiana, and the eight being wellwillers of Otho, albeit they were not present at the battell, but onely come forward^a to Aquileia; at which place misuting the messengers that brought word of Othoes overthrow, and tearing the banners wherein Vitellius name was inscribed, and lastly taking a summe of money by violence and parting it amongst them, they shewed themselves open enemies to the cause. Whereupon they feared displeasure, and upon feare devised, that this kinde of dealing, which to Vitellius must have needed a long and solemne excuse, might to Vespasian be set up and reckoned as a favour and benefit. So the three Mœsian Legions, thus concurring in one, by letters invited the Pannonian army to the cause, or if they refused, prepared to force them. In that tumult Aponius Saturninus Lieutenant generall of Mœsia endeavoured to commit a most wicked act, sending a Centurion to murder Tertius Julianus Lieutenant of the seventh Legion, upon private grudges pretending the publike cause of the sides. Julianus understanding of the danger, and taking guides skilfull in the countrey, fled by the deserts of Mœsia, beyond the mount Hemus, and afterward was not present in the civill warre of the one side or other: protracting the journey he tooke to Vespasian by divers delays, and as the occurrences were, making lesse speed or more. But in Pannonia the thirteenth Legion, and seventh furnished Galbiana, retaining the anger and griefe of the losse at Bebricum, without any stay joyned themselves to Vespasian, at the incitement principally of Antonius Primus, a man attainted in law, and in Neroes time^b convicted of forgery, but among other miseries of warre and a troubled state he recovered his place in the Senate, and by Galba was made Lieutenant of the seventh Legion. He was supposed to have written divers letters to Otho, offering his service for a Captaine to the side; of whom being not regarded, he was not that warre in any employment: but when as Vitellius estate began to decay, following Vespasian he added great waight to the cause, being a valiant man of his hands, of a ready utterance, a cunning craftsman to make other odious, in dissensions and mutinies powerable, a violent spoyler, a wastfull spender, in time of peace and quiet government insupportable, in warre not to be contemned. The Mœsian and Pannonian armies, being thus joyned together, drew anon the Dalmatian souldier, albeit the Lieutenants generall sturred nothing at all. Titus Flavianus was Generall of Pannonia, and Pompeius Sullanus of Dalmatia, two wealthy old men: but there was in the countrey Cornelius Fuscus the Procurator, a man in the principall strength of his age, and of noble birth; who in his first yeeres upon desire of ease, had renounced his place in Senate, and afterward being Captaine of his colonie in favour of Galba, by that meanes attained a Procuratorship. This man, entering into the cause of Vespasian, became a principall firebrand of the warre, seeming to delight not so much in the rewards of perils, as in the perils themselves, and in stead of certainties wherewith he was anciently endued, chusing new and doubtfull uncertainties. So he assayerh to shake and stirre up whatsoever there was any were discontented, writing into Britanny to the foureteenth Legion, into Spaine to the first, because they both had stood against Vitellius for Otho: letters also were sent abroad into

France:

France: and so in one moment there brake a great and mightie warre out, the Illyrian armies thus plainly revolting, and the rest inclining to follow, where fortune should favour.

¹ Illyrian armies] Some learned men charge this narration here, and generally the story of the Actions between Vitellius and Vespasian, of great insufficiencies, imperfections, and confusions, whereof I doe in my judgement most cleerely acquit it. Illyricum was divided into three provinces; Mœsia, whereof at this time Aponius Saturninus was President or Lieutenant generall; Pannonia, whereof T. Annius Flavianus was president, and Dalmatia, whereof Pompeius Sullanus, or Pompeius Sullanus (for in both names we finde difference of writing) was president. In Mœsia were three Legions, tertia Gallica, octava Augusta, and septima Claudiana led by three legati legionum, Lieutenants of Legions: Dillius Aponianus of the third, hilt. 3. Numisius Lupus of the eighth, hilt. 3. and Marcus Julianus of the seventh; who forsaking his place, as appeareth in this place, Vipsianus Messalla undertooke the charge. 3. hilt. in Pannonia there were at this present two Legions, septima Galbiana whose Lieutenant was Antonius primus; and tertia decima Gemina sent back out of Italy from building of Amphitheatres, whose Lieutenant in this warre was Vedius Aquila, the same man who was also Lieutenant in the last warre. 3. hilt. and 2. In Dalmatia there was none but onely one Legion, namely undecima Claudiana (the foureteenth being transported into Britanny) whose Lieutenant was Annius Bassus. 3. hilt. the premises considered, which are all expressed by Tacitus, I see not what can be required more to the perfection of this narration here, it seeming to me one of the best, and most sufficient in this book: and so likewise in the whole story of Tacitus, of all great actions I take that between Vitellius and Vespasian to be generally the most fully, and best set down, as the other between Otho and Vitellius the worst. Now for the time when Illyricum began to revolt from Vitellius, as in noting of times Tacitus is always so scant, Suetonius^a Vitellio somewhat releeveth us, *Octavo imperii mense discesserunt ab eo exercitus: Cap. 15. Mœsiam atque Pannoniam: so that it seemeth to have been begun in August, or perchance toward the latter end of July.*

XXVI. Vitellius maketh his entry into Rome.

WHILEST these things were a working in the provinces, by Vespasian and his adherents, Vitellius growing every day more contemptible and slouthfull, staying upon every place of pleasure in towne and countrey with his troublesome traine marched toward the citie. Threescore thousand armed men were in the company licentiously given, of lackeyes and horsekeepers a greater number with infinite victuallers and followers of the camp, the most dissolute of all others: beside the traines of so many Lieutenants and so many friends, out of all compasse of obedience, yea although the governours had been men of great austeritie and strictnesse. Moreover the Senatours and gentlemen charged the train, who came out of the citie to meet him, some for feare, some for flattery, the rest and so all one after another for company, lest they should seeme to stay behinde when other did goe. Thither resorted also of the baser sort certaine well knowne to Vitellius by reason of unhonest services, which in time past they had done him, as buffons, stage-players and charret drivers; with which kinde of reprochfull acquaintance he was delighted wonderfully. Neither were the colonies onely or free townes impoverished by purveying of victuals for so huge a company; but the husbandmen themselves, and fields, the corn being now ripe, were spoyled and wasted as an enemy countrey. Many and cruell murders were committed by the souldiers among themselves, by reason of the jarring which continued betwene the Legions and Aydes, ever since the stirre at Ticinum: against the Peosants, or any third partie they agreed but too well: but the greatest slaughter was seven miles from the citie. At that place Vitellius distributed to his souldiers, according to the fashion of Fencers diet, to every of them meat already dressed; and the common people, that came out of the citie to see it, had dispersed themselves throughout the whole campe. As the souldiers gave no heed to such matters, certaine peasants, after a kinde of homely jesting, cut away secretly their belts, & spoyled them thereof, asking in jybing maner, whether they were girded or no. The souldiers stomach, not used to beare words of disgrace, could not digest that scorn: but with their swords

I 2

revenged

was through undifcreetnes or ambition corrupted. Sixteene Prætorian cohorts and foure urbane were enrolled, containing a thousand men a piece. In preferring to those roomes Valens presumed to beare greater stroak, as being the worthier man, and having redeemed Cæcina himself out of perill: and in truth by his coming the side was revived, and with so happy a battell he cancelled the hard opinion of his slow coming forward: and all the souldiers of low Germany followed Valens and depended wholly upon him: upon which causes it is supposed that Cæcinaes faith began first to be fleeting. Notwithstanding Vitellius yielded not so much to the Captains, but that he yielded much more to the souldiers pleasures: every one chose his owne place of service: were he never so unworthy, if he liked it better he was deputed to the citie service: again those which were fit were suffered, if they listed to remain in their former estate among the Legionaries or Auxiliary souldiers: which divers were willing to do being molested with sicknesses, and not able to endure the heat of the countrey. Notwithstanding the Legions and Aides were drawn of their principall strength, and the beaurie of the Prætorian camp blemished, by this confusion rather then choice of twentie thousand out of the whole army. As Vitellius was making a solemne speech, the souldiers required Asiaticus, and Flavius, and Rufinus, captains of France to be executed, because they had taken armes in Vindex behalfe, neither did Vitellius restraine such speeches, besides that he was a man of weak resistance by nature, knowing also that the day of his donative was at hand, and the money wanting. Wherefore he granted liberally all other requests to the souldier: and to supply that defect the freedmen of the former Princes were commanded to contribute, according to the number of their bondmen: whereas Vitellius without other care, save onely to waste and consume, building up stables for charet-drivers, filled the Race with spectacles of fencers and wild beasts, and as in greatest abundance cast money most idly away. Furthermore Cæcina and Valens with great preparation, and such as before that time was never seene, celebrated the birth day of Vitellius, with shews "of Fencers in every street throughout the whole citie. One thing much grieved the good, as it cheered the bad, that Vitellius erected altars in Campus Martius, and there celebrated solemnly the ^b exequies of Nero, the beasts for the sacrifice were publicly slain and burnt: The Auguſtales put to the fire: which order of Priests Tiberius Cæsar consecrated to the Julian family, as Romulus did another the like to king Tatius. It was not yet fully foure moneths since the victory, and ^c Asiaticus Vitellius freedman had fully done as much harme, as ever had any Polycletus, or Patrobius, or whatsoever most odious name in former courts. No man in that court sought to rise by vertue or ablenesse: the only way to credit was with prodigall banquets, and sumptuous cheere to satiate the unfatiable appetites of Vitellius; who contenting himself to enjoy the present, and caring not any further, is thought in so few moneths, to have wasted ^d nine hundred millions of sesterces: a great and miserable citie, which in the same yeere supported an Otho and a Vitellius; and that which is more insupportable, a Vinus, a Fabius, and Icelus, and Asiaticus, in great varietie of most ignominious forts, untill such time as Murianus and ^e Marcellus, and rather other men then other manners succeeded in place.

^a Gladiatores. b Suet. 11. c. 12. qui dubium foret quod exemplar regenda resp. eliget, medio campo Martio, adhibita publicorum sacrorum frequentia, inferius Neroni dedit. c Read Suet. Vitellius cap. 12. d That is, according to our positions, seven millions thirtie one thousand two hundred and fiftie pound sterling. e Eprius Marcellus, a great orator, an instrument of Nero, against Trajan, and others, and generally in favour with all the Princes, under whom he lived, as a smoother of their actions. read Tac. 16. An. 2. c. 4. Hist. c.

^a Accounted unlucky } Livius lib. 6. l. Tum de diebus religiosis agitari cæsum diemque ad 19. Kalen. Sextiles dupli-
clade insignem, quo die ad cremam Fabii cæsi, quo deinde Alham cum exitu urbis fæde pugnatum, à posteriori clade Alben-
sem appellatur, insignemque nulli rei publice privatimque agere fecerunt. Dio. lib. 9. de clade Cremonensi tum 3. p. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. That is, The day in which this calamitie befell them, the people of Rome accounts desmall and unlucky; neither

will they on it begin any serious matter, in respect of the ill fortune that had happened that day to the citie.

² In the election of Consuls: Comitia Consulum cum candidatis civiliter celebrant. What by Comitia Consulum should be meant in this place, the people being at that time excluded from all voyce in elections, either I doe not conceive, or else Comitia Consulum civiliter celebrare, is but as much, as munera a candidatis consularibus edila (whether it were himselfe or any other) civiliter celare. In the free state the suiters for offices, to win the peoples favour and good will, dabant gladiatores, till it was by a law, expressly by Tully to that purpose enacted, forbidden, and brought within the compasse of ambitus. Cicero in Vatinium. Ego legem de ambitu ex S. C. tuli, quæ dilicite vetat biennio quo quis petat prætorium sit, gladiatores dare nisi ex testamento. But after they had attained their suit, it was then not lawfull only, but necessarily incident to most offices to exhibit to the people all sorts of games and playes, and accordingly they performed it with all magnificence and cost. Under the Emperours, albeit no part of the election of any officer depended upon the peoples favour, yet both candidati, and designati, and actual officers continued to minister to the people their accustomed pleasures of gladiatores, circens, &c. contending therein by all possible means to winne the good will of the people. In the time of Alex. Mam. Quæstores candidati: munera populo d. erant. In Nervæ time. Quæstores designati gladiatores edendi necessitas erat, faith Tac. Consul designatus est & munus edidit. Marcel. Jure consil. 1. 36. Now to be present at these shows was accounted great popularitie in the Prince. Xiph. de Oth. et de statu civitatis imperatoris Suetonius de multis. That is, He used much the theatres to win the hearts of the multitude. Sueton. de Aug. 136. C. 15. vestes spectabant spectaculo plurimum horis, aliquando totos dies aderat. Tacit. 1. Ann. de eodem. Civile rebatur m. v. voluptatibus vulgi, as contrarily to come seldome thither was disliked as a signe of a proud, melancholike, and fowre nature; whereof Julianus accuseth himselfe in Misopogone; & ei unumquemque spectare, d. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. That is, I always have and shun the horse race, as they which are indebted to the places of publike assembly, therefore I go seldome to them, or to come thither and not to be attentive, or aliud agere, as Cæsar. qui vulgo reprehensus est, faith Suetonius, quod inter spectandum epistolis libellisque legendis ac rescribendis vacaret. But Vitellius here seemeth not onely to have frequented the shews, which candidati Consulatus, or designati did exhibit, but also to have taken part, for example, with the ³ gladiatores against the Thracians in the theatre, or with the ⁴ Veneti against the Prasini in the circo, and therein omne infime plebis numerum off. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. That is, in those dayes accounted a point of most great popularitie: Suet. 1. 36. Quin & ludum armaturæ Thracum (ne quid popularitatis prætermittit) præ se ferens, sepe cum populo & voce & g. ut factor cavillatus est Tivus, verum molestare sulca.

³ P. Sabinus } Not Vespasians brother, as some learned men against all circumstances of story have written. This Sabinus was cast in prison ob amicitiam Cæcinæ: 3. Hist. Vespasians brother was Præfectus urbis, and a good liberie, till he was besieged and taken in the Capitoll.

⁴ Right over their freed men: Jura Libertorum } The Libertus was bound to maintaine his patrone, if by any means he fell in decay at his death: by the old constitutions to leave his patrone heire of the ha'fe of his goods, which if it were any wayes embezeled, the law awarded the patrone omnium bonorum possessionem etiam contra tabulas: and in these two points, beside some other services and duties called in the law opera, consisted almost the whole jus libertinum, as appeareth lib. 18. Digest. Now whereas Vitellius ⁵ revocavit ab exitu jura libertorum concessa by grace, it seemeth in latter times to have belonged to them by common right. Vlpian. Dig. 38. tit. de bonis lib. 1. 3. Si de patris patris restitutus sit, lib. i contra tabulas bonorum possessionem accipere potest. and againe in the same title, L. 4. Paulus. Si de patris patris sit, filio ejus cum petiti bonorum possessio in bonis liberti, n. e. indimento est ei ta is patris, qui ementur loco hab. tur.

⁵ The Auguſtales } Tac. 1. Ann. Idem annus novus ceremoniis accepit, addito sedalium Auguſtali sacerdotio, ut quondam Titus Tatius retinebat Sabinorum sacris sodales: 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. That is, Tiberius, Drususque & Claudius, & Germanicus adjuvantur. Where we see Tacitus attribute that to Tatius himselfe, which here he attributeth to Romulus.

XXVIII. The preparation of Vitellius against Vespasian.

THE revolt of the third Legion was first of all other certified to Vitellius by letters, written by Aponius Saturninus, before that he also associated himself to Vespasians side. But neither did Aponius write all, as a man affrighted with the suddennesse thereof, and beside the friends of Vitellius flatteringly sought to extenuate and lessen the matter: that it was but a mutinie of one Legion alone; a matter of no moment, seeing all other armies remained in obedience. After the same style Vitellius also spake to the souldiers, inveying against the lately called Prætorians, by whom he affirmed false rumours were spread, and that there was no danger of civill warre, suppressing the name of Vespasian, and setting under hand souldiers abroad in the town to restrain the speeches of the common people: which thing was a principall means to nourish the fame. Neverthelesse he sent for Aydes out of Germany and Britanny, and the Spains, coldly and dissembling the necessity: the Lieutenants and provinces on their parts used the like coldnesse againe. Hordeonius Flaccus Lieutenant of Germany suspecting already the revolt of Batavia, had

had a war of his own to care and provide for. Vectius Bolanus governed in Britanny; a countrey never so in quiet, that he could conveniently spare any number of souldiers: and beside neither of them were greatly fast to the side. Out of the Spains also small haste was made: at that time there was no Lieutenant generall there, but only the Lieutenants of three Legions of equall authority; who as in Vitellius prosperitie they would have contended who should have been foremost, so now in his declining estate they equally drew backe. In Africke the legion and cohorts levied by Clodius Macer, and straightwaies dismissed by Galba, began by Vitellius commandment to resume their service againe: and withall the whole youth of the province voluntarily gave in their names to be souldiers: for Vitellius had governed as a Proconfull there with good integritie and liking, Vespasian with as much infamie and hatred of the countrey; and accordingly our allies presumed, they would carry themselves in the Empire: but the trial was otherwise. And at the beginning Valerius Festus the Lieutenant furthered faithfully the endeavours of those of the province: but anon he faultred, in letters and edicts openly pretending Vitellius, and with secret messages intertaining Vespasian; meaning to defend the one side, or the other, according as they should happen to prosper. Some Centurions and souldiers were taken in Rhoetia and France with letters and edicts of Vespasian about them, and being sent to Vitellius were slain: but more escaped passing undiscovered by the secretnesse of friends, or by their own shifting. So the preparations of Vitellius were known abroad: Vespasians purposes were for the most part unknown, partly thorow the negligence of Vitellius, and partly because the Pannonian Alpes were kept with garrison, which stayed all messengers: and at the sea the Ætrefians blew a good winde to faile Eastward, and contrary from thence.

2 Olymipiódorus seemeth to have received the place of Africa thus: *ἡ ἀφρική καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡγεσίαν ἑστὸς ἐστὶν τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἑσπερίων πελάγεων*. f Parroli. lib. 1. de vetustatib. cap. 28. maketh it xxix. dayes, deceived as it seemes by a naughtie Almagest. c For so the author of the booke de mundo al A. 1. Vitellius had governed as Proconfull J. In admisi/franda provincia (Africa) singulari rem innocentiam profectus (Vitellius) aiñt Sueticus Vitellio cap. 5. agreeing with Tacitus : but in Vespasian he disagreeeth verily. Tacitus hath here, *famam in eis quibus proconsulatum in Africa Vespasianus gerens*, Sueticus Vespasiano cap. 4. *Exis fortitum Africam* (Vespasianus) *integerrime nec sine magna dignatione administravit*. 2 The Erefian Etēfē according to Anstotele 2. Meteor. ad Theophrast. de ventis, βροχία (a) εἰς τὰς ἡμετέρας καὶ τὰς ἑσπερίας ἑστὸς ἐκ τῶν βορέων πνευμάτων, That is, are northerly winds blowing after the summer Solstitium, *aza riping of the doge star*. Kuvēi βροχία, according to Pliny lib. 2. cap. 47. fell in that time upon the eighteenth of Iuly, & postea ducuntur iunioris, (a)th the same Pliny, Etēfē diebus quadraginta solitarius, nec ulli ventorum magis statim : so that Etēfē dured ordinarily from the twentieth of Iuly till the end of August. And the solstitium estivum being jultwētie dayes before Kuvēi βροχία, (b) according to Olymipiódorus in 2. Meteor. it must by due account light in that time upon the foure and twētieth of June, from which day the too great length of the Julian year hath in our age drawn: backe eleven or twelve dayes, casting it upon the twelfth or thirteenth of June. Now that Etēfiarum statim was good for saying into Egypt and the (c) East, and ill from thence, beside the site of the country, that also may be an argument, that Thales and certaine other Philosophers affirm (as Diod. Biblioth. lib. 1. reporteth) the cause of the rising of Nilus to be these Erefian winds, ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν βορέων πνευμάτων τὰς ἀφρικήν καὶ τὰς ἡσπερίους ἀνεμίας τὸ ποταμὸν ἵσταναι. That is, which blowing directly against the mouth of the river, h. n. n. the water from falling into the sea.

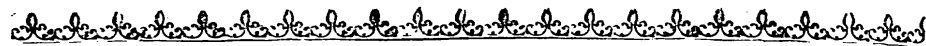
1 Vitellius had governed as Proconsul 7] *In administranda provincia (Africa) singularem innocentiam praestitit* (Vitellius) (saith Suetonius Vitellio cap. 5, agreeing with Tacitus : but in Vespasian he disagrees verily. Tacitus saith here, *fusumque in eis iusque proconsulatum in Africa Vespasianus egerat*, Suetonius Vespasiano cap. 4. *Exin sortitus Africam* (Vespasianus) *interprimis nec in magna dignatione administravit.*

2. The Etēfian¹ Etēfiae according to Aristotle 2. Meteor. ad Theophrast. *de ventis*, βόρπια (a) εὐεὶ καὶ ὑπερμετρίαι τῆς θέρμης ἀπὸ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τοῦ κρύου ἐπὶ τῇ θέρμῃ, *That is, are northerly winds blowing after the summer Solstitium, and rising of the doge star. Κυμαὶ ὁμιτοῦν*, according to Pliny lib. 2. cap. 47. fell in that time upon the eighteenth of July, εὐεὶ βόρπια, *saith the lame Pliny, Etēfiae dicuntur quadraginta pifant, nec ulli venturum magis flatu fatis* : so that Etēfiae dured ordinarily from the twentieth of July till the end of August. And the Solstitium εὐεὶ being juft twentie daies before κυμαὶ ὁμιτοῦν, (b) according to Olympiodorus in 2. Meteor. it muft be due account light in that time upon the foure and twentieth of June, from which day the too great length of the Julian year hath in our age drawn back eleven or twelve daies, cafting it upon the twelfth or thirteenth of June. Now that Etēfiarum flatu was good for faving into Egypt: and the (c) East, and ill from thence, befide the fite of the country, that alfo may be an argument, that Thales and certaine other Philofophers affirme (as Diod. Biblioth. lib. 1. reporteth) the caufe of the rifing of Nilus to be the Etēfian winds, ὁ ὕψιστος τῶν τοῦ αἰθέρος ποταμοῦ καὶ ὁ ὕψιστος τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰθέρος ἀναγίναντων τῶν πνευμάτων. *That is, Which blowing d.r. effe against the mouth of the river, h. draw the water from falling into the ſea.*

XXIX. *The setting forth of Cაცინა against the Illyrian
armie, and the beginnings of
his treason.*

AT length Vitellius terrified with the breaking in of the enemies upon the frontiers of Italy, and fearefull messages from every quarter, commiandeth Cæcina and Valens to make ready for the warre. Cæcina was sent before, but Valens stayed behinde by reason of his weaknesse of body, being lately recovered of a dangerous sicknesse. Now the German army going out of the citie made a farre other shew then it did at the entry. No quicknesse appeared in their bodies, no courage in their miades, marching flowly and thinly: the armour decayed, the
horses

horses unlasty : the soldier impatient of the sunne, the dust, and the weather ; and the more dull to sustain travell, the apter to mutin. And beside, the qualities of Cæcina wrought no small prejudice to the cause : his ambitious and popular proceeding, an old fault of his, a sluggish and dull disposition, lately sprung up : whether it were that too much favour of fortune turned his edge, and caused him to degenerate to riotous life, or that intending even then treason in his minde, he thought it good policy by that means to weaken the valour and force of the army. Many have believed that Cæcinaes minde was shaken and altered first by a practise of ^a Flavius Sabinus, Rubrius Gillus carrying the message betweene them, and promising that Vespasian should ratifie all covenants made and agreed in case of revolt : and withall he was put in remembrance of the hatred and emulation between Valens and him, and that seeing he had not like part in Vitellius, he should do wisely to purchase credit and might with the new Prince. Cæcina taking his leave of Vitellius, and dismissed from his presence with great honour, sent part of his horsemen before to put themselves in Cremona. Straight after the Vexillaries followed of the ^b fourteenth and of the sixteenth Legion : then the fifth Legion and the eighteenth Legion : and lastly the one and twentieth surnamed Rapax, and the first called Italica with the Vexillaries of the three British legions, and the choise of the Aides. When Cæcina was gone, Fabius Valens wrote to the army, which before belonged to his charge, to stay for him in the way : that so it was agreed between him and Cæcina : who being present, and therefore of greater authoritie, falsly alleadged, that upon latter advise that purpose was changed, to the end that resistance might be made with the whole forces united against the enemies coming. So the Legions were commanded to make speed to Cremona, and part to goe to Hostilia. Cæcina himself turned out of the way to Ravenna, upon pretence to give direction to the navy : and so to Padova, where severely the treason was contrived between Lucilius Bassus and him. For Lucius Bassus after the Captainship of a wing, being made Admirall of both the fleets at Ravenna and Misenum, because he was not by and by created Captain of the Guard, revenged his unjust anger with wicked disloyaltie : neither can it be certainly known, whether he drew Cæcina into the action, or the same vile minde induced them both, as it happeneth often lewd persons to be of like conditions. The histories written of this warre, under Vespasian and his children, have delivered false and flattering causes, as that desire of peace and love of the Commonwealth moved them thereto. To me it seemeth, beside the inconstant disposition of the men, and the small account of their faith, which once being falsed to Calba, afterward they never respected; that upon emulation and envy that others should goe before them in the Princes favour, they compassed the destruction of the Prince himself. When Cæcina had overtaken the Legions, he sought by sundry subtle practises to weaken the good wills of the Centurions, and of the soldiers which were obstinately bent for Vitellius; Bassus attempting the like found not the like opposition, the navy being easily induced to change their loyaltie, upon the memory of their late service for Otho.



THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE HISTORY OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. *The consultation of the Flavian Captains, at Petovio in Pannonia,
concerning the manner of proceeding in warre.
Sextilius Felix sent into Noricum.*



With better fortune and faith the Flavian captains conducted their warlike affaires, assembling in councell at Petovio, the standing campe of the thirteenth Legion. There it was debated, whether it were safer to stand upon their defence, and fortifie themselves by stopping the passage of the Pannonian Alpes, untill their whole forces behinde were come forward; or else were it more manfull and resolutely done to march on and fight for the winning of Italy. They which perswaded to stay for more succour, and protract the warre, amplified the same and force of the German legions, and further, that Vitellius had also brought with him the flower and strength of the army of Britanny: that their own Legions were both fewer in number, and lately beaten; and though they spake bigly, yet the partie overcome retained the lesse courage. But in the meane while if the Alpes were possessed Mutianus would shortly come on with the power of the East: and Vespasian beside had at will sea and navies, and the good will of the provinces, sufficient furniture for a new warre if need were: so by staying a little this advantage would grow, that new forces would come, and the old not diminish. To this Antonius Primus (who was the chiefeft inciter of the warre) replied; That speed was the thing that might most helpe them, and most hinder Vitellius. As for the victory they lately obtained, they were growne more in carelesse sloth, then courage thereby: not keeping in camps as men of warre always ready to fight, but lying in the good townes of Italy, loytring and disporting themselves, feared of none save onely their hosts: and the hardlier kept and fiercer they were before, now giving themselves the more greedily over to enjoy their unaccustomed pleasures. Moreover the theatres and places of sports, and other delights of the citie, had effeminated their mindes, or diseases utterly wasted their bodies: but if respite were given, through warlike exercises they would recover their strength: and besides, Germany was not farre off, from whence they might be supplied with new forces, and Britanny but a small step beyond: France and Spaine were hard at hand to furnish them of men, horses, and money: beside Italy it selfe, and the wealth of the world in Rome, all wholly at their disposition. And if they list to begin and assaile us, they have (quoth he) at commandment two navies, and the whole Illyrian sea free: what will it then profit us to keep the straits of the mountains? or what can it avayle us to deferre the warre till another summer? and whence shall we have money and victuals in the meane time? nay rather why take we not this opportunitie present, since the Pannonian Legions, thinking themselves rather beguiled then beaten, are so instant and earnest to have their revenge, and the armies of Moesia are yet entire & unfoiled? if the number of souldiers be reckoned rather then the names of Legions, our side hath more strength and much lesse disorder; and the very shame of the late overthrow hath greatly amended

* It seemeth they were stopped before li. 2. *Deinde Pannonia Alpes praesiliis infeste nuntius rumbant:* but perhaps it was but onely so far as to stay the posts from passing that way, not to gard it against an army of men.
* Lieutenant of the seventh Legion furnished Galbiana.

* *Thaurum & ciuitat.*

ded our discipline: and yet our horsemen even then were not defeated, but contrarily scattered Vitellius troupes, albeit the maine battell went against us. Two wings of Pannonia and Moesia were able at that time to breake thorow the enemy: now the ensignes of sixteene wings united together, with their stamping and sound, and the very dust of their feet, will doublelesse be able to cover and overwhelm both the horses and horsemen of our enemies, who have now almost forgotten to fight. For my part (if I may be permitted) as I am the first to give the advice, so I will be the first to execute the same. You, whose conditions gives you free choise of either, lye still and keepe your Legions at home: some few light cohorts shall serve my turne: as soone as the warre is begun, you shall heare that Vitellius state will decline, and then you will take pleasure to follow and tread in the step of my victory. This and more to the like purpose Antonius uttered with burning eyes and fierce shrill voice, that he might be heard further (for some of the Centurions, and of the souldiers also had intruded themselves into the councell) and the speech moved greatly even the warriest amongst them and doubtfullst to enter into danger. But the common souldier and the rest magnified him, as the onely man of courage, and the onely Captaine; despising the cold and sluggish proceedings of the other. This good opinion he first wan through a speech he made in the assembly when Vespasians letters were first openly read, in the which he did not (as the most of the rest) deliver his minde in doubtfull and ambiguous termes with a meaning to interpret them afterward as he should see best for his purpose, but seemed directly and resolutely to enter into the cause, & therefore was a great deale better liked of the souldiers, as one that made his fortune common with theirs both in the danger and honour of the attempt. Next after him Cornelius Fuscus the Procurator was of chief authority amongst them. For he likewise was wont to inveigh bitterly against Vitellius, and thereby had left to himselfe no hope of pardon if the enterprise failed. Titus Apianus Flavianus, both by nature and by reason of his age being flow in proceeding, gave occasion unto the souldiers of suspition, as if he had respected his affinitie with Vitellius: and because he had withdrawn himself out of the camp when the Legions began first to revolt, and afterward came again of his own accord, it was thought he did it to seek some opportunitie of treason. For indeed Flavianus had once relinquished his province of Pannonia, and retired himselfe out of danger into Italy; and afterward by desire of noveltie was brought to take upon him his government again, and become a medler in civill wars, through the perswasion principally of Cornelius Fuscus; not that there was any great need of Flavianus abilities, but that the name and countenance of a Lieutenant generall might give reputation to the side, that was then but in rising. Then letters were written to Aponius Saturnius Lieutenant generall of Moesia, to make haste, and back their passage into Italy with his army. And lest the provinces, by this removing away of the Legions, might lye open to the spoile of the barbarous nations consiing, the principall men of the Sarmatæ Jazyges, and heads of the countrey were assumed into the service, who made offer also of the common sort, & great troupes of horsemen, which is their sole strength, but the offer was not accepted, lest amidst our dissensions they should attempt any thing prejudiciall to the state of the Empire, or else upon better wages, without respect of honour or faith, passe to the enemy. Sido and Italicus anciently devoted to the Romane name, kings of the Suevians, a nation both more faithfull and more obedient, were drawn to the party. Garrisons also were layed on the side against Rhœtia which held for Vitellius, being governed by Porcius Septimus the Procurator, a most faithfull servant unto him. So Sextilius Felix was sent with

* *Excellite cohortes*, that is, light cohorts.
* *Excellite cohortes*, that is, light cohorts.

* Lieutenant generall of Pannonia.

with the Aurian wing, and eight cohorts, and the youth of the countrey of Noricum, to plant himself against him along the banks of the river Enus which divideth Rhoetia and Noricum asunder: where they remained skirmishing one with another, whilest in the meane time the maine matter was decided elsewhere.

¹ And left the provinces] All from these words in the Latine copy *ac ne inermes provincie*, &c. to these *si placeret Galbe principatus, incluisse*, should be placed before, *questum inde qua sedes bello legrentur* &c. and so the words *ut innocuum exercitum Mœsicum celebrare* cohere with *et presumere partes*. Which disorder, by reason the lines and letters almost betwene *questum inde* and *Mœsicum celebrare* are equall to the lines betwene *ac ne inermes* and *Galbe Principatus*, may seeme to have growne first by the meer transposition of a lease in the copy, from whence all ours were derived.

II. *Antonius Primus marcheth forward, and having taken Aquileia, Opitergium, Altinum, Padova, Este, setteth his maine camp at Verona.*

NOW ¹ Antonius taking with him certaine Vexillaries out of the cohorts, and part of the horsemen, marched on toward Italy, accompanied with Arrius Varus a valiant warrier, rather then a vertuous man: which glory he gained by his service and good successe in Armenia under Corbulo: whom notwithstanding he was supposed secretly to have discredited with Nero. Whereupon by such sinister means growing in favour he attained a principall Centurions place: which though ill gotten was at the present to his great contentation, but afterward turned to his ruine. Antonius and Varus in passing tooke Aquileia, and the countrey thereabouts, and proceeding forward were at Opitergium and Altinum joyfully received. At Altinum a garrison was left against the fleet of Ravenna, of the revolt whereof they had not as yet received any intelligence: and marching forward they adjoynd Padova and Este to the side. Where advertisement was given that three Vitellian cohorts and the Scribonian wing lay at Forum Alieni, having there made a bridge over the river. It was concluded to take the occasion, and to set upon them, as they lay negligently and carelessly; for that circumstance also was certified: and so accordingly they came upon them at the dawning of the day, and surprized them being for the most part unarmed. They were willed beforehand, that after some slaughter at the beginning they should seek to induce the rest with feare to change their allegiance; and some there were which yeelded themselves at the first: but the greater part fled over the river, and breaking the bridge cut off the passage from the enemy pursuing. This victory being divulged, and the first attempts of the Flavians having succeeded so prosperously, two Legions, the seventh surnamed Galbiana, and the thirteenth called Gemina ² with Vedius Aquila a Lieutenant thereof, came to Padova cheerefully, and full of courage. There some few dayes was spent in reposing the army, and Minucius Justus camp-master of the seventh Legion was saved from the fury of the souldier, and sent to Vespasian, because his government was straiter and more severe, then the nature of a civil warre would support. At what time also Antonius supposing it a plausible action, and for the credit of the side, if Galbaes government should seeme to be liked, gave commandment thorowout all the free townes, that the images of Galba, which upon change of times and dissention of state, had been broken down, should be restored a new: a thing very long and greatly desired, and therefore interpreted, gloriously in the highest degree. Then was it proposed and disputed, what place were best to be chosen, for seat as it were of the warre. Verona seemed fittest, the countrey about it being champion, and commodious for horsemen, wherein consisted

¹ And Titus Ampius Flavianus Lieutenant generall of Pannonia.

fitted their principall strength: and beside to dispossesse Vitellius of a Town of such wealth and importance, would both be commodious and bring reputation to the cause. In the passage thitherward they took Vicenza a thing of it selfe not greatly materiall, as being a town of small forces; howbeit because Cæcina was born there it seemed a matter of consequence; when men began to recount, how that the Generall of the contrary part had lost his own countrey and home: but the getting of Verona was worth the paines taking. For both the side was releevd with their wealth, and the example was a good precedent to others: and the army lying there opportunely in the way, between Germany and Vitellius powers, did shut up the Rhoetian and Julian Alpes, and cut off all hope of passage for the Germans that way. All which proceeding was either unknown to Vespasian, or expressly forbidden by him: his commandement was to march no further then Aquileia, and there to expect Mutianus, adding also a reason thereof, that seeing Egypt, the garners of the City, the revenewes and tributes of the richest Provinces were in his hands, Vitellius army might through lack of pay and victuall be constrained to yeeld. To the same purpose also Mutianus advised them often by letters, alleading what a glory it would be to obtaine a victory without blood, and whereof no mourning ensued, with such other pretences; whereas he did it indeed upon ambition, and coveting to reserve the whole renown of the warre for himselfe: but by reason of the great distances counsels came after the facts. Antonius having thus seated himselfe in Verona issued forth on the sudden, and gave the Alarme to the enemy, where trying their man-hood together in a light skirmish they departed on even hand. Anon Cæcina encamped himselfe between Hostilia, a village of the territory of Verona and the marshes of the river Tartarus, in a safe and defensible place; his back being guarded with the river, and the flanks, with marshes: who if he had meant truth, having all his masters power under his hand, might with great facility either have surprized two simple Legions (the Army of Mœsia as yet being not joyned) or at least beaten them back, and forced them to flee, and with shame forsake Italy. But Cæcina omitted traiterously all advantages, which at the first were offered, spending the time in trifling delays, and rebuking them by epistles, whom with like facility he might have repulsd with armes: untill by messengers passing between the bargaine was driven, and the covenants for his treason agreed upon. In the meane time Aponius Saturninus came with the seventh Legion surnamed Claudiana: the Legion was governed by Vipfianus Messala a Tribune, a man nobly descended, and of noble qualities himselfe, the only vertuous man and without note, that entered into that action. To this army, nothing comparable to his own (for as yet there were but three legions) Cæcina sent letters, blaming their rashness, that being once overcome they durst put themselves againe into armes: and withall he extolled the valour of the German army; of Vitellius making small mention and in common tearmes only, without any reprochfull word against Vespasian at all. In summe writing nothing that might either corrupt the enemy or terrifie him. The Captaines of the Flavian army, omitting to speak of their former misfortune, returned answer concerning Vespasian in haughty and glorious tearmes, shewing themselves very confident in their cause and secure of the event; reviling Vitellius as enemies, and bragging of the Mœsian army, as being hitherto never overthrowen; seeking ³ moreover to weaken the faith, and winne the good will of the contrary side, by putting the Centurions and Tribunes in hope of retaining their places, and favours which Vitellius had bestowed upon them, and exhorting Cæcina himselfe in plaine tearmes to revolt. Both the letters were solemnely

³ Presumpse re parais, ἀχρηστίζον.

the Flavian side the mindes of his souldiers, being somewhat inclinable thereto of themselves, the most of them were of Dalmatia and Pannonia, which Countreys held for Vespasian. The time for accomplishing the treason was appointed in the night, that whilest the rest knew nothing of the matter, they only of the conspiracy might assemble themselves in the Principia. Bassus either for shame, or doubt what would be the issue, kept himselfe within his house. The Captaines of the Gallies in the meane time with great tumult brake downe Vitellius images: and some few wth resisted being put to the sword, the rest of the multitude upon desire of change was easily induced to favor Vespasian. Then Lucilius coming aboard avowed the whole fact as done by his authority, and the Navy in his place made choise of Cornelius Fuscus for Admirall; who came with speed thither: and Bassus was conveyed by ship to Hadria, as it were under honourable arrest, and by Menius Rufinus Captain of a wing being in Garrison there put in bands; but soon after enlarged at the coming of Hormus Vespasians freed man, who was also in this warre counted among the Generals of that side. Now Cæcina, as soone as the revolt of the Navy was published abroad, assembled the chief of the Centurions, and some of the souldiers, the rest being dispersed and busied in their ordinary militarie duties, into the Principia, purposely chusing the most secret corner of the Camp. There he greatly extolled the valour of Vespasian, and the strength of the side, declaring also that the Navy was already revolted, the only support of Vitellius provision: that France and Spaine were turned against him: that in the city there was nothing to be trusted unto; and generally aggravating all to the worst against the person and state of Vitellius. Whereupon some that were privie to the plot beginning to sweare to Vespasian, the rest amazed at the strangeness of the matter followed the example immediately Vitellius images were broken down, and messengers sent to Antonius to declare what had passed. But as soon as this revolt was bruited throughout the camp and the souldiers coming into the Principia saw Vespasians name set up, and Vitellius images cast under foot, they were mute at the first, then all at once they brake out with indignation. Is then the glory and fame of the German Armies now come to this? that without battell or any blow stricken, they should thus binde their own hands, and yeeld up their weapons? for else what power was there of the other side to compell them? onely the Legions which before they had overcome, and yet the flower and strength of them absent, to wit, the first and fourteenth, which yet they had likewise overthrowen in the same field with the rest: and all belike to the end, that so many thousands of valiant souldiers should afterwards, like a drove of bond-slaves, be bestowed as a present upon Antonius an exiled person: as though eight Legions were to be the dependance of one Navy. But so was the pleasure of Bassus and Cæcina, after they had robbed the Prince of his houses and gardens, and treasure, to bereave him also of his souldiers, albeit never touched nor wounded, and so to make them contemptible and vile, even to the Flavians also. For what could they say being required an account of their prosperity and adversity? To this effect every one by himselfe and all together crying out, as griefe and anger wrought in their mindes, the fift legion being most forward they set up Vitellius images again, and laying hold upon Cæcina put him in fetters, and appointed Labius Fabulus Lieutenant of the fift legion and Cassius Longus the camp-master Generals in his place, killing certain Gally-souldiers which by chance arrived there in an ill hour though utterly ignorant and innocent of that which had passed. Then leaving their camp and breaking the bridge they returned to Hostilia, and from thence to Cremona to joyne with the first Legion called Italica, and the one and twentieth furnished Re-

par, which Cæcina had sent before, with part of his horse-men, to put themselves in Cremona.

2. Bassus was conveyed! Why remained he not still in the charge? why was he committed, albeit it were *cassidibonarius*, by these which loved Vespasian? why sent to Aëria? why there put into stricter prison, if Mennius were a friend to Vespasian's cause? if an enemy, why looted at Blornus commandment, who was Vespasian's man? and what then became of him? when, by whom, and wherefore was Mennius Rufinus put there in Garison? I these perils, circumstances or some good part, had, in my opinion, been necessary in this place for the full satisfaction of the Reader.

V. *The skirmish of the Flavian and Vitellian horse-men between
Bebricum and Cremona.*

When Antonius had understanding thereof, he determined whilst the enemies were at diffension, and their forces not joined together, to use his advantage and assayle them, before either the Generals could ground their authority, or the souldiers frame themselves to a new obedience, or the Legions recover courage by uniting together. He guessed that Fabius Valens was already come out of Rome, and would make great haste, as soone as he heard of Cæcinaes treason: and Fabius was known to be a man faithfull to Vitellius, and not unskillfull in service: besides a great power of Germans was feared by the way of Rætia, and Vitellius had sent for aides out of Britanny, France and Spain: enough to have maintained a mighty and puissant war, had not Antonius upon doubt thereof hastened the battel, and before hand obtained the victory. So with his whole hoste he removed from Verona, and the second night late downe at Bebricum. The next day imploying his Legions in fortifying the Campe, he sent out his Auxiliary Cohorts into the territory of Cremona, to the end that the souldiers, under colour of providing necessities, might be enured and fished in civill spoile. He to safe conduct the Forragers advanced himself with foure thousand horse eight miles forward from Bebricum: and the skowts in the meane time, as the manner is, pricked on further. About the fiftt houre of the day one came riding in poste, to give intelligence that the enemies were hard at hand, that some few marched before, but the noise and trampling of the whole army on every side was clearly to be heard. Whilst Antonius was deliberating what was to be done. Arius Varus, desirous to do some piece of service, brake out with certain of the forwardest horse-men, and made the Vitellianists recule, and slew some few: for by and by more of their fellows coming to helpe, fortune changed, and they that were most forward before in pursuing, were now left last in the flight. This haste was against Antonius wil, who supposed the event would be such as it was: but seeing it could not be undone he encouraged his men to fight valiantly: and dividing his troupes in two parts, left a lane in the middle to receive in Varus with his horsemen, word also was sent back to the Legions to come, and the alarme was given to those that were forraging abroad, that every man should leave off spoiling, and repaire with all speed the next way to the fight. Now by this time Varus in a great feare was retired within his own Troupes, and induced thither a generall terror, the wounded and unwounded were beaten in together, and greatly distressed through their own feare, and the straintesse of the waies. In all which confusion and tumult Antonius omitted no part either of a resolute General, or valiant souldier, encouraging those that were dismayed, staying them that shrunk, where most need was: whence any hope appeared, there busying himselfe, with direction, hand and speech, in the view of the

D. That is, in
S spoils growing
- by reason of
civil wars.

That is, as we
account, ele-
ven of the
clock, or there-
about.

2.

enemy.

enemy, in the sight of his own men, growing at the last to that heat, that with his Lance he ran through a Guidon-bearer who was fleeing away, and taking his guidon turned it against the face of the enemy: whereat for very shame there staid about an hundred horse. That which principally helped was the quality of the place, the * way being there somewhat narrow, and the bridge broken of the River that ran behinde them, whose unknown channell and steepe bankes stopped their further flight. That constraint or chance recovered the field that wel nigh was lost. For knitting themselves strongly together, with thick and close rankes, they received the Vitellian souldiers coming on loosely without any order. Which thing the lesse it was looked for, amazed them the more. Whereupon Antonius finding them yeelding pressed the more instantly upon them overthrowing all that came in his way: and with all the rest as their inclinations were, some fell to spoiling and catching, some to take armour and horses: even they which before were broken and scattered abroad in the fields, hearing the joyfull crie of their fellowes, returned then back to take part of the victory. About foure miles from Cremona, the ensignes of two Legions, Rapax and Italica appeared, having marched so farre upon the successe of their horsemen at the beginning: but when fortune turned, they were so far to seek as that they neither did open their rankes, and receive their distressed fellows within them, nor yet went forward to assaile the enemy tired already with fighting and following so far. Thus being by chance overcome, they found in adversity the lack of a Leader, which in their jolity they cared not for. As the Legions stood wavering in termes of breaking, the Flavian horse-men charged upon them: Vipsanius Messalla the Tribune was at their heeles with the Moesian Aides, who in militarie renown, albeit lately enrolled, were nothing inferior to the Legionary souldiers. So horse-men and foot-men mingled together did easily break the Vitellian Legions, and the town of Cremona lying so neare gave them lesse minde to resist, and more hope to escape: neither did Antonius presse any further, considering the travell and wounds, which both his horse-men and horses had taken, in so dangerous a skirmish, albeit the end went on his side. Toward the shutting in of the evening the whole power of the Flavian army arrived: who as soon as they trode among the heapes of dead bodies, in the fresh steps of so late a slaughter, as if the whole warre had been ended, cried to lead on out of hand to Cremona, and take by surrender or force those conquered persons. These gay speeches were in their mouthes and openly pretended, but secretly every one cast thus with himselfe, That a Town seated in the plaine might be won easily at a push; that their courage would as well serve them to enter in the night, and their liberty to spoile would then be much greater: but if they attended till day, then would there come supplications and intreaties for peace, and so for their labour and hurts they should carry away the vaine smokes of clemency and glory, and such other titularie matters, but the wealth and riches of the Town would cleave to the Captaines and Lieutenants fingers: that the spoile of a City taken by force fell to the souldiers, but of a City surrendered alwaies to the Captaines alone. Hereupon the perswasions of the Tribunes and Centurions, as persons suspect, were rejected: and because no mans speech should be heard, they ratled their weapons, threatening if no man would lead them beside, to guide and conduct themselves. Then Antonius insinuating himselfe among the common souldiers, after he had with the sight of his person, and reverence of his place, procured silence, protested unto them, that his meaning was not in any sort to defend so well deserving souldiers, either of honour or reward. Notwithstanding the captaines & souldiers duties were of different nature: a souldier ought to be fierce

* *Arctore illic via:* and yet a little before he saith, *Angustius viarum conflabantur.*

and desirous to fight, but in Captains a wary fore-sight and deliberate kinde of proceeding is rather commended: and more oftentimes profiteth and helpeth he by protracting, then venturing rashly. For his part as he had to his power with weapons and hand furthered the victory, so would he likewise helpe now with direction and counsell, peculiar qualities to a Generall, and the place he sustained. And surely if they list but a little consider, the dangerousnes of the enterprise was very apparent. It was now night, the situation of the town was unknown, within nothing but enemies, and every corner fit for an ambush: nay if the gates were wide open, yet were it not safe for to enter, no not in the day time, but upon good discovery before hand, and assurance that all coasts were cleare. What? would they begin an assault when they could not discern the best place of approach, nor the height of the walls, whether it were best to attempt them by discharging of shot a farre off, or by engines at hand, or by mine? then turning himself to particular persons he demanded of them severally, whether they had brought their * Hatchets and Axes with them, and all other tooles necessary for an assault: and when they denied, What, quoth he then, are any mens hands in the world of that force, and strength to break down walls with Javelins and swords? What if it fall out that we must of necessity raise mounts, cover our selves with hurdles and frames of boord? Shall we not then be forced to stand like good fillie fools gazing and gaping at the height of their Towers and the strength of their fortifications? Nay rather let us stay for one night, and fetch hither in the meane time our engines and instruments of battery, and so carry the victory surely before. And herewith he dispatched the * servants and followers of the camp, and the freshest of his horsemen to Bebricum, to bring victuals from thence and all other necessary provision.

* *secures & dolabrae.*

* *calones & lixæ.*

VI. *The great battel at Cremona between the Flaviansists and the Vitellianists. Cremona sacked and burnt.*

THE souldier discontented thereat and repining, was growing toward a mutinie, when as their horse men having scowred to the very walls of Cremona took certain stragglers of the Town, by whose confession it was understood that six Vitellian Legions, and the whole power that lay at Hostilia, hearing of the defeat of their fellowes, had marched thirty miles that very day, and prepared themselves to fight, and would by and by be upon them. That terrour opened their mindes, which before were closed against all their Generals good counsell, and so he commanded the third Legion to make stand upon the "Cawsey of the Posthumian way: fast by it on the left hand stood the seventh surnamed Galbiana in a plaine field: then the seventh called Claudiana having before it a * common ditch for a kinde of defence, as the place chanced to yeeld: on the right hand stood the eighth Legion in an open ground: then the thirteenth in a thicket somewhat disunited by reason of bushes and shrubs. In this sort stood the standers and ensignes of the Legions, but the souldiers were blended together, as it chanced in the dark. The band of Prætorians stood next to the third Legion, the auxiliary Cohorts were placed in the wings, and the horsemen guarded the flanks, and reareward: Sido and Italica the Suevians with the choise of their Country-men served in the forward. On the other side, the Vitellian Army, whose best course doubtlesse had been to have taken some rest at Cremona, and refreshed themselves with food and sleep, and so the next day to have given the on-set upon their enemies, starved with hunger and cold, for lack of a leader and want of direction, about the third

* *or ridge.*

* *agrestis fossa.*

hour

hour of the night dashed themselves upon the Flavian Armie, who stood now in array strongly prepared to receive them. The order and standing of the Vitellian Army I dare not for certain avouch, being doubtlesse disordered through anger and darknesse. Some affirme that the fourth Legion called Macedonica stood in the right wing: the fifth and the fifteenth Legions, with certain companies out of three British Legions, the ninth, second, and twentieth filled up the middle battell; the left wing consisting of the tenth Legion, the two and twentieth and the first: the souldiers of Rapax and Italica dispersed themselves throughout all: the horsemen and Aides chose their own standing. The fight continued all night very doubtfull and cruell, with great mortality sometimes on the one side, and sometime on the other: courage or strength availed little in the dark, where the eye could not discern a friend from an enemy. On both sides was the same kinde of armour and weapons: by many mutuall questions each knew others watch-word: the banners also were mingled together, as it hapned a band to take any from the enemy and carrie them to and fro. The seventh Legion lately levied by Galba was pressed most hardly: six of her principall Centurions were slain, and some ensignes taken away, the Standerd it selfe was hardly defended by Artilius Verus the chief Centurion; who with great slaughter of the enemy, and his own death in the end, notwithstanding saved his charge. The Flaviansist thus going to the worse, Antonius re-inforced and strengthened the battell by sending of the Prætorian souldiers, who as soon as they undertook the fight repulst the enemy at the first, and anon were repulst themselves. For the Vitellianists had brought their engines of war, which before were dispersed and discharged against bushes and trees, without any hurt to the enemy, and placed them upon the cawties of the high-way to have an open passage and free scope to shoot out; among the rest a Balista of a wonderfull greatnesse, belonging to the sixteenth Legion, shooting out huge and mighty stones galled them sore, and had made farre greater havock among them, had not two souldiers undertaken an honourable exploit, and taking up Targets among the dead bodies gone unknown, and cut the cords and weights of the engine: whereupon they were by and by cut in pieces and so their names are not known; of the fact there is no question. Now the battell continued doubtfull, and Fortune indifferent to both sides, till at farre in the night the (1) Moon rose and discovered the Armies, though indeciseitfull sort, and more in favour of the Flavian side, because she was at their backs: by means whereof both the shadows of the men and horses stretched along toward the enemies, and so the Arrowes and Darts of the Vitellianists, being rashly bestowed upon shadows, fell short of the bodies; whereas contrarily, by reason of the Moone shining against them, the Vitellian souldiers were easily hit in the midst with the blowes of the other, discharging as it were out of a covert. Antonius as soone as he could discern his own Company, and be likewise discerned of them, began to inflame them severally, some with shame and rebuke, others with praise and encouragements, all with hope and large promises: demanding of the Tannonian Legions for what purpose they had now resumed Armes: If to wipe away the blot of their late ignominy, here was the field where they might reintegrate themselves in their honour again. Then turning to the Mæcian souldiers, he challenged them as authours and beginners of the warre, adding that in vaine they had dared the Vitellianists with words and threats, if now they durst not abide their hands and looks. And after this and the like sort he spake to all whom he met: but most at large to those of the third Legion, putting them in remembrance both of their late and ancient victories; how under the conduct of Marcus

* in dextro
cornu.

[illegible]

Antonius they had overthrowne the Parthians, under Corbulo the Armenians, and of late the Sarmatians. Then directing his speech to the Prætorians in great anger: As for you disgraced souldiers (quoth he) if you win not here, what other Generall, or what other Campe shall receive you? Yonder loe, there be your ensignes and weapons, and present death if you seeke, for you have spent already your sh. me. Great crying and noyse there was on every side, when as the third Legion, as the manner in Syria is, with a great shout saluted the Sunne rising: upon which accident, or by the Generals policy, a generall rumour was spread through the Hoste, that Mucianus was come, and the Armies had met and saluted each other. Whereupon as supplied with new forces, they pressed forward and gave a fresh on. set, the Vitellian ranks growing now thinner, as being without all direction, and banding together or disbanding as their owne courage or feare did induce them. When Antonius felt them weake in the flock, and yeelding under his hand, with a Company firmly compacted he charged and disordered them. The ranks once loosed, brake, and could not be reunited by reason of the Carriages and engines which hindered the matter. The conquerours horly pursuing the chafe dispersed themselves along the Highway. The slaughter was the more famous, because in the same it happened the sonne to kill his own father: the thing and the names of the persons I will set down, as Vipsianus Metellus hath reported it. Julius Manuetus borne in Spaine, and called to serve in the Legion furnished Rapax, left a sonne at home under yeares, who growing afterwards to mans estate, and being enrolled by Galba into the seventh Legion, by meere misfortune here met and encountered with his own father, and having wounded him deadly, going about to riddle him, came into knowledge of him, and was likewise known by him again. Whereupon embracing the corpse, which now was without sense or life, with teares and lamentable voice he besought his fathers ghost, not to impute this impiety unto him, nor abhorre and detest him as a parricide: that it was the publick act of the cause: and what a small portion was one souldier of these civill warres? And with all he took up the body, made a pit in the ground, and performed his last duty toward his father. This was perceived by them which were next, and then by more also: in the end the fame of this strange chance went through the whole Army, and much complaining there was and detestation of so cruell, and wicked a warre: and yet they continued nothing the lesse to kill and to spoile both kinsmen and friends and even their brethren also. They talk what a wicked fact was committed, and in the meane time commit it themselves. When as they came to Cremona, there appeared a new and no small piece of work yet behinde. For in the warre against Octo the German souldiers had cast their Campe about the walls of Cremona, and about their Campe Rampires and Trenches, which they had now lately augmented. At the sight whereof the Flavians were at a stop, the Generals being doubtfull what to appoint. To begin the assault the Army being tyred with the travell both of the day and the night, were a difficult matter & having no place of retiring at hand dangerous too: to returne to Bebricum were intolerable pain, the way being so long, and besides, all they had done would be lost, and the victory made voide: to sit down and intrench, that also were a thing full of danger, and to be feared, lest the enemies being so neare should fall out, and breed some disorder as they were dispersed, and busie at their work. But above all these respects the Generals stood in most feare of their own souldiers, who would sooner abide any danger, then any delay: all that tended to safety was unfavoury; in precipitation was their hope, the greedy desire of the spoile made all killing, wounding, shedding

their blood to be matters of nothing. To this resolution therefore Antonius finally inclining, commanded to environ the trenches with souldiers round about. And first they fought aloofe with arrows and stones on both sides but with disadvantage to the Flavian part, upon whom the enemy discharged from above: then approaching neare he distributed to the Legions the trenches and gates, appointing to each their severall quarter, to the end the labour being thus divided the difference between the valiant and the coward might be perceived, and mutuall emulation of honour should excite them to vertue. The third and seventh Legion were assigned the quarter next to the way, which leades from Bebricum: the eighth and seventh furnamed Claudiana took up the trenches on the right hand: the thirteenth was carried with a fury to the gate toward Brescia. After this they pawed a while, till they had fetched out of the fields thereabout, some of them spades and axes, some others hooks and ladders. Then with a strong Target-fence over their heads they came under the walls, and were received by those that understood that kinde of service, as having been trained up in the same schoole, who rowled down huge stones upon it, and forced the frame to stagger and fleet, then followed and searched into it with javelins and spears, till the connexion of Targets being dissolved and broken, they slew or maimed the men. Upon so great slaughter the Flavians were almost at a stay, had not the Captaines perceiving the souldiers to be tired, and all other encouragements prevaile but a little, shewed unto them the town of Cremona, as the price of their victory. Whether this was Hormus devise, as Messalla reportedly, or Caius Plinius be rather to be beleaved, who casteth the fault upon Antonius, I cannot easily determine; this only that whether Antonius or Hormus were Author of this most bad part, it was not unsutable to neither of their former infamous lives, and behaviours. But hereupon no danger of limme or life could stay the Flavian souldiers from breaking down the Trenches, and beating open the gates, even with their shoulders; and some climbing up by a double Target-fence took hold on their enemies weapons, and caught them by the armes: so the wounded and not wounded, the halfe dead and dying, came down tumbling together, and perished some after one fashion, and some after another, representing all diversities of deaths. The seventh and third Legion fought most bravely, and gave the sharpest assault, and Antonius the Generall himselfe, with the chosen men of the Auxiliary souldiers, had bended his forces that way. The Vitellianists perceiving themselves not able to sustaine any longer the force, and fury of men so obstinately bent, and that whatsoever they cast down upon them slid away upon the Target-fence, without doing any harme, resolved to rowle down at the last a great engine upon them as they approached: which indeed for the present overwhelmed those that were under, but withall in falling it drew the battlements with it, and uppermost part of the rampier: and at the same time a Tower adjoining being battered with stones fell down. At which breach as the seventh Legion assaied to enter in a pointed battell, the third Legion in the meane season brake down the gate with their swords and axes. It is agreed upon by all writers, that the first man which entred the trench was Caius Volusius, a souldier of the third Legion, who presently going to the Rampire tumbled down all that resisted, and advancing himselfe in sight proclaimed the Campe was taken: and as the Vitellianists were now beginning to faint, and leape down from the Rampire, the rest brake in. All the space between the trenches and the town was filled with dead bodies. And there againe appeared a new work, and another labour: the walls of the city were high, the Towers all of stone, the barres of the gates of iron, the souldier ready with weapon in hand on the walls, the

* Galliana.

* Legions.

* Claudio.

* Euboea, * Cythra

* 4. 6. 12.

* Euboea, * Cythra

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the Townes-men many and sure to Vitellius, beside a great number of strangers assembled out of all places of Italy thither, by occasion of a Faire usually holden there at that time. But that as it was a help to the defendants in respect of the multitude, so was it a provocation to the assailants in respect of the spoil. Antonius commanded to take fire and burne certain most goodly buildings, standing without the walls, if peradventure the Towns-men upon the losse of their substance would be induced to yeeld. The houses that were neare to the walls, and exceeded them in height he replenished with the valiantest souldiers he had; who with blocks of timber, and tiles, and fire-brands, beat away the defendants from the walls: by this time also, the Legions had cast themselves into a Target-fence, and others shot stones, and arrows against them on the walls. Then the Vitellianists hearts began by little and little to faile them, and every man as he was first in degree was likewise the first to yeeld unto fortune, lest if Cremona also should be taken there would be no hope of pardon remaining, the whole wrath of the winners being like to turn not upon the poore and beggarly souldier, but upon the Tribunes and Centurions, by whose death some gaine might be gotten: contrarily the common-souldier not searching into sequels, and in lesse danger by reason of his baseness, persisted still for Vitellius: and wandering in the streets, or hiding themselves in houses would not sue for peace, even then when as they had left off to make war. So the principall men of degree in the army razed Vitellius names, and defaced his images, and loosing Cæcina, who then was in bands, desired him to become intercessour in their behalf. As he made dainty to doe it, and bare himself proudly against them, they besought him instantly even with teares (a misery of all miseries, so many valiant men to implore the aide (4) of a disdainefull traitour) and then hung out over the walls their sacred veles and infules, in signe of submission. Whereupon Antonius commanding his men to surcease all hostilitie, they brought out their ensignes and standards: the Vitellian Legions followed; a heave company, unarmed, and casting their eies to the ground. The Flavians closed about them, and first outraged them in speeches, and seemed to threaten violence unto them: but when they saw them not moved thereat, but patiently to endure all indignities, according to the circumstance of their present fortune, they began to call to remembrance, that even those were the selfe same men, that had a little before at Bebricum used their victory moderately. But when Cæcina came forth as a Consull in his robes with his sergeants before him making way through the presse, the conquering souldiers lost all maner of patience, objecting unto him his pride, and his cruelty, yea and his treason too: so hatefull are vices even where they are profitable. But Antonius interposed himselfe and sent him safely garded away to Vespasian. In the mean season the people of the town, among so many armed men, were greatly annoyed, and they escaped nearely of a generall massacre, had not the Captaines intreated, and somewhat appeased the souldiers wrath. Antonius calling a full assembly made a solemne oration, speaking in glorious rearms to the souldiers of his own side, and in courteous to those of the other, concerning Cremona ambiguously. The Army was doubtlesse earnestly bent to the destruction and sack of the city beside a naturall desire of spoil, upon an old conceived displeasure against them: for in the warre of Otho also they were thought to have bested & helped Vitellius side; and afterwards the thirteenth Legion being left there to build an Amphitheatre (as commonly those Towns-men are naturally malapert) they had jested and scoffed at them. Many other circumstances made their case also the harder, as that Cæcina had in that Town exhibited his shew of "Fencers in honour of Vitellius victory: that it was chosen now the fe- " Gladiatores, cond

* Pelamena & infules.

exercises; he conversed not in publike in the face of the people (like those sluggish creatures, which if you supply with food lye carelessly stretched along) lurking in arbours and places of pleasure, he had cast off all memory alike, of past, present, and to come. Thus wallowing in sloth, and languishing in the groves of Aricia, the heave newes came unto him of the treason of Lucilius Bassus, and of the revolt of the navie at Ravenna: soone after the sorrowfull tidings mixed with some joy concerning Cæcina came, both that he had revolted, and that he was put in bands by the armie. His blockish and dull disposition apprehended more the joy then the care, inso much that with great triumph he made his returne unto the city, and there in a solemne assembly commended, & highly extolled the dutifull affection of the souldiers. Then he commanded Publius Sabinus captain of the Guard, because he was inward with Cæcina, to be committed, substituting Alphenus Varus in his roome: immediately going to the Senate he made there a stately and magnificall oration unto them, and was required of them againe with all kinde of exquisite flatteries. Then proceeded a heave sentence against Cæcina, pronounced first by Lucius Vitellius, and so by the rest of the Senate in order; who was in the Princes behalfe uttering their own griefe aggravated his fact with tearmes of affected indignation, That the Consull should betray the cōmon-wealth, a Generall his soveraign Lord, and a man so greatly advanced in riches and honour his sole advancer and maker; without any touch at all or injurious speech against any of the Flavian Captaines, but onely blaming the error, and oversight of the armies: and for Vespasians proceedings, with great caution touching that string, and alwaies sparing his name. Then Roscius Regulus presented a petition, & by humble suite obtained, a ridiculous thing both to give and to take, the Consulship for one only day which remained behinde of Cæcinaes time, & so the last day of October he entred and resigned his Office. It was observed by men skilfull that way, that never before was there any such substitution seene, but either upon error in the creation, or an expresse law for that purpose enacted. For Caninius Rebilus had likewise beene Consull for one day alone, at that time when Caius Caesar was Dictatour: and the service of many in the civill warre required much speed in rewarding. About the same time the death of Junius Blæsus was openly knowne and much talkt of abroad: the circumstances whereof, as we have received them are these. Vitellius lying sick of a grievous disease in the Servilian gardens, chanced to espie in a turret not farre off many lights burning in the night season, and demanding the cause, they about him made answer that in Cæcina Tuscus house there was a solemne feast, and much company met, whereof Junius Blæsus was the principall guest; amplifying the sumptuousnesse of the entertainment, and the mirth, & the wanton solacing themselves, and such other matters farre above truth: yea and some stuck not directly to accuse Tuscus himselfe and others; but aggravated most against Blæsus that had so good leisure and lust in the Princes sicknes, to banquet and passe the time so merrily away. When they found Vitellius humour once sharpened, and it was cleare to them, that see deeply into Princes dislikes, that Blæsus might be overthrowne, the promoting and prosecuting against him was committed to Lucius Vitellius: who upon a sinister emulation malicing Blæsus (because he was so famous a man, and himselfe by desert so infamous) entred into the Emperours chamber, and taking his little sonne in his armes fell downe at his feete. When his brother demanded the cause of this his confusion, I come not (quoth he) for any feare or care of mine own, but my humble suit is, and these teares are shed in your owne behalfe, and your childrens. In vaine do we stand in feare of Vespasian, whom so many Legions as we

^a In amplifying the great bountifullnesse of Vitellius towards a man in all respects so unworthy as Cæcina, they uttered indeed their owne griefe, that so lewd a person should be so highly preferred, and yet seemed to complaine in Vitellius behalfe.

^b Of whom that jest of Tully is remembered, *Quam vglantem habemus consulem, qui toto consiliarius suis temporibus formidat oculis non vidit!* "Or, who being beholding to many, had many to pleasure.

have of our side, so many provinces of valour and trust, and so great and infinite distance by Sea and land doth withhold and keepe off: we had more neede to take heede of an enemy at home in our bosome, who vaunts of the Junii and Antonii for his progenitours, and maketh all demonstrations of curtesie and bountifullnesse toward the souldiers, as one descended of the imperiall blood: that way all mens mindes beginne now to bend: whilest your majesty in the meane time, carelesse of the estate both of your friends and foes, nourisheth a concurrent, that taketh delight out of his banketting house to behold his Princes sicknesse and griefes. Vouchsafe, I beseech you, for his unseasonable mirth, to render him a sad and sorrowfull night, whereby he may both know and feelee, that Vitellius liveth and ruleth, and if ought should befall him but good, hath a sonne to leave in his place. Vitellius standing in dread between the feare of differring, and the open avowing of so wicked a fact, lest the one might breed his destruction, the other procure great envy and slander, finally resolved to attempt it by poison: the suspicion whereof was strongly confirmed, by his going in great joy to visit Blæsus as he lay a dying; and moreover a most savage speech of his was overheard, wherein he vaunted (for I will report his owne very words) that he had fed his eies in beholding his enemies death. Blæsus besides his honorable death and courtly conditions, was loyall and fast to Vitellius. For before Vespasian put up, when as matters were yet entire, being solicited by Cæcina and the chiefe of the side, who began now to wax weary of Vitellius, he stiffly resisted; a man of upright conversation, not turbulent, nor desirous of hasty rising, and so far from ambitious aspiring to the Empire, that in many mens opinions he was esteemed not worthy of it.

^c By reason of both which names he might claime to be lineally descended of Octavia, sister to Augustus Cæsar, as by their pedigree it may appeare.

VIII. The proceedings of Fabius Valens, and his taking.

IN the meane season Fabius Valens marching forward, more slowly then was convenient in going to warre, with a great and effeminate traine of concubines and eunuches, was advertised in post of the treason of Lucilius Bassus, with the losse of the navy at Ravenna: and if he had followed with expedition his purposed journey, he might either have prevented Cæcinaes falling away, or overtaken the Legions before the battell was given. And some perswading him to take a few of his trustiest friends, & so avoiding Ravenna by secret by-waies to go in all speed to Hostilia, or Cremona: others were of opinion to send for the Prætorian cohorts out of the City, and so by strong hand to make passage. But Valens using delay, to the great hurt of the cause, spent the times of action in consultation: and then rejecting both the advices, and taking a middle course, which in cases of danger and doubt of all is the worst, he neither was venturous enough with the one, nor provident enough with the other, but only wrote letters to Vitellius for some supply. Whereupon three cohorts were sent with the British wing, a number neither fit to passe secret with all, nor sufficient to break thorow by force. But Valens even then, amidst so great danger, abstained not from his old untemperate living; but was defamed, and noted to take by force his lewd pleasures, and pollute his hosts houses, wherefoever he came, with adulteries, and other unlawfull lusts: he had both might and money, great meanes to induce; and the last lusts fortune beginning to fall, now at the farewell shewed themselves most outrageous. When the horsemen and footmen were come, then appeared the weaknesse and fault of that counsell. For neither could he with so small a company, though he had beene most trusty, passe thorow the enemies, neither yet were they fast and trusty indeed: but for a while

^d Of Prætorians it should seeme: and yet we finde 14. more Prætorian, and there were but 16. in all 2. Hist.

shame, and the reverence of their Generall being present, restrained them, bonds of no long continuance with men² greedy of dangers, and carelesse of credit: upon feare whereof Valens sending the cohorts before to Arminium, and appointing the wing to guard them behinde, with a few in his company, whom adversitie had not altered, turned aside into Umbria, and from thence to Etruria. Where understanding the event of the battell at Cremona, he entered into a notable determination, and if it had succeeded, of great consequence, to betake himselfe to the sea, and setting on land in some part of the province of Narbon. to raise France and the nations of Germany, and so stirre up a new war. Assoone as Valens was gone, Cornelius Fuscus came with an army upon them at Arminium, and bestowing his ships not farre from the towne forced the souldier for feare to yeeld, and made himselfe master of the plaine of Umbria, and the countrey of Picenum all along the sea side: and so all Italy on the one side of the Apennine mountaines was under the subjection of Vespasian, and on the other side under Vitellius. Valens having imbarked himselfe in the bay of Pisa was driven by the violence of the sea, or contrary windes, into the port of Hercules Montecus. Not farre from thence Marcus Maturus Procuratour of the sea Alpes remained, a man very faithfull and constant in Vitellius cause, notwithstanding all thereabout had declared themselves for the contrary side; who intreating Valens with all kinde of courtesie, and warning him, not rashly to enter into the province of Narbon, with this admonition stroke a terrour into his minde, and withall the rest of the company began to faint for feare, and stagger in their allegiance. For Valerius Paulinus a² Procuratour, a valiant souldier, and a friend of Vespasians before his advancement, had sworne the cities round about unto him; and gathering all those, which being³ dismissed by Vitellius of their owne accord resumed armes, kept the colony of Forum Julii, being the key of the sea, with a garison: his dealing therein carrying the more credit, because he was borne in that towne, and was highly esteemed among the Pratorian souldiers, whose Tribune sometimes he had beene; and the townesmen also upon favour to their countryman, and hope of greatnesse hereafter, endeavoured to further the side. This strong preparation being reported in the amplest sort to the Vitellianists, who already were wavering in minde, Fabius Valens retired in all speed to the ships, accompanied only with foure⁴ Speeremen, three of his friends, and as many Centurions: Maturus and the rest were at their liberty to stay behinde, if it liked them, and stand to Vespasian. But as the sea was safer to Valens then the shoare, or towne, so floating thereon unresolved, and seeing rather what to shun then what to follow, he was at the length by contrary weather cast upon the Stoechades Islands, upon the coast of Marseils, from whence Paulinus sending out of his ships fetched him in.

¹ A middle course. It may seeme that Valens for his part resolved upon the first opinion, that was¹ in his mind: *cohortibus antea manu parantibus*, but the fault was in Vitellius who had sent no more.

² Mengreedy of danger. *Ad id est periculum*. So be the words in our copies: the meaning I know not; and the narration following I finde in my conceit to be somewhat unparallel, as wherefore Valens did send the power rather to Arminium into the enemies mouth, then back to Vitellius, if he meant not to follow then himselfe upon what intent and purpose he went unto Umbria and Etruria, and what he would have done, if he had not had advertisement of the battell at Cremona, unless it were to take the secret way now, which before he started, toward Hostilia and Cremona. Which circumstance surely would not have beene omitted.

IX. The estate of the Provinces abroad upon the troubles in Italy.

Assoone as Valens was taken, all the provinces turned themselves to Vespasians side, the matter beginning in Spaine at the first Legion surnamed Adjutrix; which upon the memory of Otho was enemy to Vitellius, and drew with it the tenth and sixth Legion also. Neither did the provinces of France make any stay. And for Britanny, the great favour and reputation in warlike affairs, that Vespasian had gotten being Lieutenant thereof the second Legion under Claudius, did easily win that Legion unto him, albeit not without some sturres of the rest, whereof many Centurions and souldiers, who had been advanced by Vitellius, were unwilling to change the Prince, whom they had proved already. By meanes of which dissention and continuall rumours of civill warres, the Britains took heart and rebelled, through the procurement¹ of Venusius, who beside a naturall fiercenesse of courage, and hatred of the Romane name, was incensed particularly, by a private unkindnesse between him and the Queene Carthismandua. Carthismandua was Queene of the Brigantines, of high and noble linage, who upon the delivery of King Caratacus, whom she took by fraud, and sent to furnish and set out the triumph of Claudius, wan favor with the Romans, & greatly increased her strength: whereupon ensued wealth, and of wealth and prosperity riotous and incontinent life: insomuch that casting off Venusius, who was her husband, she joynd her selfe in marriage with Volocatus her harness-bearer, and crowned him King: which fact was the overthrow immediately of her house. The good will of the countrey went generally upon the lawfull husband: but the Queens untemperate affections were peremptory and violent in maintaining her minion. Whereupon Venusius by the helpe of his other friends, and the revolt of the Brigantines, made warre upon Carthismandua, and brought her into great extremities: then praying aid at our hands, our cohorts and wings were sent to defend her, which after sundry skirmishes with diverse event, delivered her person out of peril, but the kingdome remained to Venusius, and the war unto us. About the same time our affaires in Germany through the insufficiency of our captains, and seditiousnesse of our Legions, forreine force assailing us, and our allyes betraying us, were reduced to those desperate tearmes, that we stood in danger of losing the countrey: but that warre together with the causes, and particular events thereof (for it continued long) I will hereafter declare. The Dacians also stirred, a nation never loving us, and as then our army being withdrawne out of Moesia, not fearing us neither. When the first alterations and troubles began, they held themselves quiet, & looked but on: but when as they perceived Italy to be all in armes, and between the sides every where open hostilitie, forcing the standing camps of the cohorts and wings, they put themselves in possession of both the banks of Danubius, and were now at the point to have razed the camps of the Legions, had not Mutianus, having knowledge before of the victory at Cremona, opposed the sixth Legion against them, lest two forreign powers should have broken in at one time, the Germanes and Dacians, from two diverse coasts. As often heretofore, so now especially fortune was favourable to the Romanes, bringing Mutianus with the power of the East to arrive there at that instant; and that in the meane time the matter was so dispatched at Cremona. Mutianus departing away left Fonteius Agrippa, who had been one yeare Proconsull of Asia, Lieutenant Generall in Moesia; assigning him sufficient forces out of the

Vitellian Legions, whom it was thought a point both of policy and peace to disperse abroad in the provinces, and keep occupied in forreine war. Neither were other nations at quiet. In Pontus a barbarous bondman, which sometime had been Admirall of the Kings navy, raised up a sudden warre in the countrey: his name was Anicetus a freedman of the late King Polemo, sometime of great credit and power, and now since the kingdome was ^dreduced into a province displeased and grieved with the charge. Whereupon having associated unto him in Vitellius name the nations that dwell upon Pontus, alluring the poore and neediest sort with hope of booty and spoile, he became in short time Commander of competent forces, with which he suddenly invaded & brake into Trapezus, a very ancient city built by the Græcians, in the uttermost borders of Pontus: where a cohort was slaine, which in time past was in the service there of the King, but being afterward made citizens of Rome, had taken ensignes and armour after our manner, retaining the slothfulnesse and dissolute life of the Greeks notwithstanding. He burned also the navy there, doing his pleasure on that sea, which as then was ungarded, by reason that Mutianus had given order for the best of the galleys, and all the souldiers to meete him at Byzantium: upon occasion whereof ^ethe barbarous people of the countrey ranged abroad, and robbed without feare of checke or controlment; building them boates on the sudden, weich they call ^eCameræ, of narrow sides and broad bottoms, wrought and joyned together without any brasse or iron, and when the seageth high, as the waves rise they raise also the sides of the vessell with boords, untill they close and cover it above like a house, and so the boats tumble up and downe in the middle of the waves, having a prow alike on both sides, and ready to row either way without any danger, as it shall fall out for their purpose. These things moved Vespasian to assigne unto those parts some Vexillary souldiers out of the Legions, and Viridius Geminus for captain, a man of good prooffe in service: who setting upon the enemies being in disarray, & dispersed in seeking of spoile, drave them to their boates, and then causing some gallies to be built in haste, pursued and overtooke Anicetus in the mouth of the river Cohibus, being there under the protection of the king of the Sedochezi, whom he had won by money and gifts to undertake his defence. And indeed at first the king threatened to protect his suppliant with force of armes: but when as he saw himselfe put to the choyce, to accept either reward for yeelding him, or warre in defending him, as an unconstant and disloyall barbarian, upon composition he surrendered Anicetus to die, and delivered the fugitives, and so end was made of that servile warre. Vespasian being joyfull upon the obtaining of this victory, all things succeeding unto him above his own wish, was certified soone after being in Egypt of the battell at Cremona, which caused him to make the more haste to Alexandria, that seeing Vitellius army was defeated and broken, he might presse also with hunger the city of Rome, standing altogether upon forraine provision. For so likewise he made preparation to invade Africk, situate on the same coast, both by sea and land, meaning to cut off the two storehouses of come from the enemies and so procure famine, whereof consequently diffention would grow.

^a Barbarous people also of the countrey. Others as I thinke beside those which sociate themselves with Anicetus: namely the Achæi, Heniochi, and Cereæ dwelling on the other side of Pontus Euxinus; and according to Strabo ^eliving as they are here described, by piracy.

X. Antonius Primus marcheth from Cremona to Fanum Fortunæ.
His jarring with Mutianus.

VHilest in these generall alterations thorowout the whole world, the state thus altered and passed, Antonius Primus leaving Cremona, left also his former care of well carrying himselfe, supposing the warre to be at an end, and no difficulty in that which remained: or else peradventure prosperity, in a man of that disposition, discovered the secret and inward faults of his minde, as covetousnesse, and pride, and other vices that were suppressed before. Italy he harried as a conquered countrey: the Legions with all kinde of courtesie he sought to assure himselfe: in summe by all speeches and deeds he made the way to his owne greatnesse. And to give the souldier the more his owne will, and leave him the bridle at large, of his meere motion he granted unto the Legions the choise of Centurions in their roomes that were slaine: by which kinde of election the busiest and troublefome fellows were chosen, and generally the souldier was not governed by the direction of his captaine, but the captaine drawne by the violence of the souldier. After these points tending to faction and corrupting of discipline, he converted himselfe to the prey, nothing dreading Mutianus at hand, which was a more hainous offence, then to have contemned Vespasian himselfe. Neverthelesse the army marched on, without carriages, because the winter was neer, and the fields overflowne with the Po. The ensignes and standards of the conquering Legions, and the aged or impotent souldiers, with many found also, were left at Verona. It seemed sufficient, now the warre was in so good a forwardnesse, to take onely the cohorts and wings, and certaine chosen men out of the Legions. Unto this company the eleventh Legion also adjoynded themselves, who at the first had made some delay, but seeing the good successe of their fellowes were sorry it was their ill hap to be absent: with it there came also six thousand Dalmatians newly levied. Poppæus Silvanus was Lieutenant generall: but the whole directions of matters rested in Annus Bassus Lieutenant of the Legion, who with great industry and quietnesse disposed of all that was to be done, and under colour of obedience governed Silvanus peaceably, being a man of no action in military service, and trifling out the times of doing in talking. To this power were adjoynded the best of the mariners at Ravenna requiring Legionary service, and in their roomes the Dalmatians were sent to serve at sea. At Fanum Fortunæ the army and the leaders were at a stop, being in doubt concerning their principall purpose, because they had heard the Prætorian cohorts were already set forth out of Rome, and presumed that the passages of the Apennine hills were fortified and guarded against them. But that which caused most feare was want of provision, in a countrey wasted and consumed by warre, and the seditious cries of the souldiers, demanding ^{*}Clavarium (which is the name of a donative) of them who had neither provided money nor corn: and the too much haste of the souldiers hindred greatly, whilest that which in due order might have been taken and served some while, was in a moment spoiled in snatching. It is reported by most credible writers, that among the winners there was such a contempt of common honesty, and such unnaturall dealings against all lawes humane and divine, that a common souldier among the horfemen was not ashamed openly to professe, that he had slaine his owne brother in the last battell, and to require recompense for the same at the captaines hands: who neither willing to reward the fact in regard of common humanity, nor daring to punish it in respect

^{*} Clavarium a donative to buy them caligares clavi; as Clavarium in Suet. V. p. cap. 8 et. buy them thieoes.

respect of the nature of the present warre, deferred the matter, pretending that he had deserved much more, then they were presently able to give: how it was ended I finde not recorded; notwithstanding in former civill warres I finde the like to have happened. For in the Battell fought against Cinna at Janiculum, one of Pompeys souldiers slew his owne brother, and when he saw what he had done, slew himselfe also, as Sifenna reporteth: so much our ancestors have exceeded us, not onely in glory of their vertues, but in grieve for their faults. These and the like drawne out of ancient history it shall not be amisse to remember, where the place and matters require to set down either * examp'le of that which is good, or comforts for that which is bad. Now Antonius and the Flavian Captaines being at Farnum, thought it expedient to send some horsemen before, and search all the coast of Umbria, to finde some easie and gentle passage over the Apennine: and withall they determined to send for the standards and ensignes, and all the souldiers that remained at Verona, and to replenish the Po and the sea with store of provision. There were of the Commanders which fought all meanes to delay: for Antonius was * growne now too intolerable, and * better hope was conceived of Mutianus: who being inwardly vexed that the victory was so speedily gotten, and fearing unlesse he were present at the taking of Rome at the least, he should have no part, neither of the war, nor the honour, wrote unto Primus and Varus ambiguously, sometime perswading to follow with instance, and sometime discoursing of the profitableness of delaying; framing his speech in such sort, that if things fell out ill, hee would clearely disclaime them; if wel, he might take them upon him: but to Plotus Griphus, whom Vespasian had lately made a Senatour and Lieutenant of a Legion, and the rest of his trusty friends he gave plaine direction to stay till his coming: all which persons returned unto him a plausible answer, and greatly blamed the heady proceeding of Primus and Varus. Those Letters Mutianus sent to Vespasian, and so procured that Antonius devises and doings were not accepted according to his expectation. Which thing Antonius tooke very impatiently and imputed the fault thereof unto Mutianus, by whose calumniation he conceived his dangers had growne: neither did he forbear to use hard speeches against him, as a man of an intemperate tongue, and not accustomed to acknowledge any superiour. He wrote also letters to Vespasian in a more haughty and arrogant stile, then becomed a subject to his Prince, with secret glances and nips at Mutianus: That it was Antonius and no body else, who first put in armes the Legions of Pannonia, and brought them into the field: that by his procurement and working the captaines of Moesia were first stirred up to the warre: by his resoluteness the Alpes were passed, Italie possessed, and the aide of the Rhœtians and German nations cut off: then, that Vitellius Legions being at discord and dispersed the vantage was spied, and they overthrowne first by a furious charge of horsemen, afterward by a power of footmen for a whole day and a night together; that was indeed the bravest point of the service, and his onely doing: as for the mishap of Cremona, it was a mischance of warre; and that the deciding of other civill dissensions in other ages had cost the Common-wealth much dearer, even the subversion of many great towns. That he served his Prince not with sending of messages and writing of letters, but with his person and weapon in hand: neither did he envy or hinder their glory, that in the meane time had quieted Moesia: they regarded the peace of Moesia, and he the conservation and safety of Italy. By his perswasions France and Spaine, the most puissant parts of the Empire, were joyned to the side: but all his paines and travell were in vaine, if they alone should reape the rewards, which had no part in the perill.

* exempla recti
aut solatia mali.

* nimis jam
Antonius.
* certiora de
Mutiano Spe-
batur.

perill. Mutianus was advertised of all his proceeding, and thereupon eschewed great enmity, which Antonius prosecuted simply and souldier like, but Mutianus closely, and therefore the more irreconcilably.

XI. *Vitellius proceedings and behaviour after the loss at Cremona. The revolt of the navy at Misenum.*

But Vitellius having received so great a blow at Cremona, concealing the news, and foolishly dissembling the matter, differed the remedies of his evils, not the evils themselves. For if he would have plainly confessed it, and taken advice thereupon, he had both hope and strength enough, and too much remaining; but when as he contrarily fained that all went on his side, by that untruth he marred his owne case, and cut off from himselfe all meanes of recovery. In his presence there was no mention of warre, but a wonderfull silence that way: in the citie all speeches of it were forbidden, which caused the more: and they, which if it had been lawfull would have talked nothing but truth, being restrained gave out much more then it was. The captains also of the Flavian side helped to increase the same, carrying Vitellius spies, as they chanced to take them, round about the campe, to see and view the strength of their Victorious army, & so dismissing them back to their master. All which at their returne Vitellius, after secret examination had, commanded to be made away. But above all other the constancy and resolute nesse of the Centurion Julius Agrestis was most notable; who after much speech tending to incite Vitellius to vertue in vaine, at length obtained that himself might be sent to view the forces of the enemy, and see what had passed at Cremona. For the performing whereof he sought no corners, but addressed himself directly to Antonius, and openly professing what charge he had from his Prince, and what was his intent, he required he might be permitted to take a perfect survey of all things. So some were sent with him, who shewed him the place where the battel was fought, the ruins of Cremona the conquered Legions. Agrestis went home againe, and making relation, when as Vitellius would not beleeve his report, but charged him with untruth, and further that he was hired thereto: Seeing then (quoth Agrestis) no meane prooffe will serve, and neither my life nor my death can now stand you in any other stead, I will give you an assurance which you may beleeve; and so departing from him, he sealed his sayings voluntarily with his blood. Some write that he was slain by Vitellius commandement, but of his fidelity and constancy they reported the same. Now Vitellius being as it were awaked out of sleepe, commanded Julius Prius and Alphenus Varus with foureteen Pratorian cohorts, and all the wings of the horsemen to keep the straits of the Apennine. After them followed a Legion of Seamen, a power both for number and goodnesse of men and horses sufficient (if another had bene Generally to make war offensive, not onely to stand upon their defence. The rest of the cohorts were committed to Lucius Vitellius his brother to guard the city withall. Himselfe abating nothing of his wanted riot, and hasty through distrust, hudled up the election of officers, wherein he declared Consuls for many yeares to come. Moreover new treaties and more gracious were concluded without allies, and the right of Latium conferred upon strangers. To some he released their tributes, to others he granted immunities, without all care of posterity mangling and mayning the Empire. But the common sort accepted these favours that seemed to great, and the foolishlest bought them with money, which

which the Flavian Captaines were more often beholding, then to their good guiding and skill, had not turned Vitellius back home againe. In the mountaines Petilius Cerealis met them, who in clownish apparell through knowledge of the country had escaped Vitellius hands. Cerealis was of neere affinitie with Vespasian, and of some name for matters of warre, and therefore was assumed among the Leaders. Many write that Flavius Sabinus and Domitian might also easily have escaped, and certaine it is, that divers messengers sent by Antonius by sundry cunning sleights came to their speech, pointing the place, and offering them means for their safety: but Sabinus alleadged that his crazy body was not to undertake a matter of that paines, and such an audacious attempt. Domitian would have gladly ventured, but he feared the keepers whom Vitellius had set about him, although they offered to accompany him in his escape, lest peradventure it had bene a snare to intrap him: and indeed Vitellius himselfe, in regard of his owne kinsfolkes, intended no crueltie against Domitian. When the Flavian captaines were come to Carsula, they staid there a few daies to repose their army, till their Legionary power should overtake them: and the place of the campe in it selfe was delightfull, with a large goodly prospect, and very safe for the provision of victuals, having so many of the wealthiest Cities, as it were storehouses behinde him. And besides they were in some hope that the Vitellianists, which were not distant above tenne miles would fall to some parle, and so from a parle to a revolt: which thing the souldiers could not abide to heare of, but desired an end rather by conquest, then by peace: even their owne Legions they were unwilling to stay for, loath to have more fellowes in the spoile, when they needed none in the danger. But Antonius calling them publicly together, shewed unto them, that Vitellius had yet some forces remaining, wavering perhaps and unconstant if they might have time to consult, but of fierce stomach if they were driven to despaire: that the beginnings of civill warres were to be permitted to fortunes deciding, but the accomplishment of the victory was to be governed by reason and wisdom: that the navy of Mesenum, and the most flourishing country of Campania were already revolted, and there remained nothing of all the world unto Vitellius, save onely so much as lay between Tarracina and Narnia: and surely they had wonne honour sufficient in the Battell at Cremona, and blame too much by destroying the towne. Therefore they should not now desire to take Rome, but rather to save it: their reward would be greater, and their glory most great, if they wrought the safety of the Senat and people of Rome without bloodshed. With these and other like speeches their minds were mollified, and soone after the Legions came. The Vitellian cohorts terrified with the fame of the army so much increased, began to waver, no man animating them to the warre, but many to revolt; who desired to make a present of their lands and cornets unto the conquerour, to purchase favour hereafter, and gave also advertisement, that fast thereby at Interamna was a garrison of foure hundredth horse. Whereupon immediately Varus was dispatched with a band of men lightly appointed, and slew some few that made resistance: but the most part laid downe their weapons, and yeelded themselves to his mercy: some fled to the campe at Narnia, and filled all there full of feare and terror, extolling above truth the forces and valour of the enemies; to diminish their owne dishonour in losing their fort. Neither was there any punishment for offences among the Vitellianists; on the other side the rewards were apparent of those that revolted: so that from thenceforth the contention was, who should be most traitour, and daily some of the Tribunes, and Centurions fled to the enemy: for the common souldier was obstinately bent for

Vitellius

Vitellius, untill Priscus and Alphenus Generals forsaking the Campe upon feare, and returning to Vitellius, discharged the rest from all blame of treason. About the same time Fabius Valens was put to death in the prison at Urbine. His head was openly shewed to the Vitellian Cohorts to put them out of all hope: for before they beleaved that he was escaped into Germany and putting in arms both old and new souldiers there: but when they saw he was dead, they began to despaire. The Flavian Army also took a wonderfull conceit as if his death were undoubtedly the end of the warre. Valens was borne at Anagnia, of a gentlemans house, loose in conditions, and not without grace in seeking by wanton jests the name of a pleasant conceit. In the games of Juvenalia in Neroes time he * played a part, first as it were by compulsion, then voluntarily, with more dexterity then credit. Being created Lieutenant of a Legion he both sought to prefer Verginius to the Empire, and then to discredit him. Fonteius Capito his Lieutenant Generall, either because he was entered into treason, or because he could not induce him to treason, he murdered and made away. A traytour he was no doubt to Galba, and true to Vitellius, a vertue in him so much the more eminent, because so many others were false. Now the Vitellian souldiers seeing all their hope cut off, going to yeeld themselves to the contrary part, even in that also had a care of their honour, and came down into the plaine under Narnia under their ensignes and banners displayed; the Flavian army stood armed with their weapons bent, as in battell, in thick ranks along the way side. So the Vitellianists were received in the middle, and being so inclosed about, Antonius entertained them with comfortable and gracious words, and appointed some of them to abide at Narnia, and some at Interamna, leaving some of his owne Legions withall, without molestation to them if they were quiet, and yet of force sufficient to repress them if they rebelled.

XIII. *Vitellius upon composition with Flavius Sabinus Vespasians brother, offereth to resigne up the Empire. Sabinus by the souldiers is driven out into the Capitoll, and there besieged. The Capitoll is burnt: Sabinus taken and slaine.*

During their abode at Carsula, Antonius and Varus sent continually messages unto Vitellius, offering him, if he would surcease Armes, and yeeld himselfe and his children to Vespasians mercy, life, money, and what secret place he would chuse of Campania to retire himselfe into: to the same effect Mutianus wrote also unto him: and Vitellius oftentimes gave eare thereunto, entering into speech about the number of his servants, and the choise of the place. So great a senselesse had possessed his minde, that if other men had not remembered, that he had bene once Prince, and therefore was not to look for securitie in private estate, hee himselfe would have quickly forgotten it. But the principall men at Rome secretly incited Flavius Sabinus being Provoost of the City, to put himselfe into the cause, and undertake part of the victory and of the honour: making remonstrance unto him, that the City Cohorts was his owne peculiar souldier, the Cohorts of the Watch-men would questionlesse take his part, and their owne retinue of bond-men should be at his disposition; beside the fortune of the side, and the easie course of proceeding they finde, that be in traine of winning: that he should not yeeld the honour of the Action to Antonius and Varus: that Vitellius had but few cohorts in number, and those discouraged and trembling at the evill news that came out of all

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tinels so negligently, that about midnight Sabinus set forth and brought into the Capitol his own children, and Domitian his brothers son, and dispatched out other messengers to the Flavian captains, shewing them how they were besieged, and unlesse succour came, were in great danger, & passed the whole night in that quietnes without any attempt from the enemy, that he might have easily escaped without any perill. For the Vitellian souldiers as they were fierce, and stout against dangers, so in labour and watching they were not diligent; and withall a great shower falling on the sudden hindred both their sight and their hearing. When the day appeared, before any act of hostility was begunne by either, Sabinus sent Cornelius Martialis a principall Centurion with instructions to Vitellius, complayning and charging him with breach of covenants and that it was but a colourable matter in him, and a fained shew of resigning the Empire, onely to intrap so many noble personages: for if otherwise, why withdrew he himselfe from the Rostra, into his brothers house standing neer to the Forum, and full in the sight of the world, & not rather to his wives in mount Aventine out of the way; for so had it been meetest indeed if he had meant to have lived as a private man, & avoided all shew of a Prince: whereas contrarily he returned againe even into the Palace, the very seate of the Empire, and from thence he sent forth a company of armed men, who had polluted the most famous part of the city with the blood of innocent persons, not forbearing the Capitoll itselfe: for his part he continued unarmed, and lived in all respects as an other Senatour, whiles in the meane time the matter was tried betweene Vespasian and Vitellius by maine battels of Legions, taking of townes, and yeelding of cohorts: yea, when Spaine, Germanie and Britanny were revolted, yet did he being Vespasians brother continue still in allegiance, till Vitellius began first to motion a parle; who surely should finde in the end that peace and composition is indeed for the glory of the conquerours, but for the utility of the conquered: or if it repented him of his bargain, let him not make war against him, whom he had with falsehood beguiled, nor against Vespasians young sonne (for what would the death of an old man and one childe availe?) but let him go out and encounter the Legions, and there trie the maine matter: other things would follow the event of that battell. To this charge Vitellius in great feare made answer, with some words in excuse of himselfe, & laying the blame upon his souldiers, whose too much vehemency, his modesty, he said, was unable to bridle: and withall advised Martialis to convey himselfe out of the house by a privie way lest the souldiers should murder him as a negotiatour of the peace, which they so greatly detested: and indeed Vitellius was now but a cipher, neither able to commaunde nor forbid, nor Prince in effect, but onely matter of warre. Martialis was scarce returned into the Capitol, when as the Vitellian souldiers, in a great fury were also at hand, without any leader or capitaine, but every man of his owne head: leaving with speede the Forum and temples upon it behinde them they set themselves in array and marched up the hill, even to the first gate of the Capitoll. There were in old time certaine open galleries upon the side of the cliffe, on the right hand as a man goeth up; from the tops whereof the defendants with stones and tiles beate the Vitellians down, who had in their hands nothing but swords, and to stay while engines and shot were fetched seemed lost time: wherefore they took firebrands and hurled them into the uttermost gallery, and following the fire were at the point to have entred the gate of the Capitoll being halfe burned, had not Sabinus pluckt downe all the images and glorious monuments of our progenitors, and in the entrance of the gate made as it were a countermure of them. Then they assailed to make their entrie on the other

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side of the Capitoll by Lucus Asyli, and by the stayres of a hundreth steps, in the ascent to Rupe Tarpeia. At both these places the assault came unlooked for, but the nearer and hotter was that by the Asylum: neither could they be stopped from climbing up by the buildings that touched together, which as in a time of long peace were raised to the height of the floore to the Capitoll. Heere it is doubted whether the assailers fired those buildings, or (as the more received opinion is) the defendants thereby to repulse them which pressed forward, and where come to farre on: but howsoever it was, the fire there beginning, from thence run along the galleries that joyned to the Temples: then the Eagles which bare up the roofe being of old drie timber drew and maintained the flame. And so the Capitoll, the gate being shut, no man defending it, no man attempting to spoile it, was burned to ashes; the most lamentable mischance, and detestable fact that ever befell the people of Rome since the City was founded; especially no forraigne enemy invading, and the gods most plentifully powring their benefits upon us, if our owne evill conditions would have permitted us to enjoy them: the seat of the great god Jupiter founded by our ancestors with the approbation of the gods, (1) as a pledge of the Empire, which neither, (2) Porfenna when the City was yeelded, nor the Frenchmen when they took it, could hurt, thus to be destroyed by the fury of our owne Princes! It was once also burned before in a civill warre, but by private malice: now it was publicly besieged, and publicly burned: and that not in honorable defence of our country, which might some what lighten the losse, but in the ambitious upholding of partialities & sides. The Capitoll was vowed first by king Traquinius Priscus in the war against the Sabins, (3) who laied also the foundation, rather according to the hope of future greatnesse, then proportionable to the present estate of the Romans. After him Servius Tullus with the helpe of our allies, and Tarquinius Superbus with the spoile, when Sueffa Pomeria was taken, finished the worke: but the honor therof was reserved to the time of liberty. For (4) after the kings were driven out, Horatius Pulvillus in his second Consulship dedicated it, in that magnificent and sumptuous sort, that the excessive wealth of the Romans which afterward followed, perchance might adorne and beautifie the worke, but did not augment it. Foure hundreth twentie and five yeares afterward, when Lucius Scipio and Caius Norbanus were (5) Consuls it was burned and builded againe upon the same foundation. Sylla after he had gotten the upper hand tooke the care of it upon him, yet did he not dedicate it: this point only he wanted to make him indeed, as he was in (6) name perfectly happy: but Lutatius Catulus name remained to bee seene among so many workes of the Emperours, even untill Vitellius time. That building then was fired, which disinayed more the defendants then the assailers: for the Vitellian souldiers lacked neither skill, nor resolution in cases of difficulty: but on the other sides the souldier was fearfull, the Capitaine without courage, and as a man halfe distract, had neither the use of his tongue, nor his eares, nor governing himselfe by the advise of others, & yet not able to resolve of himselfe, but running about from one place to another, at every cry of the enemy, forbad that he had commanded, and commanded againe that he had forbidden. Anon, as it happeneth in lost and desperate cases, every man was a commander, and no man a putter in execution: at the length casting away their weapons, they began to devise how to flee and escape secretly away. Then the Vitellians brake in and killed, burned, and slew; some few military men that offered to fight were slaine: among whom Cornelius Martialis, Aemilius Pacensis Casperius Niger, Didius Scaeva were the most of note. Flavius Sabinus was beset and taken, being neither armed, nor attempting to

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Or the lover. *fulgentes fulgum Aquile*, peradventure so called, because they were carved to the likeness of Eagles.

The foundation of it according to Dionysius lib. 1. 4. was *τὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡγεῖα καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν*.

671. Scipio & *Quintus*.

672. Scipio & *Quintus*.

673. Scipio & *Quintus*.

674. Scipio & *Quintus*.

675. Scipio & *Quintus*.

676. Scipio & *Quintus*.

677. Scipio & *Quintus*.

678. Scipio & *Quintus*.

679. Scipio & *Quintus*.

680. Scipio & *Quintus*.

681. Scipio & *Quintus*.

682. Scipio & *Quintus*.

683. Scipio & *Quintus*.

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685. Scipio & *Quintus*.

686. Scipio & *Quintus*.

687. Scipio & *Quintus*.

free, and Quintius Atticus the Consul, a man of speciall mark by reason of his office, and through his owne vanity and folly, having published edicts in honour of Vespasian, and to the disgrace of Vitellius. The rest made sundry waies to escape, some in bondmens apparell, others were hidden by their clients, and conveyed away amongst the stuffe: some there were also that had learned the Vitellianists watch-word; whereby one of them knew another, and so asking and answering accordingly: used boldnesse in lieu of a hole to lurke in. Domitian at their first breaking in was hid in the sextens house, and there by the policy of his freedman put in a linnen garment, as the ministers of the temple did weare, and so escaped unknown, and lay secret at the house of Cornelius Primus, one of his fathers followers, neere to the Velabrum. Afterward when his father came to the state he pulled downe the sextens lodging, and builded there a little chappell in honor of *Iupiter his Preserver*: and also erected an altar and caused this history to be cut in marble: and when he came to the Empire himselfe he built a great Temple to *Iupiter his Keeper*, and consecrated himselfe in the lap of the god. Sabinus and Atticus being loaden with yrons, and brought to Vitellius, were neither received with ill speech, nor ill countenance; whereat they which challenged to kil them, & reward for their service, fretted and chafed: and so the next beginning the cry, the rascall sort of the people demanded Sabinus death, mingled threats and flatteries together. And as Vitellius presented himselfe upon the staires of the palace to intreat for his life, they forced him in the end to desist: then they stabbed and mangled him, and cutting off his head trailed the body into Gemonix. This was the end of Sabinus, a man surely not to be contemned. He had served in publike place thirty five years, and was greatly renowned both for matters of peace and of warre: for integritie and upright dealing no man could touch him: somewhat he was too full of words; the onely thing blamed in him during the seven years that he ruled in Mœsia, and the twelve years that he was Provoost of the City: in this last act of his life some judged him cowardly, others moderate rather and sparing of his citizens blood; but of this all men agree that before Vespasian was Prince, the reputation of the house rested in Sabinus. It was thought that Mutianus was glad of his death: and many were of opinion, that it fell out not ill in respect of quietnesse, all strife and emulation being thereby taken up between two, whereof the one was the Emperours brother, and the other carried himselfe as his fellow. But Vitellius when the people required also Atticus the Consuls death plainly withstood them himselfe, being somewhat appeased, and in some sort to requite him, for that being examined, who had first fired the Capitoll, he took upon him the matter himselfe, and by that confession, whether it was true indeed, or fained onely to serve the present purpose, seemed to take upon him the blame of the fact, and cleere Vitellius and his adherents.

[illegible]

2. Porfenna when the city was sacked.] It must be that either Tacitus followed some other tradition in this story then we have, as indeed by Livy it appeareth there were other, or else had forgotten himself in reporting it. Of hostages given to Porfenna Dionysius *lib. 5.* and Livy *lib. 2.* make mention of, but ending the City I find no word spoken by any other we have extant save Tacitus, to my remembrance.

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 3. Who layd aito] according to Dionysius * Halic. Tarquinius Priscus did but onely levell the ground: Tar-
 quinius Superbus layed the foundations and builded most of it up, but did not communicate the worke, *ὁ δὲ τῶν
 θεμελίων ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἔθηκεν, ὁ δὲ πλείονος κατασκευάσας, πλὴν συντελεῖν αὐτὸς ὤλετο.* That is, but the Temple was finished under
 the annual magistrates, the third yeare after they came in. Read the same Dionysius lib. 4. and lib. 5. But it may seeme
 that Tacitus took hold of these words in Livy lib. 1. *Tarquinius Priscus arcam ad aedem in Capitolio fovit occupat funda-
 mentis*: which notwithstanding is not otherwise meant, but of levelling the ground, and making it ready for the
 laying of the foundation. For Superbus, as it appeareth by the same Livy, was the man that layed the foundation.
 Of Servius Tullius in this building I have not found mention elsewhere to my remembrance.

XIII. *Lucius Vitellius* taketh *Tarracina*.

IN the meane season Lucius Vitellius pitching his campe at Feronia, pressed fore upon Tarracina to take it, having shut into the towne the * fencers & mariners, * Gladiatores: who durst not come out of the wals, nor hazard themselves in the field. Their captaines as (we have remembred before) were Julianus over the fencers, and Apollinaris over the mariners, men both in a dissolurne, and insufficiency more like fencers then captains: observing no order in watching and warding, nor repaying the weake parts of the wals, but passing both nights and daies in wantonnesse and melody, upon those pleasant sea-shores, and dispersing the souldiers abroad to make provision for their riot, never talking of war, but in banquet. Apinius Tiro was departed some few daies before, and with his extortions and sharpe dealing in the free townes, purchased more ill will then strength to the side. In the meane time a servant of Verginius Capito fled out of the towne to Lucius Vitellius, promising him, if he would allow him sufficient men, to deliver secretly the castle being unmanned, and accordingly in the dead of the night he brought certaine light-armed cohorts, into the place standing upon the top of a hill, over the enemies head. From thence the soldiers ran down rather to a butchery then a battell, killing some unarmed, others beginning to arme, some newly awaked out of sleepe distracted and confounded with feare, darknesse, and sound of trumpets and noise of enemies. A few of the * fencers made resistance, and were slaine, albeit they sold their lives * Gladiatores: deare: the rest ran headlong to the ships, where through the like feare all things were in the like confusion; or so much the more because the townesmen were gotten in amongst them, whom the Vitellianists also did kill without any difference. Six ships upon the notice of the surpris escaped, and with them Apollinaris the Admirall of the navie: the rest were either taken upon the shore, or else sunk in the sea, being overcharged with the company that leapt into them. Julianus was brought to Lucius Vitellius and scourged, then slaine in his presence. Divers have accused Triaria Lucius Vitellius wife, that girding her selfe with a sword like a souldier, she should have demeaned her selfe cruelly, and insolently amidst the pitifull cries, and lamentable destruction of the poore towne. Lucius himselfe sent a lawrell in token of victory to his brother, requiring withall his further pleasure, whether he should returne presently to Rome, or stay and subdue the rest of Campania: the interposing of which little time fell out greatly for the good both of Vespasians side, and of the state. For if the souldiers presently after their victory had directly repaired to Rome, whiles they were in courage and heart, by reason of their late good successe, beside a naturall obstinatnesse in them, the matter would not have bene ended so quickly without much adoe, and the evident destruction of the city. For Lucius Vitellius albeit he were infamous otherwise, yet was he industrious, and powerable not as good men by vertues, but by vices as the worst sort.

XV. The

XV. *The Flavian army entereth the citie. The Prætorian campe is taken by force. Vitellius is slaine.*

* Saturnalia
begin the 17.
of December,
and continue
till the 24. of
the same
moneth.

VHiles these things were a doing of Vitellius side Vespasians armie removed from Narnia to Ottriculum, and at good leisure celebrated the Saturnalia there. The cause of this harmefull delay, was to stay for Mutianus: some impute it to Antonius, as done with a traitorous intent, upon letters received from Vitellius, wherein he offred unto him the Consulship, and his daughter in marriage with a great dower, if he could revolt, in reward of treason: others affirme, that all this was falsly furnished, and maliciously spred to please Mutianus withall. Some are of opinion, that it was the purpose of all the Commanders rather to put the City in feare, then to seek to take it by force, seeing the most and principall cohorts had already relinquished Vitellius, and how all the strength being cut off, it was likely he would resigne the Empire without further coaction: but all that course was crossed, first by Sabinus haste, and then through his cowardlines; who rashly taking armes was not afterward able to keep a fortresse of that strength, and which even great armies could not have taken, against three onely cohorts. But the fault cannot well be imputed to one, which was common to all. For both Mutianus was some occasion of stay, by meanes of his doubtfull letters, and Antonius by his preposterous obeying, or in seeking to avoide envy, deserved great blame, and the other Commanders presuming the warre to be finished, made the end of it more notorious. Neither did Petilius Cerealis (who was sent before with a thousand horse, to coast through the countrey of the Sabins, and so to enter the City by Via Salaria) make that haste as the matter required, till in the end the newes of the siege of the Capitoll made him stirre all at once. Antonius came forward by the Flaminian way to Saxa rubra late in the night, and too late to succour. For there he understood that Sabinus was slaine, the Capitoll burned, the City in great feare, and all things went ill: it was also declared, that the people and bondmen were arming for Vitellius. And besides Petilius Cerealis had received a blow in a skirmish of horsemen, by running headlong and charging rashly upon the enemy, presuming them conquered persons: but the Vitellianists, with horsemen and footmen interlaced together, valiantly received the charge. This skirmish was not farre from the City, among the buildings, and gardens, and crosse lanes, wherewith the Vitellianists were well acquainted, the other not; which was an occasion to dismay them the more: and besides all their horsemen were not of one minde and affection, some being of those that having lately yeelded at Narnia kept aloofe, meaning afterward to close with the winner. Tullius Flavianus captaine of a wing was taken prisoner, the rest ranne away dishonourably: but the Vitellianists pursued no further then to Fidenæ. By this successe the affection of the people was greatly augmented, and immediately the townesmen took arms: few had many military targets, but the most took up whatsoever weapons came to their hands, and forthwith required the signe of the battell. Vitellius thanked them heartily, and willed them to issue out with all speed in defence of the city. Then he called a Senate wherein Embassadors were appointed to the army, which as in the name and under the color of a common-weale, should perswade them to peace and agreement. The hap of the Embassadours was not all alike: For they which met with Petilius Cerealis incurred extreme danger, the souldiers refusing utterly all conditions of peace, & Arulenus Rusticus the Pretor was wounded, which beside the enormity of the fact, in the person of an Embas-

adour

sadour and a Pretor, was also more hainous, in regard of the worthinesse of the man. His traine was disperfed, and one of his sergeants next before him slain, for presuming among armed men to make way thorow the prease for his master: and unless they had been defended by a band that the Captaine assigned to guard them, the right and priviledge of Embassadors, reputed sacred even amongst strange nations, had through civill furie been violated by murder, even at the very gates and wals of the citie. But they which came to Antonius found more courteous entertainment, not because those soldiers were civiller, but because the General was of greater authority. Into the cōpany of these Embassadors Musonius Rufus inserted himself, a gentleman of Rome addicted to the studie of Philosophie after the way of the Stoicks, who thrusting himselfe among the companies of the souldiers began to discourse of the good of peace, and danger of warre, and to schoole men in armes: at which many scoffed, more grew weary of it, and some forbare not to push and spurne him away, till in the end by the devise of the discreeter sort, and the threats of the other he was perswaded to desist from his unseasonable wisdom. The Vestall Virgins also were sent with letters from Vitellius to Antonius, requesting him to defer the battell for one day: by meanes of that little delay with more ease would all points be agreed upon. The virgins were sent home with honour, and answer was made to Vitellius that by the murder of Sabinus, and the burning of the Capitoll all pyle of peace was cut off, and all extremity to be looked for: notwithstanding Antonius calling his armie together assaid to pacifie them thus farre, that they would be content to encampe themselves for that present at the Milvian bridge, and not to enter the towne before the next day; the reason of the motion was, lest the souldier having his blood heated in skirmish, should afterward spare neither people nor Senate, no nor the churches and temples of the gods. But they misliked and suspected all delay as a hinderance to the victory: and withall certaine banners glittering upon the side of the hills, albeit followed by none but towne people; and men of service, made a shew of an army. Whereupon the Flavians dividing themselves into three companies, made their approach to the towne: one part as it stood along the Flaminian way, another close by the banke of the Tiber, and the third by Viasalaria toward the gate called Collina. The towne people was immediately broken by the horsemen, but the Vitellian souldier made head, dividing also themselves into three severall bandes. Many skirmishes passed betweene them before the town, & with divers event, but more commonly to the advantage of the Flavians, who had more sufficient men to their Captaines. They onely of that side were distressed, which turned upon the left hand toward the Salustian gardens, through narrow lanes and slipperie waies: where the Vitellianists standing aloft upon the wals of the gardens, with stones & javelins repulsed them, till it was towards the evening, when as the horsemen that in the mean time had entred at Collina were at their backs and surprised them. In Campus Martius also there were hot skirmishes betweene them. The Flavians had the favour of fortune, and the vantage of so many victories: the Vitellianists ran headlong and furious supported with onely despaire, and albeit they were defeated and broken, yet did they rally themselves againe in the city. The people stood by and looked on as they fought, and as in a pastime or game clapped their hands, and encouraged sometime the one, and sometime the other: and when either side turned their backs, and hid themselves in houses or shops, they cried to have them pluckt out & killed, and so attained themselves the greatest part of the prey: for whiles the souldiers minded nothing but slaughter and bloudshed, the spoile fell to the common peoples share. Over all the

city

b. 3. c. 3. 4. τὴν πόλιν συμπύκνους οὖς ὁ πῦρ ἔλαυνεν in all fifty thousand persons if Julius say true. 4. d. 2. c. 3. 4.

THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE HISTORIE OF CORNELIUS TACITVS.

I. The behaviour of the Flavian souldiers in the City, after the death of Vitellius.

Vitellius thus being slaine, the warre was rather ended then peace begun. For the conquerors with un placable hatred, pursued the contrary side thorowout the City in armes: the streets were strowed with dead car-kasses, the Temples and common places embred with blood; every one lying slaine, where it was his chance to be overtaken, without distinction of place: and anon licentiousness growing, they began to search houses, and fetch forth such as were hid: if they saw any man looke like a souldier, personable of stature and of yeares not disagreeing were he souldier or Citizen they murdered him: satiating themselves at the first, whilest their malice was fresh, with nothing save blood. But anon the heate of their choler asswaging, they converted their cruelty into covetousness; suffering no Closet to escape unrised, no hidden place any where to be secret, pretending the Vitellianists lay hidden therein; that was the colour to break up mens houses, or if resistance were made, an occasion to slay them. Besides the souldiers, the rascals and beggerly scum of the people, now with the formost, helped to sack and to spoile: and some of the lewdest bond-men voluntarily described their wealthy masters: some were detected by their owne friends: every where lamentations and outcries were to be heard, and the miserable state to be seene, and face, as it were, of a City taken by the enemy: in somuch that the insolent and riotous souldier of Ortho & Vitellius, so much detested before was now in comparison much wished for againe. The commanders of the side were indeed sufficiently able to kindle a civill war, and unable to moderate the victory. For to stirre up dissensions and troubles, the worst man most commonly beares greatest stroke; but peace and quietness are not established, but by men of rare gifts, and excellent vertues. Domitian had already possessed himselfe both of the title, and lodging of Caesar: not bending his studies as yet to matters of state, but in adulteries and dissolute demeanour behaving himselfe as an Emperours son. Arrius Varus was captain of the Guard: but the whole power, in effect, and direction of affaires, rested in the hands of Antonius Primus; who at his pleasure tooke money, and servants out of the Palace, with the like liberty, as if it had been the spoiles of Cremona. The rest, either for modesty or because they were not of name, as in warre they passed unrenowned, so at this time they went unrewarded.

II. Lucius Vitellius yeeldeth himselfe, and his souldiers to the Flavianists.

The city fearing new troubles, and ready to submit themselves to the present possessor, required that Lucius Vitellius, as he with his Cohorts returned from Tarracina, might be surpris'd, and so all remnants of civil wars utterly extinguished.

extinguished. Whereupon the horsemen were sent before to Aricia, the Legions going not beyond Bovillæ: but Vitellius incontinently, without further delay, yeelded himselfe and his cohorts to the discretion of the conqueror: his souldiers likewise threw away their unfortunate weapons upon indignation rather then feare. Then they were marshalled in length and led thorow the city, as it were, in triumph garded with armed men. Not one of them shewed any signe of submissiveness in countenance, but all sad and sterne, not moved with the shoutings, and taunts of the multitude insulting over them: only some few, through impatience breaking out, were beaten down by their guard, the rest committed to prison. Not one of them let fall any unseemly word, but even in the midst of adversity they retained their honor and fame. Then Lucius Vitellius was put to death: a man in vices equal to his brother, howbeit in his brothers reigne the more vigilant man: and not so much partaker with him in prosperity, as violently carried away with the current of his adversitie.

III. Lucilius Bassus sent to quiet Campania, the servant of Verginius Capito hanged.

About the same time Lucilius Bassus, with certain light horse-men, was sent to quiet the countrey of Campania, where the free cities were at discord rather each against other upon private quarels, then any against the Prince upon rebellious intent: but at the first sight of the souldiers they were straightwayes appeased. And the lesser colonies escaped unpunished, only ^a Capua was appointed to lodge the third Legion that Winter, and some noble families by ^b reason thereof were afflicted: whereas on the contrary side, the Tarracinenses, who for Vespasians sake had endured so much, were no wayes relieved. So much are we prone to requite injuries then good turnes: for thankfulness is a burden, revenge sweet and reckoned as a gain. Notwithstanding it was some comfort unto them, that the servant of Verginius Capito, who betrayed the Town, as before we have shewed, was hanged with the same rings on his fingers, which he had received from Vitellius, as a reward of his treason.

III. Matters concluded upon in the Senate, after the death of Vitellius.

Now at Rome, whatsoever honours and preeminences were usually united to the Emperours person, the Senate bestowed upon Vespasian, joyfully, and conceiving assured hope of future tranquillity. For seeing the contagion of civill dissension beginning in ^b France and Spaine, had passed to the German souldiers, then taken a course to Illyricum, and lastly infected Egypt, Judæa, and Syria, in summe, all provinces and armies: they were to presume reasonably, the whole world being thus purged and cleansed, that the humour was spent, and civill warres and calamities were at an end. Which hope and gladness of theirs was increased by certain letters received from Vespasian, ended as if the warre had yet been on foot; for so they shewed at the first sight: notwithstanding he spake in all points as their Prince; modestly indeed of his own person, and of the weale-publick magnificently, howbeit the Senate was not slack in declaring their obedience. To himselfe with Titus his sonne was awarded the Consulship, to Domitian the Prætorship and ^c Consularie authority. Moreover Mutianus had written letters to the Senate, which thing ministred matter of speech: If he were a private man, why should he write thus in publick to the Senat? he might have spared his pen, and within few

^a Transferring himselfe belike, e patris penatibus, whether he was conducted by the souldiers, in Palatium.
^b Tac. in vita Agricole, admodum juvene Domitiano, ex patris fortuna tantumli-centiam usurpante.

^a 2. Hist. Capua Vitellio fida est.
^b This affliction surely was very short, for it could not begin before the very latter end of December, and in the beginning of January, tertio legio simulian Arrio Varo miles, in Syriam revoctis, Tacitus relates: unless he forgot himselfe in the one place or the other.

^a A fragment of this Senatus consultum is extant ad verbum among the decayed antiquities of Rome.
^b In the warre of Galla and Ptoleme against Nero.
^c Consularie imperium, Dio. l. 54. specifies two points of it, 1. ut dicitur in dote dei, 2. ut in regno.

dayes after have uttered the same there in person, as one of the house: likewise his inveying against the Vitellianists was misliked, as coming too late, and carrying no shew of liberty now: but especially that seemed arrogantly spoken against the common weal, and contumelious against the Prince, where he vaunted, that the Empire was in his disposition, and by him was collared upon Vespasian. Nevertheless covering their disdain in secret, they flattered openly, and in most ample and honourable termes awarded him triumphall ornaments, indeed in respect of his service in the civill war, but an expedition against the Samaritan^a was pretended: then to Antonius Primus were decreed Consularie ornaments, and Prætorian to Cornelius Fuscus, and Arrius Varus. After these things, devoutly remembring the gods, they enacted that the Capitoll should be builded anew: all which points were specified first and comprised in Valerius Asiaticus the designed Consuls oration; to whom the rest assented, the greater part with countenance and wagging of hands, some few either chief in place, or chiefly exercised in the art of flattery, with set orations and speeches. But when the course came to Helvidius Priscus, who was designed Pretor, he uttered his opinion in termes honourable enough to a good Prince, yet without all flattery or glozing: a thing much commended and allowed of greatly by the Senate: and this was the day which especially procured unto him, both great offence and great glory. The matter seemeth to require, seeing we are once again fallen to mention him, whom many times hereafter we shall have cause to remember, that we should at this time briefly record what life he had led, what studies he had followed, and what fortune he had proved. Helvidius Priscus was borne in the first region of Italy, in the free city^b of Tarracina: his fathers name was Cluvius a principall Centurion. Being very young he applied his rare and excellent wit to those profound studies, not, as the most part to cloke sloth, and idleness with so glorious a name, but that he might proceed to manage publick affairs being first by that means better armed against all mischance of fortune. In the study of philosophie he followed the learning of those^c masters, which define that onely to be good which is honest; that onely ill which is dishonest: other qualities not inherent in the minde, as powerableness, nobility, and such like, neither good nor evill. When he had onely beene Questor, Petus Thrasea made choice of him for his sonne in law. Of his father in lawes conditions he borrowed nothing so much as liberty: in quality of citizen, Senatours husband, sonne in law, friend: in all parts and offices of life he was alwayes one, and the same man, a contemner of wealth, stiffe in a good cause, not removeable for any feare: to some men he seemed too desirous of glory: and indeed that passion, amongst all other, even of wife men is last layed away. At the fall of his father in law he was driven into banishment, and returning under Galba he called Eprius Marcellus, who had informed against Thrasea, to his answer. This attempt, of so great and so just a revenge, notwithstanding divided the Senate into parts: for if Marcellus were overthrown, then whole troupes of others, which were in the same case, must needs goe to wrack. At the first the contention was hot and fierce, and maintained of both sides with notable orations: but when Priscus perceived that Galba was doubtful in the point, at the intreaty of many Senatours, he desisted from following the suite; divers men, according to their severall dispositions, diversly interpreting his fact, some commending his moderation, others mistaking his uncon-
fancy. But that same assembly when the Senate confirmed the Empire to Vespasian, withall an embassage was agreed upon, to be sent to the Prince. Hereupon arose taunting and bitter words betweene Helvidius and Marcellus. Helvidius opi-

^a 2. Hist. for
oth. reason
Annals he is
mentioned of
ten beside.

^c The Stoicks,
out of whose
schools these
opinions had
their begin-
ning. Lib. 7.
Cicero Para-
dox. and others.

Fac. 16. Annal.

nion was, that the Embassadors should be elected, and named by the magistrates being first sworn to chuse of the fittest. Marcellus required they might be chosen by lot, to which purpose also the designed Consul had spoken before: but the principall cause, which pricked Marcellus so forward that way, was the shame which might redound to himself, fearing, lest other being chosen, he should seem to be as unworthy rejected. And so, after some few brawling words interchangeably used, by little and little they fell to continuall, and bitter orations: Helvidius demnading, what caused Marcellus so much to feare the judgement of the magistrates, seeing he excelled many other, both in eloquence, and wealth, things which might easily move them to that choice: unlesse peradventure the remembrance of his own manifold misdeeds drave him to distrust them: that the lot made no difference between the good and the bad, but suffrages and the judgement of the Senat were devised to enter into every mans fame, and behaviour that it greatly appertained both to the commodity of the common wealth, and to Vespasians honor, that those of the Senat should be sent to meet him, which were best accounted of for innocency, and integrity of life, who might season (as it were) the Emperours eares, with good and vertuous speeches: that Thrasea, Soranus, and Sentius had been of Vespasians old friends, and acquaintance, whose accusers, if they must not be punished, much lesse sent and shewed in places of credit, and that by this choice of the Senat, the Prince should, as it were be admonished whom to like and whom to eschue. For no greater instruments, or helps of good regiment can there be, then good friends: that Marcellus had done for his part sufficiently, having induced Nero to the destructions of so many innocents: let him enjoy his rewards and impunity, and leave Vespasian to better directors. Marcellus replied, that not his opinion, but the opinion of the designed Consull was impugned, and the ancient precedents, which committed the choice of Embassadors to lot, to take away all occasion of suiting and debate: that there was no new cause, that he knew, why so old a custome should now be abolished, or why this honour done to the Prince should be turned into a dishonour to any, considering that every man was sufficiently able to carry that message, and do allow reverence to him in the name of the Senate: nay rather they were to beware, lest through the perverseness of some the Princes mind might be offended, being now at his entry full of jealousies, and marking not only words, but also all gestures and countenances. That, for his part, he well knew the quality of the times wherein he was borne, and what forme of government our fathers, and grandfathers had established: beyond he honored and admired, but professed to follow the present estate. That he praised and wished indeed for good Princes: but if it were otherwise, would tolerate such as they were. As for the overthrow of Thrasea, why should he give account of accusing, when as the Senate gave none of condemning? not his orations, but their voices wrought his undoing: but so was Neros manner, with such shewes to colour his cruel proceedings; whose favour and friendship anguished his minde peradventure as much, as banishment did some other mens. Finally, that well might Helvidius in constancy, and courage be equall to Cato and Brutus: for his own part, he was one of that Senate, which were but servants, as well as himselfe, and would likewise counsell Helvidius, not to seek to climbe above the Prince himselfe, nor like a tutour to bridle with his precepts Vespasian^{*} having attained to those yeers, and that honor, and having beside so good-ly an issue. For as wicked Princes love to rule, and reigne without limitation: so even the best would have the subjects to use a meane in their liberty. These things, argued thus to and fro with great heat, distracted the Senate into diverse opinions, <sup>That is, the
free state.</sup>

^{*} Seneca trium-
phalem, for his
service in Bri-
tanny in Claudi-
us time Vespas-
ian had ob-
tained trium-
phalia ornamen-
ta, saith Sueton-
ius Vespasianus
cap. 4.

Rhene, were a part and member of the Catti; and being thrown out by civill sedition, they seated themselves in the uttermost limits of France, which then lay void of inhabitants, and took in with the Iland that is situate in the flattes, and hath the Ocean before, behinde and on either side the river of Rhene. And albeit they were confederate with the Romans much mightier then themselves, yet were they not, as it happeneth in such overmatches, spoiled of their riches and wealth, but only bound to minister men and armour to the behoofe of the Empire, and so for a long time they were employed in the German wars. Afterward they became more famous by reason of certaine cohorts of them sent over into Britanny by the Romans, under the leading of certaine noblemen of their own nation, according to their ancient order: and beside, there remained behinde in the countrey a company of chosen horsemen practised especially in swimming, so that they would in whole troupes passe over the Rhene in harness, and governing their horse in their hands. The principall men among them, and faire exceeding all other, by reason of their royall parentage, were Julius Paulus, and ^b Claudius Civilis, whereof Paulus was lately put to death by Fonteius Capito under colour of a falsely furnished rebellion: Civilis was sent in chaines unto Nero, and acquitted by Galba, and againe under Vitellius ^c escaped narrowly, the army instantly demanding his death. Upon these causes his anger was founded, and upon our troubles his hope. But being of a crafty and subtle wit, above the ordinary of those barbarous people, and carrying himself rather like a Sertorius, or an Hannibal (as indeed in the maine of his face he was not unlike) fearing lest if he should make open defection, our armies would advance themselves against him as an enemy, he covered his dealing with love to Vespasian, and favour toward the side. And in truth ^d Antonius Prius had sent certaine letters unto him, wherein he willed him to divert away the aides ^e sent for by Vitellius, and under shew of trouble in Germany to stay the Legions there. The same advice also Hordeonius Flaccus had given him by word of mouth, partly upon good will to Vespasian, and partly upon a care of the state, which seemed to be in evident perill of utter destruction, if a new warre should begin, and so many thousands of armed men passe into Italy. Thus Civilis being resolved to break, and yet concealing his purpose, as meaning to governe himselfe in the action by the event, began after this manner to work innovation. At the commandment of Vitellius, the able men of the Batavians were summoned to be pressed to the warre: which being of it selfe a burdensome thing, was made much more insupportable, by the avarice and lewd disposition of the officers, who billed chiefly such as were old or impotent persons, and then for money released them: againe such as were under age, and faire (as many of their youths are of a comly tall stature) them they carried away to abuse their bodies. At these dealings the country being highly offended, certain factious heads were suborned, to perswade them to refuse to be pressed. Whereupon Civilis assembling into a sacred wood under pretence of a banquet the nobility of the nation, and the chiefe of the commualty, when he saw them, at far in the night, merry, and warmed with wine, he begetteth a solemne oration, recounting first the praises, and glorious acts of the nation, and then discourseth unto them of the injuries, insolencies, and other miseries whereunto they are subject, that are subject unto a strange nation: for that now they were not with the Romans in state of friends and allies, as in former times, but flat servants and slaves, and that not under a Lieutenant Generall, which were more tolerable, albeit they come with a chargeable traine, and a proud and disdainfull kinde of commanding: but they were delivered into the hands of petty Captaines, and Centurions, whom when they had filled

^a Tacitus himselfe, 1. Hist. Frontinus and Suetonius call him Julius Civilis. But howsoever their names were, it seems by Tacitus that Paulus and Civilis were brethren. ^b 1. Hist. ^c By this circumstance we may gather, that the German rebellion began about the beginning of winter, for Tac in noting both places and times, is in my sense too negligent. ^d Tac. 2. Hist.

with spoiles and blood, then were they removed, and straightwayes fresh hungry masters set over them, and new devises of polling invented. That now the day of the muster approached, when children should be drawn from their parents, brethren from brethren, never to see one another again: and that, which might the rather encourage them, the Romans were never in so poore a case, having nothing in their standing camps, but a rich spoile, and old men to guard it: wherefore they should only lift up their eyes, and not be afraid: at the naked and bare names of Legions: that they had strength of their own, both of footmen and of horse, the Germans were allied unto them in blood, the French likewise affected: that even the Romans themselves would not greatly mislike of this warre, the losses thereof, if any were, they might impute to Vespasian, and if they went through and conquered, they should not be called to their account. Having ended his speech with great approbation of the audience, he bound them with barbarous ceremonies and adjurations used by them in like cases, in a firme association together. Straightwayes messengers were dispatched to the Caninefates, to induce them also into the league. The Caninefates inhabit a part of the Iland, of the same language and race, in valour equall to the Batavians, but inferiour in number. Then Civilis sent secret messages to sollicite ^f the Batavian cohorts, which had served as aides in Britannie, sent into Germany, as before ^g we have shewed, and at that time remaining at Magontiacum. Among the Caninefates there was one Brinio, a wilde and foolehardy braine, howbeit of a high and noble stock, whose father, having sundry times invaded our borders, and done many acts of hostility, boldly contemned those mock-expeditions of Caius the Emperour: wherefore being descended of so rebellious a kindred, in that respect they liked him best of all others. And thereupon setting him, after their countrey manner, on a target, and bearing him round about on their shoulders, they elected him Generall: and he forthwith associating unto him the Frisians, a nation beyond the Rhene, invaded the standing campe of ^h two cohorts adjoining to the Ocean. The Roman souldiers, neither foresaw this sudden invasion of the enemy, neither, if they had, were of sufficient force to repell it: so the campe was taken and spoiled, and the victualers and merchants, wandering securely abroad as in peace, cut off. Then they drew forth, to make their approaches to the castles, and holds, which by the captaines of the cohorts were set on fire, because they were not defensible: the ensignes, and bandes and such souldiers as were left, gathered themselves, under the leading of Aquilius a chiefe Centurion, ⁱ into the higher part of the Iland, composing an army, rather in name then in power: for Vitellius at his departing drew away the chiefe strength of the cohorts, and for supply took out of the nearest villages, of the Nervians and Germans, a raw company, whom he had loaded with armour. Civilis, supposing it furest to work by fraud and deceit, blamed the captaines, for that they had forsaken their castles; assuring, that he alone, with the cohort under his charge, would easily repress the tumult of the Caninefates: and therefore willed them to returne every man to his own place. It was perceived, that his counsell proceeded not of good meaning, but tended onely to this end, that the cohort being severed might be overthrown with greater facility: and by many apparent arguments, and speeches of the Germans themselves, a nation joyfull of warre, and not concealing long their own joy, it was discovered daily more and more, that Civilis, not Brinio, was the head and contriver of this conspiracy. Wherefore, seeing his secret plots took none effect, he fell to plaine force, and cast his power consisting of Caninefates, Frisians, and Batavians into three pointed battels, each nation by themselves. The Romans opposed their force:

^f Whereof mention is made 1. Hist. 2. Hist. ^g 2. Hist.

^h Tac. de morib. German. ⁱ For within the Iland no Legion was encamped, but only some cohorts.

^k Nearer to Viterbo, where two Legions lay, quinta & quintadecima.

forces against him, not farre from the river of Rhene, directing also their shippes, which after the burning of the castles, they brought to that place, against the enemy. After a little skirmishing, a cohort of the Tungrians fled to Civilis: whereupon our souldiers, discomfited with the sudden treason, were on all sides beaten down, both by their false fellows, and enemies: the like perfidioufnesse was also on the water. A great part of the rowers (being Batavians born) faining unskillfull in handling their oare, hindred both the mariners, and souldiers in doing their duty: anon without dissimulation they wrought directly against them, and forced the ships to the enemies side, killing the Masters and Centurions, that would not condescend to their treason. And so the whole fleet, of foure and twenty barks, either fled to the enemy, or was taken by force. This victory both presently won great reputation, and afterward stood in great stead: for they got both armour and ships, which before they wanted; and throughout France and Germany, they were highly renowned as the authors of liberty. The Germans by and by sent Ambassadors offering them aid: and Civilis, by policy and gifts, endeavoured to win the hearts of the French, sending the Captaines, whom he had taken, gently home, and giving the cohorts free choice, either to abide with him, or at their pleasure to return to their country: if they would tarry, he offered them honorable reward for their service; if otherwise, at their departure he bestowed upon them the spoiles of the Romans, withall admonished them in secret of their calamities sustained to many yeares, and of their miserable thraldome falsely intituled a peace; shewing them how the Batavians, though not charged with tributes, as they, had notwithstanding taken arms against them, which tyrannized over them both. That the Romans, at their first encounter, were put to the flight by them, and discomfited: what were then to be hoped, if all France should joyne to shake off the yoke? Italy was disarmed, and could of it selfe, neither conquer nor keep; but with the provinces bloud were the provinces won. That they should not be discouraged with the remembrance of Vindex misfortune: for the Batavian horse were the men, which defeated him and his Army; and amongst the Aides of Verginius there were beside some French out of Belgica, and in true account France was ruined by her own forces. But now if it pleased them to joyne with him in this action they both should make but one party: beside that they had seen and learned the best of the Roman military discipline: moreover those old experienced Batavian cohorts, before whom Othoes Legion could not stand, no doubt would go with him. Let Syria, and Asia, and the East, used to serve kings, be slaves if they list, in France many men were yet alive born before tributes began, neither could it be denied, that Germany of late, by the overthrow and death of Quintilius Varus, had given a check to the Romish usurpers, banished servitude, and provoked to the field, not a Vitellius, but a Cæsar Augustus. That liberty was granted by nature to dumb beasts also, but vertue and valour were peculiar ornaments of mankind, and to the valiant alone the gods gave their assistance. Wherefore, since they were at good leisure, and fresh, he willed them to set courageously upon their busily occupied and tired enemies: whiles some leaned to Vespasian, some clave to Vitellius, undoubtedly harm might be wrought against both. Thus Civilis, laying the plot for France and Germany, aspired, if his purpose took effect, to the monarchy of those most mighty, and most wealthy countreyes.

1 At the naked and bare names of Legions. At this time were six more of old Legions, or rather names of Legions, as he termeth them here: in high Germanie, at Mogontiacum, two, quarta and quinta, and at Batavia alius duo: sexta, beside eight Batavian cohorts. In lower Germany, at Bonna, prima legio: and at Noricum

sum sextadecima; and lowest of all, at Vetera quinta & quintadecima, both under Mummius Lupercus. The two last were in this war utterly destroyed, and their camp razed. Tac. Sextadecima & prima, after Hordeonius death yielded themselves to the enemy, and were by the enemies appointment removed to Triers; then of their own accord they went to the Madiomatrix, and from thence were sent for Cerealis and received into grace. The two Legions also at Mogontiacum yielded themselves to the enemy at the same time, and were not removed from their campe, who upon Cerealis coming returned againe to the Romans, Tacit. The eight Batavian cohorts revolted at the first beginning of the warre to Civilis. Now in supply of these so revolting, yielding themselves, and being slain, there were assigned under the leading of Petilius Cerealis seven legions, saith Tacitus, to wit, sexta Vistrix, which came with Mutianus out of Syria, and Octava Augusta, one of the Masian legions (for so it should be read, not Octava decima, there being none of that name inter victrices) unatvicesima Rapax: secunda, surnamed as I think Flavia, & recens conscriptis: quaradecima Gemina out of Britanny: sexta Ferrata, & decima Gemina, out of Spain. For whereas the common copies of Tacitus have tertia ex Hispania accita there was no tertia in Spain, and that the Spanish Sexta was in this action, we finde expressly set down lib. 5. Hist. True it is, that a prima surnamed Adjutrix was in Spaine: but seeing we finde, lib. 5. twice mention of decima, a Spanish legion, we must say, that either all legions of Spaine were called away, against probability, or else that prima should be read decima. So that following these corrections, in the latter end of this warre against the Germans and French, we have not at one time eleven legions employed by the Romans.

Superioris Germanie }
 Quarta Macedonica.
 Octava decima alius Duo vicesima: Didius Vocula legatus.
 Inferioris Germanie }
 Prima: Hercynius Gallus Legatus.
 Sextadecima: Numisius Rufus Legatus, as I think.
 Sexta Vistrix, & Syriacis.
 Octava Augusta, & Masian.
 Vna & vicesima Rapax, & Vitellianis.
 Secunda Flavia, & recens conscriptis.
 Quaradecima Gemina, & Britannicis.
 Sexta Ferrata }
 Decima Gemina } ex Hispanicis.

VII. Hordeonius Flaccus, Lieutenant Generall of both Germanies, lying at Mogontiacum, commandeth Mummius Lupercus, who with two Legions the fifth and fiftenth lodged at Vetera, to go forth against Civilis and the Batavians: but the Romans lost the battell and fled back to Vetera their standing camp.

BUT Hordeonius Flaccus, who at the first by connivence nourished Civilis attempts, now receiving fearfull advertisements, that the * camps were surprized, the cohorts defeated and slaine, not one Roman left in the whole Batavian land, commanded Mummius Lupercus the Lieutenant, who governed the standing camp of two Legions, to goe forth against the enemy. Lupercus taking the Legionaries about him, and the Ubians at hand, with certain horsemen of the Treveri not far off, led them out in haste, taking also with him a wing of Batavians, which being long since secretly corrupted, notwithstanding made shew of fidelity; to the end that in the very instant of joyning, betraying the Roman, they might slip away with more damage to the one, and better welcome to the other. Civilis placed round about him the ensignes of the late taken cohorts, that his souldiers might be encouraged in beholding the monument of their late glory, and the enemy dismayed with the memory of their overthrow. Moreover he caused his mother, and sisters, together with the wives and young children of all his souldiers, to stand at their backs for an encouragement to the victory, or a shame if they happened to flee. In the joyning of the two armies, the singing of their men, and howling

* Quarta, as it seemeth was without Lieutenant, at least in this story none is named, and peradventure Vitellius had taken him away but surely Didius Vocula although by office but only Legate of the xix. alias the xxij. executed no doubt both the charges.

* Castra seu cohortium.

1 And Tribunes began about sixscore yeares before, so that many in France be like were long lived.

ling of their women, farre exceeded and drowned the feeble showt of our Legions and cohorts; and the Batavian wing fleeing to theemie, and straightway turning upon us, bared the left flank of our battel: notwithstanding the Legionary souldiers, as in a case of such danger, yet retained their weapons in their hands, and themselves in array. The Aides of the Ubians and Treveri ran most shamefully away, and brake every where, which chase the Germans pursued and gave by that meanes leisure to our Legions to retire themselves into their camp called Verera. Claudius Labeo captaine of the Batavian wing, who had followed at home a contrary faction to Civilis, left that either his death should offend the countrey, or his presence minister cause of diffension, was quietly sent out of the way into Frisia.

* Legati legionum Nummii Lupercus & Numisius Rufus illum murosque firmabant.

1 Nummii Lupercus] Belike Vitellius left the Legions only bare of men, and as it were halfe Legions (for in these two Legions were not above five thousand men) but disarmed of captains also, leaving here but one Lieutenant overtwo Legions; and yet as though he had forgotten himself, we finde another *tanquam ex machina*, to wit Numisius Rufus. Of whose coming into Vetera, as we finde no reason, so we finde him in another place out of Vetera with little reason. If he were there from the beginning, why doth Tacitus tell us here, that Lupercus alone *duarum Legionum hibernis praerat* if not, how and when came he? and specially how and when went he out? But in the setting down of this German war there are, in my opinion, many little imperfections and negligences, whereof part we will touch, as occasion shall serve, but most of them we have supplied and explained in the contents of the chapters, and by inserting sometimes a word or two in the text, as by comparing the books it will appeare.

VIII. *The eight Batavian cohorts, which had served the Romans so long in Britannie, against Otho, and elsewhere, solicited by Civilis forsake Magontiacum, make their way at Bonna by the sword, and so joyne to Civilis.*

IN the meane season the messenger sent by Civilis to Magontiacum, to solicit the cohorts of the Batavians and Caninefates, came thither, and found them in readinesse, by Vitellius commandment, to march toward Rome. Upon that message received, forthwith they waxed proud, and intolerable, crying out (or else refusing to march) for their donative, for double wages, for an augmentation of the number of their horsemen, things indeed promised by Vitellius, but demanded by them, not in hope to obtaine, but to pick an occasion of mutinie: and Flaccus, yeelding to divers of their demands, gained nought els, but that they more instantly craved those things which they knew he could not but denie. So setting Flaccus at naught they took up their ensignes, and marched toward low Germany, to joyne themselves with Civilis; Hordeonius calling the Tribunes and Centurions also to counsell, debated the matter, whether he should by maine strength seek to inforce them which so contemptuously brake away: anon, partly of his own cowardly nature, partly through the timorousnesse of the officers, who trusted neither the faith of their Aides, nor the force of their Legions, being gathered in haste of men unskilfull in service, he resolved to keep his souldiers within the trenches, and let the Batavians passe. Afterward, repenting himself of that resolution, they also blaming it, which were chiefe authours thereof, as if he meant to pursue them, he wrote to Herennius Gallus governour of Bonna, and Lieutenant of the first Legion which wintered there, that he should stop the Batavians from passage, promising that he with his whole power, would not faile to be on their backs. And so verily they might have been defeated and slain, if Hordeonius on the one side, and Gallus of the other, had brought forward their power, and enclosed them in behinde and before:

* At Magontiacum then with Hordeonius were abiding two Legions, quarta & duodevicesima aliae duodevicesima.

fore: but Flaccus changed his purpose againe, and in other letters of later date willed Gallus, not to stay their passage. Whereupon suspicion arose, that the Lieutenants of set purpose stirred up and fostered these warres; yea all the mischiefs, which either had chanced already, or were feared hereafter, were imputed, not to the cowardlinesse of the souldier, or strength of the enemy, but onely to the fraud and falshood of the Leaders. When the Batavians drew neare to the Campe at Bonna, they sent before certaine messengers, to declare to Herennius Gallus the intention of the Cohorts: that their meaning was not to make warre with the Romans, in whose behalfe they had so oft borne armes; but forasmuch as they were wearied with a long and fruitlesse service, their desire was, quietly to live at home in their countrey. And therefore if no man made opposition, their passage should be harmlesse: but if any hostility were offered, they would make their way with the sword. Whilest the Lieutenant stood divided in minde what to do, his souldiers urged him to put it to the fortune of a field. There were in his campe three thousand Legionary souldiers, and certain tumultuary cohorts of Belgians, and withall a number of pezants, and followers of the camp, brave men before the danger approach, in the danger but cowards. Out they issue at all the gates of the camp to enclose the Batavians, whom they knew to be far inferiour in number. The Batavians mindfull of their old order in service, set themselves in array in pointed battels standing on every side close together, and having their front, their flanks, and their back surely guarded, and so with great facility brake through our thin companies. The Belgians first gave ground, and then our Legionaries were beaten back, and ran for fear toward the trenches, and gates of the camp. There the most slaughter was committed: the fosses we filled up with dead bodies, and many died in the throng, by tumbling one over another, and running upon their own weapons, as well as slain by the enemy. After this victory the Batavians went forward, leaving Coleyn of the right hand, and attempted no act of hostility in the rest of their journey, but excusing the battel at Bonna as a thing done by constraint, and for their own safety, when as they intreated for peace and it would not be granted.

1 The cohorts of the Batavians and Caninefates] These are the *otto cohortes Batavorum quattodecime legionis auxilia*, so often mentioned in the first and second of the history, and now remaining at Magontiacum, whither Civilis sent certain messengers to solicit them to the party, as it appeareth in this book. And albeit in none of the places before remembered there is any mention of Caninefates, yet by this place it is to be intended, that those eight Cohorts consisted of both people, onely the Batavians earned the name, as being the greater and more known people; and to say truth Caninefates were but a kinde of Batavians, dwelling in the Batavian land, using the same speech and custom of the same race, as Tacitus saith a little before: and therefore, as I think, in his book *De moribus Germanorum*, he nameth onely the Batavie, either because the other were intended also by that name, or because they were not greatly worth naming.

IX. *Civilis colourably sweareth his men to Vespasian: then with his Batavians, and the assistance of certaine German nations, he besiegeth Vetera, giveth an assault, and is repulsed.*

Civilis, upon the coming of those old Cohorts, had now under his conduct a full and complete armie: neverthelesse wavering in minde, and standing irresolute, considering the puissance of the Roman Empire, he caused all his men to sweare to Vespasian, and sent forthwith Embassadors to the two Legions, which being defeated by him in the former battel were fled to Vetera, requiring them also to take the like oath. Their answer was, they would not be advised neither

* Whereas the full and just number of a legion isould be 6000, or 5000, at the least.

neither by traitour nor enemy; that Vitellius was their Prince, to whom alone they owed their faith, and should stand for him in armes, to their last breath: wherefore let not a fugitive, and faithlesse Batavian carry himselfe as umpier of the Roman affaires, but rather look for condigne punishment for his desert. Civilis being greatly incensed with this answer, bringeth the whole Nation of the Batavians into the field. The Bructeri and Teucteri associats themselves, and messengers were sent into Germany, who raised the whole Country, some to win honour, and some to gaine spoile. Against these great threatnings and bandings of so many enemies, Mummius Lupercus, and ^a Mumius Rufus, Lieutenants of the Legions, fortified their trenches and ^b walls, and razed the buildings, which in so long a peace were erected, not farre from the Campe, in manner of a town, lest they should be a harbour for the enemy. But through oversight they omitted to convey the victuall, and other provision therein into the Camp, suffering it to be taken at discretion: and so in few dayes that was riotously consumed, which by good order would have relieved their needs a long time. Civilis led the middle bartell himselfe, wherein was the flower and strength of Batavia: and on both sides of the Rhene, to the end the fight of his army might strike in the greater terror, he caused the regiments of the Germans to march, the horsemen galloping about the fields; and withall the ships were brought up the streame. So on the one hand the ensignes of the old cohorts, on the other the pictures and images of the wild beasts taken out of their woods and consecrated groves, according as every Nation useth to beare in the field, amazed our men, and terrified them doubly, with the shew both of an externall, and civil warre. Moreover the great compasse of the trench made the attempt of the besiegers more feascable and increased their hope. For whereas it was made to containe two Legions, at that present it had scarce five thousand armed men to defend it, beside the followers of the campe, which upon the breaking up of the peace gathered thither and there remained doing them some service in the war. A part of the camp was situate upon the pendant of an easie hill, and part stood upon the plaine ground. That standing campe Augustus settled there, supposing it sufficient to watch over, and as it were to besiege the countreyes of Germany, never imagining that the world could go farre otherwise, as that they should presume to begin and assaile our Legions: whereupon the lesse cost was bestowed, either to helpe the fire of the place, or the strength of the bulwarks: men and armour alone were thought a sufficient defence. Now to the end, that being severed in place, the prowesse of each Nation might more distinctly appeare, and be seen, the Batavians, and the Germans which dwelt beyond the Rhene, took standing each by themselves and began to dart at our men a farre off: But when as they saw most of their weapons sticking in vaine in the turrets, and pinnacles of the walls, and many of themselves wounded with stones thrown from above on their heads, leaving that kinde of oppugnation, they suddenly with great forces and outcrie assayed to scale the trenches, the most part by setting up ladders, others climbing over the heads of their fellows upon a target-fence. And as some were now clammering up, they were beaten down headlongs with swords and push of pike, and so with clubs, and darts overwhelmed, being men otherwise hot in the beginning, and too too couragious when fortune favoureth, but then for desire of prey they tolerated all hardnesse also; yea and that which with them is usuall, they endeavoured to prove with engines, whereof they had of themselves neither experience nor skill, onely some fugitives and captives taught them to frame timber in ^c manner of a bridge, and to drive it forward on wheelles, whereon certaine standing above might skirmish with them on the walls,

walls, as if it were from a mount, and others within secretly undermine the foundations. But the defendants, with great stones shot out of ^d engines, battered downe their rude and ill framed worke. And when as provision was made of ^e hurdles, and planks to cover them in giving the assault, our men shot burning speares, and fired the worke; assaying with fire even their assayers; who despairing at length to effectuate any thing by force, deliberated to lay a lingering siege therunto, knowing that they had but few dayes vittaile within, and many unprofitable mouthes to consume it, and hoping withall, that of want of food treason would ensue: that the faith of bondmen alwaies fickle would now be fleeting, beside the casualties, which usually happen in warre.

^a In manner of a bridge] Vegetius, lib. 4. in the description of Turris Ambulatoria maketh mention of Pons ambulatorius. Turres sunt machinamenta ad diffensionem speciem ex trabibus tabulisque compacta, tanta proximitate, ut non aliam viam, sed eandem iterum altitudine superent. His pons vocem in chancas aut subdunt, quantum lapsa magnitudo tam ample movent. Inter ambus habet artem, cujus impetu destruit muros. Cuius median partem accipit. ponem factum de duabus trabibus, quod in eo prelatum iter horum muremque constituunt. Et per eum egredientes de machina milites occupant muros et in dentatam artem. In superioribus partibus cuncti et sagittari collocantur, qui propugnatio es depellant, &c. In this place Tacitus teacheth to take Pons for the whole engine of Turris Ambulatoria, and not onely that speciall part which Vegetius calleth by that name.

X. *Hordeonius dispatching Vocula before removeth from Magontiacum with his power to Bonna: and thence to Coleyn. Where he resigneth the execution of his charge to Vocula; following notwithstanding the army from thence to Novesium, where, as it seemeth, he stayed till his death. At Novesium Gallus is joyned in commission with Vocula: and so they removed forward to Gelduba. Where being encamped, Vocula wasteth the Gugerri, and Gallus is beaten by the Germans.*

IN the meane time Flaccus, having understood of the siege of Vetera, and sent into France to levy aides, selected out of his Legions a company of chosen men, and committed them to the leading of Dillius Vocula, Lieutenant of the eighteenth Legion, willing him to hasten, and make all possible speed along the banke of the river, himselfe followed slowly, and drooping for feare, being mortally hated of his souldiers. For they openly charged him, that he had suffered wilfully to scape from Magontiacum the cohorts of the Batavians, or rather purposely sent them away: that Civilis rebellious attempts were by his connivence fostered, and by his meane the Germans called to the party. That neither Antonius Primus, nor Murianus, had so strengthened Vespasians side, as Flaccus by this kinde of dissembling dealing: for open enemies and armes might openly and with armes be repelled, but fraud and deceit were matters hardly espied, and therefore could not be avoided. That Civilis stood in the field embattelled against them, but Hordeonius out of his bed chamber gave order, and directed as was most for the enemies behoofe: and why then should so many armed companies of valiant souldiers be governed by a sicke and silly old man? nay why should they not rather dispatch such a traitour, and free their fortune and vertue from the ill chance of so unlucky a leader? As they were in these speeches one with another, letters came from Vespasian which incensed them more, the which Flaccus, because he could not conceale, caused openly to be read before the assembly, and sent the bringers thereof bound to

Vitellius.

Vitellius. By this meanes the souldiers mindes were somewhat appeased: and so they came to Bonna the standing campe of the first Legion: the souldiers whereof were more displeased with Flaccus then the other; laying the fault of their late overthrow wholly upon him: averring that they at his commandement marched forth against the Batavians, assuring themselves upon his promise, that his Legions from Magontiacum should assaile them behinde; and so no supply coming from thence they lost their lives through his treason: that these matters had never been notified to the rest of the army, nor to the Prince, or else by the helpe and assistance of so many countreys this sudden rebellion might have been quenched in the beginning. Whereupon Hordeonius caused the copies of all the letters, which he had sent into France, Britanny and Spaine, requesting their helpe, to be read to the army, and began a very ill example, that all letters sent from abroad should be delivered to the standard-bearers of the Legions, who read them to the souldiers, before they came to the Generals hand. Then he commanded one of the most factious to be apprehended and bound, rather to put his right in ure, then because the fault was but of one man alone; and so he removed with his army from Bonna to Coleyn, where many Aides resorted unto him of the French nation, which at the first with all their power assisted the Romanes, till afterwards seeing the Germans prevaile, many of them tooke armes, against us in hope of freedome, and that point attained, for desire of soveraintie. But the wrath of the Legions still increased, neither could one souldiers imprisonment terrifie them: nay even the party imprisoned impeached the Generall of treason, alledging that he had been messenger between Civilis and him, and therefore a colour was sought to take him away, lest he should declare and testifie the truth. Then Vocula, with marvellous stoutnesse ascending into the Tribunall, commanded the souldier, as he exclaimed & cried, to be apprehended, and carried away to execution: which thing so terrified the bad and seditious, that the founder fort without impeachment fulfilled his commandement, and anon by common consent they demanded Vocula to be their Generall: which place Flaccus willingly resigned to him. But their mindes were already mutinously affected, and many new occasions of more rage were presented, as want of pay, and provision of corne; France refusing to yeeld souldiers and tributes; the Rhene also by reason of drought unusuall in that countrey hardly able to beare any vessell: scarcitie of victuals; garrisons of men placed along the banke to keepe the Germans from passing the river; and so lesse corne, and more men to consume it. Among the ignorant and simpler sort the lownesse of the water was held for a prodigious matter, as if the rivers also, and the ancient defences of the Empire had now forsaken us, and that which in peaceable times would have been counted chance, or proceeding of naturall causes, at that time was called a fatall matter, and gods indignation and wrath. At Novesium they assumed the sixteenth Legion; and Herennius Gallus Lieutenant of the first Legion was joyned with Vocula in part of the charge: yet durst they not goe to finde the enemy, but encamped themselves at a place called Gelduba. There they trained, and practised their souldiers in ordering of battels, in fortifying, entrenching, and other military exercises. And to the end that they might by booties and spoiles take courage and heart, Vocula led forth part of his army into the country of the Gugerni adjoining, who had allied to themselves with Civilis: part remaining behinde with Herennius Gallus. And as by chance, not farre from the campe, a barge loaden with corne, was run upon a shelve, the Germans espying it laboured to draw it to their side of the water; which Gallus would not endure, but sent a cohort to the rescue; the Germans also increas-

* Taking along with him the first Legion, or a great part thereof, as it doth appeare elsewhere.

b And yet not ten lines before he writeth, *auxilium Gallorum, quae primorem Romanam caute servabant.*

fed their number, and so by little and little, supply resorting on both sides, a battell was fought: wherein the Germans, after the slaughter of many of our men, by force haled the boat away. Our souldiers, being thus put to the worse, according to their custome there, blamed not their own cowardlinesse, but the treason of the Lieutenant, whom they drew out of his tent, tare his clothes, and beat his body, commanding him to tell upon what price, and with what complices he had thus betrayed the army. But Hordeonius was charged with the whole envie of the fact; him they termed the contriver of the mischiefe, Gallus only the instrument, till at length Gallus, being terrified with their threatnings of his destruction, to save his own life, was content to charge Hordeonius also with treason. Then was he put in bands, and afterward, at the returne of Vocula loosed, who the next day following put to death the authors of the stirre. So strange diversitie there was in that army, both licentious to commit all enormities, and patiently to abide all corrections. The common souldier was firme to Vitellius; the principall men more enclined to Vespasian. Hence came it, that successively, and by course as it were, they offended, and suffered for their offences: that fury and rage were interlaced with obedience, and they easily punished, which could not be governed.

Who, as it seems, stayed behinde at Novesium.

1 In the meane time Flaccus, Hordeonius Flaccus remaining at Mentz, where the standing campe was of Magontiacum, gave out all hand and chiefe diligence, undertaking of the siege of Vetera, and sent Didius Vocula Lieutenant of the first Legion, with the chiefe men picked out of the two Legions, whom Hordeonius, having sufficient power to guard the campe at Mentz, sent immediately to have followed and overtaken at Bonna, a towne likewise up on the river, eleven miles above Coleyn, and thence above Vetera, according to Antonius in Itinerario, and Tac. 1. Ann. and to jointly to have removed to Coleyn: where at the instance of his mutinous army, and upon infirmities of body, he resigned his Generallship, at least the execution to Didius Vocula: and yet notwithstanding removed with them to Novesium, now called Nuis, a towne sixteene miles below Coleyn, according to Antonius. At Novesium Flaccus as it seemeth staid, and there was, as appeareth anon, some by a mutiny of drunken souldiers. But Vocula with a great part of the army marched further downe, and nearer to Vetera, encamping himselfe at Gelduba, a castle likewise upon the Rhene, *ubi circumgentibus p. cap. 1. tam. Plin.* And thus much for the declaration of some circumstances, in my opinion, not so plainly and particularly to be done, as they ought, by our Author.

XI. *Civilis combineth himselfe with the Germans, wisteth the French to joyn, urgeth the siege of Vetera, and giveth diverse assaults in vaine.*

Contrarily all the Germans extolled Civilis exceedingly, and combined themselves with him in league, yeelding of their noblest men for pledges. Whereupon he gave commandment to them which lay neereest, to waste the Ubii and Treveri, and with another company to passe the river of Mosel, and forrey the Menapii and Morini, and frontiers of France. In both places a spoile was made, and with greater rage amongst the Ubii, because being originally descended from the Germans, renouncing their countrey, they called themselves Agrippinenses after a Romane denomination: whose cohorts through negligence and carelesnesse, as being farre from the banke of the Rhene, were slaine in the village of Marcodurum. In revenge whereof the Ubii fetched continuall booties out of Germany; which they performed at the first without losse, afterward they were overtaken and slaine, in all that warre more faithfull to us, then fortunate for themselves. The Ubii being thus beaten, Civilis growing more hard to be dealt with, and hautilly minded, by reason of the prosperous successe of his actions earnestly urged the siege of the Legions setting strait warch, lest any secret messenger might happily enter in, to bring them word of the succour comming. The engins and making of the works he assigned to the Batavians, appointing the inhabitants beyond

Agrippina (ador Claudii) quo vim suam hostis quoque nationibus ostendit, in oppidum Ubiorum, in quo gentis erat, veteranos columianque deduci imperat, cui nomen indium ex vocabulo ipsius. Tac. 12. Ann.

yond the Rhene, who were desirous of battell, to goe and breake up the trenches, and being beaten backe, estoones to give a fresh assault, not caring to leese many of those, whereof he had so many to spare. Neither did the night bring an end to their travell: but heaping up wood round about and setting it on fire, they fell to feasting together, and as they were heated with wine, ran rashly and desperately to the assault: which attempt of theirs was altogether without effect. For their darts, as being thrown into the dark, fell voyd without any doing of hurt. The Romans with great dexteritie levelled at the Barbarians standing in the light, and especially at such as were boldest to presse forward, or glistered most in their furniture: which thing Civilis perceiving commanded the fire to be put out, and to fight pell mell in the darke. Then there arose confused clamours, and noyses, variable chances, and uncertaine adventures: no foresight in striking or warding; on what side soever the cry arose, thither they would turne their bodies, and direct their arrowes: valour profited nothing, chance ruled all; and the most valiant men oftentimes were slaine by the most cowards. The Germans ran with unadvised rage: but the Romane souldiers acquainted with dangers, hurled their clubs headed with iron, and heavy stones, not at a venture: where they heard any labouring to breake in, or setting up ladders within their reach, they thrust them backe with the pikes of their bucklers, and followed them with darts, and many which had got on the walls they stabbed with daggers. The night being thus spent, the next day discovered a new kinde of assault. The Batavians had builded and brought forward a tower [“]of two heights, which as it approached neere to the Prætorian gate (for that part of the campe was of easiest access) our souldiers brake it in pieces with mightie planks run against it, and logges cast upon it, with great damage and slaughter of them that stood thereupon. At which accident the enemies being dismayed, our souldiers suddenly issued out, and cut off many of their men, with all the Legionary souldiers, being expert and skilfull that way, devised many warlike engines; but that which was the most dreadfull, was a ^{*}moveable and wagging engine, in manner of a crane, which being suddenly let down snatched up one or more of the enemies, and hoyed them aloft in the sight of the rest, and so the beame turning about let them fall into our campe. Civilis laying aside all hope of winning by force determined to change that course, and by tract of time to effect the same purpose, seeking in the meane season by messages and promises to corrupt the faith of the Legions.

XII. *Montanus a Captaine of Vitellius side, and borre at Triers, bringeth word to Novesium of the event of the battell at Cremona: whereupon they there and the rest at Gelduba sware to Vespasian: and sent Montanus to declare the same to Civilis, willing him to desist from hostilitie: but contrarily Civilis wrought Montanus to his purpose, and laid the plot of the rebellion of France, which shortly after ensued.*

^{*} Which was fought about the latter end of October, as it is declared elsewhere.
^b Who as *Con-*
sa published belike some edict in favour of the Flavian side.
^c Sent by the Flavians 3. Hist.

THis was the effect of that which passed in Germany before the ^abattell of Cremona: the event whereof Antonius Primus signified by letters directed unto them, sending withall ^bCæcinaes edict: and ^cAlpinus Montanus Captaine of one of the vanquished cohorts, by word of mouth, confessed the overthrow of the side. Hereupon ensued diversitie of affections. The auxiliary souldiers of France, which served without all partialitie, and neither hated nor loved the one faction nor the other, at the perswasions of their Captaines, were content forth-

with

with to forsake Vitellius: but the old souldier stucke at it, till upon Hordeonius rendering, and the Tribunes urging they tooke the oath; albeit neither in countenance, nor minde seeming to be fully resolved, but pronouncing roundly the rest of their oath, and at the name of Vespasian either stopping, or tripping it lightly over, or skipping it quite. Then were the letters of Antonius to Civilis read in open assembly, which raised many suspicions in the souldiers heads, because they seemed to be written as to one of the same faction, and spake hardly of the German army. Anon word was carried to the campe at Gelduba, where the like was both spoken and done; and thereupon Montanus sent with charge to Civilis, to warne him to desist from making of warre; and that he should not cloke any longer upon rebellion with the colour of following sides. If he sought to helpe Vespasian, his desire now was accomplished, and his purpose performed: To these allegations Civilis replied, first in suttile and craftie tearmes: afterward perceiving Montanus to be of a hot and fierce disposition, and ready to accept any new impression, he beginneth with a complaint of the manifold perils, which for twentie five yeeres space he had endured in the Romane service: A worthy, and just reward (quoth he) have I had of my travells, the death of my brother, mine owne imprisonment, and the bloody words of his army, of whom being demanded to the slaughter, by the law of nations I doe, and may justly seeke my revenge. But as for you ^dTreveri, and the rest but fruitlesse service, continuall Tributes, whips, gibbets, and slavery under proud insolent masters? Behold I a Captaine of one cohort; and the Caninefates and Batavians, a small portion of ^eFrance, have destroyed and overthrowne those vast and vaine camps of theirs, and ^fdoe besiege them with famine and sword, to conclude, if we venture, we shall either recover our libertie, or if we leese, be in the same state we were in before. Civilis having thus incensed Montanus, dismissed him away, howbeit willed him to make a more favourable report, who accordingly at his returne onely signified, that he had not sped in his embassage, dissembing the rest which straight after brake out.

^d For *Alpinus* was borne at *Triers*. 3. Hist.
^e *Tacitus* in some other places, seemeth to comprise them under the name of the *Germani*.
^f Those in *H. Land.* meant of *Vltra*.

XIII. *Vocula overthroweth two Captaines of Civilis, sent against him as he lay at Gelduba.*

Civilis retaining part of his host, sent the old cohorts, and the forwardest of the Germans against Vocula and his army, under the leading of Julius Maximus, and Claudius Victor his sisters sonne. In the way they tooke up and spoiled the standing campe of a wing sited at Asciburg, and so suddenly assaulted the enemies campe at Gelduba, that Vocula had no leisure to speake to the souldiers or to display the ranks. Thus much onely as in a tumult, he warned to strengthen the middle battell with Legionary souldiers, and the Auxiliaries to cast themselves about on every side. Then our horsemen brake forth, and seeing the enemy in good order and array to receive them, they turned their backs, and fled toward their footmen: whereupon a slaughter ensued and no fighting. The cohorts also of the Nervii through feare or falsehood fled, and barred the sides of our men and so way was made to our Legionary souldiers, who began now to be overthrowne within the trenches, and to lose their ensignes, when as suddenly with a new supply the fortune of the battell was changed. For certaine cohorts of Vascones levied by Galba, and then ^asent for, comming neere the camp, and hearing the noise as they fought, assailed the enemies backs being intentive another way, and caused a

^a Fro whence? *Not* *clum*, *Bonna*, *Magontia*, *cum*, or from what coast of the world?

great terrour then so small a number could otherwise have done, had not the enemy beleevd, some of them, that the rest from Novesium, and some, that the whole power from Magontiacum was come. That error also increased the Romanes courage: and whilst they presumed upon other mens strength they recovered their own. The most valiant of the Batavian footmen were slaine, the horsemen escaped with the ensignes and captives that were taken in the first conflict: on our side were slaine that day moe in number, but men of small service; the Germans lost the very flower, and strength of their army. Both the Generals by like default deserved the overthrow in reason alike: and winning were negligent both alike to follow their fortune. For if Civilis had furnished his side with greater forces, they could never have been by so few cohorts inclosed about: and the campe of the Romanes being, as it was, by force broken up, had doubtless been utterly razed. Vocula likewise lacking scouts abroad to signifie the enemies approach was suddenly surpris'd, and so in one moment went to fight, and was overcome: afterward winning more by lucke then desert, and not trusting his own victory nor using the benefit thereof, he vainely trifled out many dayes before he would march toward the enemy; whom if he had presently followed and pursued the course of his victory effectually, he might at that blow have raised the siege of the Legions at Vetera.

XIV. Vocula putteth Civilis to flight, and entereth Vetera.

Civilis in the meane time had assayed to induce the Legions to surrender, as though the Romanes had been quite overthrowne, and his men obtained an entire victory. For prooffe whereof he commanded the Roman ensignes, and banners to be carried about, and the prisoners produced in sight, whereof one ventured worthily, and declared aloud how the whole matter had passed, and was killed in the place by the Germans, which thing caused them within to beleve his relation the better, and withall by waisting and burning of the villages they might discerne that their owne victorious army was comming. When Vocula came neere unto Vetera he commanded the ensignes to be pitched in the sight of the campe, and a ditch and trench to be cast round about: that laying aside their baggage and needlesse furniture in place of safety, they might fight more lightly and lesse encumbered. Whereupon the souldiers began to exclaime, crying to goe to the battell, and now they were growne to that custome to threaten their Leader. So without taking so much time as onely to set the battell in array, disordered, and tired, they began the fight; for Civilis was ready to present them the battell, reposing no lesse affiance in the follies and faults of his enemies, then in the vertue and valour of his own people. Of the Roman side the matter went doubtfull and hard, and the most mutinous proved the most dastards: some there were which naderfull of the victory lately obtained kept their standing, galled the enemy, and animated themselves and their fellowes. The battell being thus brought back again, which erewhile in a manner was lost, they held up their hands to them in the camp, that they should not neglect to use the opportunitie, who beholding all things from the walls issued forthall at the gate, and by chance Civilis being by the fall of his horse overthrowne, of both sides was thought to be wounded or slaine; which greatly dismayed his men and caused them to breake, and contrarily put courage in ours. But Vocula pursued not the chace, but entring Vetera onely augmented the rampiers, and towers of the camp, as against a new siege, being had in a jealousie,

by

by this kinde of cold dealing, to desire the continuance of the warre: and not without cause, having so often marred the victory for want of good following.

XV. Vocula vittaileth Vetera, and returneth to Gelduba, and thence to Novesium, where Hordeonius in a mutiny is slaine. Vocula with his power goeth to relieve Magontiacum besieged by the Germans. The faithfulness of the Treveri to the Romanes at the beginning of these troubles.

Nothing distressed our souldiers so much, as lacke of provision and food. Whereupon the carriages of the Legions, with a weake and unservicable company were sent to Novesium, that from thence by land they might furnish the army with vittailles; for the enemies were masters of the river. The first convoy passed peaceably without molestation, Civilis being not yet recovered of his hurt: but anon understanding another company was sent to Novesium, and certaine cohorts assigned to conduct them, marching as in time of great quiet carelessly, not keeping themselves to their ensignes, but casting their armour and weapons into the wagons, and roving about licenciously, he sent before to rake up the bridges and straits, and then in good order charged upon them. The ^{* bartell was} ^{* pugnatum} fought with troupes displayed out thinly in length, and continued doubtfull, ^{longe agmin.} till the night tooke up the quarell. The cohorts proceeded forward to Gelduba, the campe standing there as it was, guarded by the souldiers which Vocula had left. There was no question what perill there would be in the returne, the forragers being but few, and heavily loaden: whereupon Vocula determining to goe out and relieve them, increased his army with a thousand men chosen out of the two Legions, which were besieged at Vetera, the first and fifteenth, a stubborne and headstrong souldier, and having his captaines. More went then were commanded, at their going openly murmuring, that they would no longer indure famine, nor be obnoxious to the secret practises of the Lieutenants: but those which remained behind complained, that they, by carrying away so many men, were forsaken, and left as a pray to the enemy. Whereupon a double mutiny grew, the one part recalling Vocula seditiously, and the other in like sort refusing to turne againe to the campe. In the meane season Civilis besieged Vetera. Vocula marcheth to Gelduba, and leaving Gelduba (which Civilis straightway tooke up) from thence to Novesium, not farre from whence, shortly after, his horsemen skirmished with the enemy prosperously. But prosperitie and adversitie inflamed alike the souldiers to seeke their captaines destruction: and the Legions being augmented, by that increase out of the first and fifteenth Legion, more insolently required their donative, understanding that money was sent from Vitellius. Whereupon Hordeonius, without further delay divided the money among them in Vespasians name, which was the principall thing that ministred matter, and fed the mutiny which followed. For the souldiers, having idle spending money, gave themselves to riot and banquetting, and assemblies by night, and by that meanes renewed their former wrath and displeasure against Hordeonius, whom they haled out of his chamber and slew, none of the Lieutenants or Tribunes daring to gainsay, or withstand them being hardened, by reason of the night season, against all modesty and shame. The like was intended against Vocula, if he had not in a bondmans attire escaped unknowne in the darke. Assoone as the heat of their fury was past they fell to consider the danger wherein they did stand, and sent by and by Centurions with letters to the cities of France,

desiring

desiring supply of money and men, themselves when Civilis approached, as the common sort without head is headlong, fearefull and sluggish, rashly tooke up their weapons, and soone laying them downe ran away. Adversitie bred discord, those of the upper army disioyning their cause from the others. Notwithstanding the images of Vitellius were set up again in the camp, and in the cities of Belgium adjoining, when as Vitellius himselfe was now downe. Then the souldiers of the first Legion and the fourth and eighteenth upon repentance came in, and submitted themselves unto Vocula, at whose hands receiving againe the oath to Vespasian, they were led forth to raise the siege at Magontiacum. The army which besieged it (consisting of Catti, Usipii and Matiaci) was already depated away loaden with spoiles, and being by our men met with on the way scattered and at unawares, was in part put to the sword. Moreover the Treveri along their confines cast a trench with a parapet, and with a great slaughter on each side skirmished against the Germans, untill shortly after revolting, by that odious fact, they defaced all their good service done heretofore to the Romans.

XVI. *The disposition of the common people of the Citie, at the beginning of the yeere. The ordinary Senate upon the first day of January. Mutianus supplanteth Antonius Primus.*

The yeare of the citie 823.

IN the meane season Vespasianus second time Confull and Titus in absence entered their office, the citie being in great anguish and diversly perplexed, besides the miseries which presently they felt, upon a false alarme of the revolt of Africk, and the rebellion of Piso Proconsull there, a man of milde and quiet disposition: but because through the tempestuousnesse of the winter the ships came not home, the poore people which day by day were accustomed to buy bread, and cared for nothing else of common affaires but corne, feared that all the ships of that coast were purposely stayed, and the corne detained, and fearing quickly beleved it. In which imaginary conceit the Vitellianists also confirmed them, who had not as yet wholly left off their former affections and humours. Neither was the rumour displeasing unto the winners, as hoping to make their profit thereby, whose insatiable lust and desires no forrein warre, much lesse any civill victory could ever fill or content. The first of January the Senate was assembled by Iulius Frontinus the Citie Pretor, and solemne thanks with praise concluded upon to the Lieutenants and armies, and kings which friended the cause. The Pretorship also was taken from Tertius Julianus, because he had forsaken his Legion applying it selfe to Vespasians side, and bestowed upon Plotius^b Griphus. Hormus was made a Gentleman of Rome, and straightwaies Frontinus resigning Domitianus, Caesar tooke the place. In his name all letters were written and edicts published, but the power and direction of affaires rested in Mutianus, save that Domitian either pricked forward by his friends, or upon his own pleasure, & lust presumed to do many things of himselfe. But Mutianus principall feare was of Antonius Primus and Arius Varus, whom beside that they were greatly renowned for their late famous exploits, and in great credit with the souldiers, the common people also loved well because they had slaine none but in the field. Moreover it was given out by some, that Antonius had solicited Scribonianus Crassus, a man of great honour, both in respect of his worthy ancestours, and of his late^a brothers high place, to take upon him the state, assuring him of a sufficient number of complices to uphold and maintain it, had not

^aTo whom it belonged, in the absence of the consuls, to assemble the Senate.
^bOne of Antonianus favorites
3. Hist.

^aPiso, whom Galba adopted.

Scribonianus refused the offer: a man so greatly fearing uncertainties, that even an assured certaintie could not easily have sturred him. Therefore Mutianus, because Antonius openly could not be put down, spent upon him many good words, and great commendation in the Senate house, and secretly laded him with promises, putting him in hope of neerer Spaine, which by the departure of Cluvius Rufus lay voide, and bestowed upon his friends Tribuneships, Captainships liberally. And when Mutianus had filled with these windes of hope and desire his emptie vain-glorious minde, he proceeded subtly to infringe his power, and utterly put him out of his strength, by dismissing unto their wintering place the seventh Legion, which did most earnestly affect Antonius. The third Legion also that depended upon Arius Varus was sent away backe into Syria: another part of the army was carried into Germany. So the citie being disburdened of those which were prone to breed trouble, recovered her former estate, the lawes tooke their due discourse, and the magistrates resumed their charge.

XVII. *Certaine matters which passed in the Senate.*

THE day that Domitian after his new honour came into the Senate, he made a brieft and courteous speech concerning his fathers, and brothers absence, and of his owne greene yeeres and lacke of experience, with a comely grace and decent behaviour: his often blushing and being out of countenance, his qualities being not yet knowne abroad, was reputed modesty and bashfulnesse. When as he proposed that Galba should be restored to his honour and dignitie, Curtius Montanus was of opinion, that the memory of Piso should be solemnized, the Senators allowed of both: howbeit concerning Piso it tooke none effect. After this, certaine were allotted to see restitution made of those things, which had beene by force taken away in the warre, and some others, to view and set up the brazen tables of the lawes, which by tract of time were decayed, and others to reforme, & purge the publike records, and registers, which by flattery of times were corrupted, and to moderate and stint the publike expences. Tertius Julianus was restored to his Pretorship, after it was knowne that he fled to Vespasian: notwithstanding Griphus kept his roome too. Then the Senate awarded, that the cause betweene Musonius Rufus, and Publius Celer should be revived and determined: and so Publius was condemned, and satisfaction made to the soule of Soranus. In this daies worke as the publike severitie of the Senate was notable, so privately Musonius wanted not his due commendation, for having judicially prosecuted so just a revenge: as contrarily Demetrius the Cynicke was generally blamed, for that ambitiously, and without regard of his credit, he had lent his hand to protect a manifest offender: for Publius himselfe had neither spirit nor tongue to plead his owne cause. When the signe was given, and a flagge of revenge, as it were, set out against the accusers, Junius Mauricus requested Domitian, that it would please him to communicate a copy to the Senate of the Princes records and papers, whereby they might be certified particularly, who had required to have the accusing of whom. Answer was made, that the Princes advise was to be asked in a case of that waight: whereupon the Senate, the principall personages, beginning the example, conceived a forme of oath, which all the magistrates sware, contending who should be formost, and the rest, as their voices were severally asked, solemnly protesting, and calling the gods to witnesse, that they never had attempted nor done any act against the life of any, nor reaped commoditie or honour by the calamities of others, they which were guiltie

^aSeverus Galba.

^bAntonius Galba.

^aBy the burning of the Capitol, which had beene destroyed by the fire.

^aAnnal. 16. Hist. 15.

guilty that way pronouncing it faintly, and mincing the oath, but diversly wresting and changing the words. The Senatours allowed of them which sware truly, and openly reproved others perjury: which reproofe lay most heavily upon Sario-
lenus Vocula, and Nonius Aetianus, and Cestius Severus, persons infamous for their often accusings under Nero: and beside, which aggravated his cause, Sario-
lenus had lately attempted the like with Vitellius: so that they bent their fists against him, and ceased not to offer violence, untill he departed the house. From him they went to Pactus Africanus, seeking to throw him out likewise, because he had given information against the Scribonian brethren, renowned both for their wealth and mutuall agreeing together, and procured their destruction with Nero. Africa-
nus neither durst confesse the matter objected, nor could well deny it: but turning himselfe to Vibius Crispus who pressed him neereft with his interrogatories, he on the other side challenged him of the like, seeking to shift off the odiousness of that, which he could not directly defend, by joining the plantiffe in the same crime. That day Vespasianus Messalla wanne himselfe great credit, both for eloquence and good nature, undertaking, being under Senatours age, to make intercession for his brother Aquilius Regulus. Regulus was extremely hated, because he had wrought the overthrow of the noble houses of the Crassi, & of Orphitus. He was at his own suit appointed by the Senate to be their accuser, and undertook that odious charge voluntarily being very young, & not, as some others, to avoid danger that in refusing might grow to himselfe, but in hope of rising higher thereby. And Sulpitia Prætextata wife of Crassus, with foure of his children presented themselves in a readinesse to prosecute the matter, if it would please the Senate to take knowledge thereof, Messalla, neither justifying the cause nor the man, but opposing himselfe against the perills of his brother, had moved some to compassion. Then Curtius Montanus replied with a bitter oration, proceeding so farre, that he charged Regulus with giving of money after Galbaes death to him that slew Piso, with biting of Pisos head being dead. These things (quoth he) I trow Nero never constrained you to doe: neither saved you either your life, or your honour by such savage cruelty. Let us grant their defence to be tolerable, which chose rather to bring others in-
to ruine, then themselves into perill, for your part you had nothing to leete: your father going into banishment left you voide of all danger that way; his goods were parted amongst his creditours and your age as yet not capable of honour: you had nothing that Nero should either desire from you, or feare in you. Nay it was your owne blood-thirsty humour, and gaping for gaine, which caused you to employ your gifts, being as yet not knowne nor tried in defending any mans cause, to the destruction of the nobilitie: when at one blow you ruined and overthrew innocent children, and reverend old men, honorable women, and by this good service in destroying the Commonwealth merited Consular spoiles, seven thousand thousand sesterces, and an honourable Priesthood: when you blamed Neros slack and remissive kinde of proceeding, that he went house by house and tired out both himselfe and the whole company of the accusers, whereas he might with like facilitie and speaking of a word subvert the whole Senate. Keepe I pray you (my Lords) and make store of a counsellor of so good a dispatch, that every age may be furnished: and as our old men imitate Marcellus and Crispus, so your young may doe Regulus. Dishonesty even when it thriveth not, findeth followers, what will it do then when it doth prosper and flourish? and whom we dare not offend having been but Questor, what shall we doe when we shall have passed the higher offices of Pretor and Consul? or doe ye thinke that Nero shall be the last tyrant? indeede to they also beleaved

beleaved, which overlived Tiberius and Caius when in the meane time arose ano-
ther more cruell and detestable then either. We feare not Vespasian; his age war-
ranteth us, and his moderate disposition: but precedents dure longer the dispo-
sitions. We are waxen cold (my Lords) neither are we now the same men, that
asloone as Nero was slaine required these promooters, and all other instruments of
tyranny to be punished *more majorum*. After the decease of an ill Prince the first day
is alwaies the best. With so great applause and liking of the Senate Montanus was
heard, that Helvidius conceived hope of the possibilitie of overthrowing Marcellus
also. Therefore beginning his speech with the commendation of Cluvius Rufus,
who being as rich, & as famous for eloquence, had notwithstanding in Neros time
never procured any mans danger, he pressed Marcellus both with his own fact, and
with the others examples, and the Senatours fingers even tickled against him.
Which when Marcellus perceived, making semblance of departing the house, We
are gone Helvidius (quoth he) and leave to you a Senate of your owne: take your
preasure, and exercise your kingdome in the presence of the young Prince. After
him followeth Vibius Crispus both well warmed and nettled: Marcellus with a
threatning countenance, Crispus halfe smiling, but at the entreatie of friends
they came againe to their place. And so the contention growing hotter, and of the
one side many and good, on the other few & mighty banding together, and inveigh-
ing despitefully one against the other, that day was consumed in brawlings. The
next meeting Domitian beginning to perswade, that old griefs and grudges should
not be revived, but buried together with the memory of the late times, wherein men
were forced to do many things against their own mindes, Mutianus continuing the
speech opened at large in favour of the accusers, gently admonishing withall, and as
it were intreating them, who seemed to resume their actions which they had discō-
tinued. The Senatours, when they saw they were crossed in following their liberty,
medled no further, and Mutianus, left the judgement of the Senate should seeme to
be little regarded, and a general pardon as it were proclaimed of all crimes commit-
ted under Nero, commanded Octavius Sagitta and Antistius Sosianus, Senatours by
calling, which were without leave returned from exile, to be reduced into the same
Ilands again. Octavius had frequented with Pontia Posthumia another mans wife
adulterously, and because she refused after to marry him, he flew her upon extreme
passion of love: Sosianus by his lewd qualities had been the ruine of many: both of
them had been condemned and banished by a heavy sentence of the Senate, and o-
thers being restored they were left still in the same penalty. But Mutianus could not
with all this wipe the ill opinion away of his former dealing: For Sosianus and Sa-
gitta were men vile and of no account, neither mattered it where they lived: but the
accusers great gifts, great wealth and great power, being men so well seen in all lewd
practises, were feared not without cause. The Senators minds were anon in part re-
conciled by means of a certaine cause heard in the house, and decided according to
ancient custome. Manlius Patricius a Senator made complaint, that in the Colony
of Siena he was beaten of the multitude at the magistrates commandment, and not
contented with this outrage they mourned and wailed, and made shew of celebra-
ting his funerals in his own sight, with many scornfull and reprochfull speeches re-
dounding upon the whole Senate. The parties accused were called, and upon due
examination convicted and executed, and an act made to admonish the people of
Siena to behave themselves in modest manner hereafter. At the same time An-
tonius Flamma was condemned of extortion, at the suite of the Cyrenenses, and
exiled for his cruell behaviour, and shedding of innocent blood.

XVIII. *A view taken of the Pretorian souldiers. A loane motioned in the Senate. The funerals of Flavius Sabinus.*

AMidst these things there had welny broken out a sedition of the souldiers. The Guard-souldiers dismissed by Vitellius, and assembled in favour of Vespasians cause, required their former place: likewise the souldiers, which upon hope of the same roome were chosen out of the Legions, demanded performance of promise. Neither could Vitellius gard well be removed without much bloodshed. So Mutianus, comming to the campe to the end he might better view their yeeres of service, appointed the winners severally to stand, with their ensignes and weapons, a little distance asunder. Then he willed the Vitellian gard, as well those which yeelded themselves at Bovilla, as others fought out within the citie & about, to be produced in a maner unarmed, then to be divided, and those which were chosen out of the German and British armes, and so of the rest, if any were, to stand each by themselves. The first sight hereof did straight amaze them, to see the contrary side as in a pitched field flourishing with their weapons and darts, and themselves without armour, deformed, and in poore miserable state closed about. But when they began to be drawn, and distracted hither and thither, they trembled all, especially the German souldiers, as if the separation tended only to fort them out to the slaughter; whereupon they fell to embrace their companions, to hang on their necks, to kisse them as for their last farewell, beseeching not to leave them alone, and that in the like cause they might not abide harder fortune then others, with obsecrations sometimes to Mutianus, sometimes to the Prince that was absent, sometimes to the gods and the heavens to relieve their distressed estate; till such time as Mutianus calling them all liege men of one soveraigne, and souldiers of the same Prince, eased them of this vaine feare; the rest of the souldiers present with a shout furthering their teares, and declaring themselves to favour their cause: and so for that day the matter was shut up. Some few dayes after Domitian in an Oration made offer unto them of land and possessions, who being now assured and out of all feare, did boldly refuse it, praying to have their former service and wages againe. It was but a prayer, many such as could not be denied: and so they were received into the Gard. Afterward they which had served their yeeres, and accomplished their just number of stipends, were honourably dismissed: some others criminally, and for their misdemeanour singied out one by one: the safest remedy to weaken and dissolve the consent of a multitude. Then a motion was made in the Senate, whether upon necessitie indeed, or because they would have it to seeme so, that a loane should be made, by private men to the publike of sixty millions of sesterces, and the charge thereof committed to Poppæus Silvanus: but shortly after the necessitie ceased, or the false semblant. Then by a law proposed by Domitian the Consulships conferred by Vitellius were disanulled: and Flavius Sabinus' funerals were celebrated with Censoriall pompe: great demonstrations of fortunes ficklenesse, turning upside downe whatsoever seemeth high in the world.

1 Funerals were celebrated with Censoriall pompe] *consulium funus* the most honourable, and solemne manner of buriall: as the Consulship was the most honourable office, and accomplishment, as it were of all other. Polybius lib. 6. saith, that in the buriall of a Consul, or Prætor, certaine chosen out for the like to the dead person accompanied the corse *in honore* only, that is, in *regie pompa* *sepultura*: in the buriall of a Centurion *in pompa*.

XIX. The

XIX. *The death of Lucius Piso Proconsull of Africke.*

ABout the sametime Lucius Piso Proconsull of Africke was slaine: the truth of which murder I will briefly set downe, resuming first certaine former matters, which may seeme to have ministred chiefly occasion, and cause to such like inconveniences. The Legion in Africke, and the Aides assigned to guard the frontiers of the Empire that way, in the time of Augustus, and Tiberius, were under the government of the Proconsull, till Caius a Prince of a troubled braine, & having in jealousie M. Silanus, who then was Proconsull of Africke, removed the Legion from the Proconsull, delivering it to a Lieutenant sent for that purpose. The parting of an office thus betweene two without subordination, and their charge and points of commission lying intermingled, and running joyntly together, bred and nourished, as was intended, discords and quarels: and so through sinister emulation the Lieutenants office incroched & grew, either because they continued longer in charge, or because inferior persons commonly take more paine & delight in contending with their superiours, the greatest men of the Proconsuls, seeking rather safety then might. Now at this time Valerius Festus was Lieutenant of the Legion there, a riotous young man, and one that gaped after great matters, but much perplexed in minde, by reason he was so nearly allyed to Vitellius. This Valerius in his often conferences which he had with Piso, whether he perswaded him to take upon him the estate, or opposed himselfe against Pisos soliciting it is uncertain for at their secret communication none was present beside: and when Piso was slaine most men inclined to favour the slayer; certaine it is, that the province and souldiers were ill affected toward Vespasian. And some of the Vitellianists escaping out of the citie, layed downe before Piso the great possibilitie of effectuating that purpose: that France was in termes of revolting, Germanie readie to side themselves with him, adjoining the danger wherein he stood for his owne person, and that in a suspected peace open warre was the onely safe course. As these things were in doing, Claudius Sagitta capitaine of the Petrin wing came thither, having outsayled Papirius a Centurion sent by Mutianus, and avouched that the sayd Centurion had Commission to dispatch Piso: that his kinsmen and sonne in law Galerianus was already dispatched in Rome: so that the onely hope of safety consisted in venturing boldly: and of venturing there were but two wayes, either straight to take armes, or sayling into France to offer himselfe there for a head to the Vitellian armies. Notwithstanding all which allegations Piso persisted unmoveable: and anon the Centurion sent by Mutianus came, who as soone as he arrived at the port of Carthage proclaimed Piso Emperour, wishing to him as Prince all successe and prosperitie, and requiring all that he met, being amazed at the wonder, to joyne in the same cry. The credulous common people flocked in the market place & demanded the presence of Piso, filling the citie with shouts and acclamations of joy, partly upon negligence to search out the truth, and partly upon a pleasure in flatterie. But Piso, whether upon the intimation of Sagitta, or of his owne modestie, refrained from going abroad and committing himselfe to the peoples discretion; & examining the Centurion, perceiving it was but a snare to intrappe him, and so to make him away, he commanded him to be slaine, not so much for hope of escaping himselfe by so doing, as upon just indignation against the Centurion, because the same man had beene one of the murderers of Clodius Macer, and meant to bring

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his

* Of the Flavian side, as it is not unlike that many Legionaries were the more easily induced to enter into the cause, upon hope of this pecuniary.

* *In illis statim principatus propositus est* Vespasianus *quanti gentis miles* *Et. S. apud effluat* *ut respice* *of sit*, *saith Suetonius*, *cap. 16.* one of the greatest sums I remember any were named, amounting to above three hundred millions of pounds. *That is, 468750. pound sterling.*

the credit of Tacitus, who may overweigh twenty such writers at random, I cannot see how in possibility Vespasian could well be in Rome before the one and twentieth of June: for at Alexandria he attended certain moneths, saith our author, *certa maris operiem.* Now from the eleventh day of November to the tenth of March, saith *Vegilius*, (*lib. 4*) *maris clauduntur*: from the tenth of March to the fifteenth of May, *periculosè maris tentantur*, and not lightly ventured upon but by merchants: so that before the middle of May or there about it is not likely he fer out of Alexandria. Zonaras seemeth to say, that he stayed a great while longer in Egypt, then otherwise he would have done, upon hope that Jerusalem might have bene wonne before his departure, and so Titus should have accompanied him also to Rome. Again the voyage of Vespasian to Rome was long, and much of it performed by land, and many great businesses dispatched in the way. Josephus *lib. 7* cap. 5. and 10. Suetonius and others. So that in all reason his entry into Rome was toward the latter end of the sommer, and so he was not present at the foundation of the Capitoll.

XXI. *The Treveri and Lingones, at the instigation of Cluscius, Tutor, and Sabinus, assembling secretly in the councill at Coleyn determine to revolt from the Romans. Vocula removeth from Magontiacum to Coleyn. Claudius Labeo maketh a roade against the Caninefates without great effect.*

When the death of Vitellius was heard of in France and Germanie, it doubled the warre. For Civilis now laying aside dissimulation declared himselfe, and made open warre against the Romane Empire. The legions which had served Vitellius wished rather forraine bondage, then to have Vespasian their Prince. The Frenchmen conceived courage, and hope of freeing themselves from the yoke, supposing that the same fortune was befallen to our armies in all places alike: and indeed a rumour was noised that our standing campes in Pannonia and Moesia were straitly besieged by the Sarmatians and Dacians: the like was reported of Britannie. But nothing perswaded them so much to beleve, that the Romane Empire was come to an end, as the burning of the Capitoll. For the city had bene once before taken by the French, but the seat of Jupiter then being untaken, the Empire stood and remained: whereas now by this fatall fire a manifest signe of the gods heavy wrath, and displeasure was given. And the Druides out of their vain superstitious learning did prophesie that the Empire of the world was to pisse, and be seated beyond the mountains. Moreover a common fame went, that the noblemen of France, when they were sent by Otho against Vitellius, did covenant together before their departure, that in case the Romane Common-wealth ceased not thus to be torn by multiplying of civill wars, and domesticall troubles one straight succeeding another, they would joyntly attempt to recover their ancient libertie againe. But before the murder of Hordeonius Flaccus nothing brake out whereby the conspiracie might be perceived: after his death there passed messages, between Civilis and Clascius captaine of the wing of the Treveri. Clascius in birth and wealth farre exceeded the rest of that quarter. He was extract from the line of their ancient Kings, his ancestors renowned in warre and in peace, and himselfe boasted to be descended of enemies to the people of Rome, rather then friends. Unto him in this action adjoynded themselves Julius Tutor, & Julius Sabinus, the one of Triers, the other a Lingon. Tutor was appointed by Vitellius overseer of the bank of Rhene. Sabinus besides a naturall vanitie was pricked forward with the vain-glory of a supposed kinred; that his great grandmother for her beautie had pleased Julius Cæsar, when he warred in France, and was by him carnally known. These three by secret conferences searched the mindes and inclinations of the rest: and when they had made acquainted, and associated to them such as they supposed fit for the purpose, they appointed a meeting in Coleyn, in a private house: for the publike state of the Citie utterly abhorred all such attempts. Notwithstanding

Primus Galliarum ab Otho adversus Vitellium missus. Who these Primores Galliarum were, and when and from whence sent by Otho against Vitellius. I conceive not: unless it be ment of the Romane Senators, whereof many were French by birth, whom Otho assumed into his traine against Vitellius: but men of their quality me thinke should have no great cause to seek so great an alteration.

withstanding certaine of the Ubij and Tungri were present at the consultation: but the strongest part and that which carried the matter was of the Treveri and Lingones. Neither made they any long deliberation, but all with one voyce cryed amaine, that the Romans did nothing but rage in civill dissensions, that the Legions were slaine, Italy wasted, and the Citie of Rome even taken: that all the armies were held occupied every one with their severall warres: and if the Alpes were fortified with good and sufficient garrison, and so their liberty won and assured, then might France determine at leisure what course to take of further proceeding, and how far they list to enlarge. This was no sooner said then allowed: a scruple remained concerning the remnant of the Romane souldiers. Many were of minde that they were to be put to the sword, as mutinous, and faithlesse perions, and polluted with the blood of their leaders: but the opinion of sparing them prevailed, least hope of pardon being taken away they would become desperate. So it was thought more convenient by faire meanes to allure them to the partie and that the Lieutenants alone being made away, the common souldiers would easily be wonne to the side upon guiltinesse of their owne misdeeds, and hope of impunitie. This was the forme of their first consultation, and some were sent abroad into France to kindle and stirre up the warre: they themselves pretended all subjection and obedience to Vocula, that they might oppresse him at the more unawares. Vocula had secret intelligence hereof, but he had not forces to punish it, his Legions being both thinne, and unstedfast. So between unsure souldiers, and secret enemies, supposing it the best way that now he could take to use their owne arts against them, he dissembled the matter and went downe to Coleyn. Thither Claudius Labeo was escaped, having corrupted his keepers, who as before we have said was taken, and confined out of the way into Frisia, and promising that if he might have men he would goe into Batavia, and reunite the greatest part of the countrey againe to the Romane Empire: having a pretty company of horsemen and footemen assigned, he durst not enterprise any thing amongst the Batavians, but drew certaine of the Nervii and Berhasij after him into the field, and rather by stealth, then by way of open invasion, made some incurfions upon the Caninefates and Marfati.

XXII. *Clascius and Tutor corrupt Voculaes souldiers. Vocula at Novesium is forsaken by his souldiers, and slaine, who immediately sweare fidelitie to the Empire of France.*

Vocula allured by the fraude of the Frenchmen removeth towards the enemy. When they approached to Vetera, Clascius and Tutor pricking before under colour of discovering met with the Germane Captaines, and concluded the bargain, and thereupon encamped their companies with a severall trench from the Legionary souldiers. At which signe of manifest contempt and revolt Vocula conceiving great indignation cryed aloud, that the Romane state was not by civill warres brought yet to so low an ebbe, as that the Treveri also and Lingones need to despise it: so many countreys continuing faithfull, our armies being victorious, the fortune of the Empire standing entire, & the gods ready to revenge this perfidious part: so long agoe Sacrovir and the Aedui, so of late Vindex and France were overthrowne, each at one blow, and now also the perfidious breakers of treaties so solemnly sworne were to looke for againe the same gods and the same fall. Julius and Augustus knew better their crooked inclinations: Galba, and the abatement of their tributes hath made them our enemies. Now they are foes be-

In the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian, the plaines were covered with the tribes of the Lingones and Treveri, and diverse cities of France: true it is, that he abated a fourth part of their ordinary tribute, but it was not this, to this audience.

cause their yoke is too gentle, but when they shall be ransackt and stript of their wealth, they will be our friends and subjects againe. When Vocula had thus spoken with great spirit and courage, seeing Classicus and Tutor notwithstanding to continue in their traiterous purpose, he retired back to Novesium. The Frenchmen fate downe two miles from the towne in the fields, to which place the Centurions and souldiers resorting from Novesium were bought, and corrupted to a villanie never heard of before, that a Romane armie should sweare allegiance to strangers, and for a pledge of so wicked a part, either kill their Lieutenants, or deliver them prisoners. Vocula, albeit many counselled him to withdrawe, chusing rather to stick to it manfully, then cowardly to flee, called an assembly, and spake to them in this manner.

"I never at any time spake unto you, either more carefull for you, or careles for my selfe. That my destruction is purposed I am well contented to heare, and accept death in these troubles as an end of my miseries. Of you I am ashamed, and you do I pity, not because any martiall exploit, or matter of armes is intended against you; for that were agreeing to a souldiers profession, and according to the law of the field at an enemies hand: but because Classicus with your hands hopeth to fight with the Romans, and abuseth your simplicity with the goodly oath and imaginary Empire of France. * Are we so far now fallen, not onely from our fortune & courage, but even from our ancient precedents too? For how oft did the Roman Legiōs chuse rather to die then yeeld one inch of ground to the enemy? Our allies have many time suffered their cities to be razed, themselves, their wives and their children to be consumed to ashes, without gaining other reward, save only to keep their faith and their fame. The Legions at Vetera support with all patience hunger and siege, and yeeld neither for fear nor faire words. We, besides men and armour, and a camp strongly fortified, have provision and victuals sufficient for a long war, if need were. Money lately we had, not onely for pay, but also to serve for donative too: which whether you list to accept as coming from Vespasian, or from Vitellius, sure both wayes it came from a Romane Emperour. If you do it for feare of the battell (albeit it be no admittable reason in you who have foiled so often at Gelduba, at Vetera, and so many times overthrowne the enemy) we have trenches, and wals, and waies to prolong till more strength and supply come from the countreys about us. If it be for displeasure at me, you have other Lieutenants and Tribunes, nay Centurion or common souldier, make your choice of any so he be a Romane to lead you. Let never for shame so prodigious a thing be bruited throughout the whole world, that Civilis & Classicus should invade Italy, having a guard of Romans attendant. What if the Germans & Frenchmen should leade toward the wals of the city? will you fight against your own native soile and sharpen your speares against the wombe of your mother? The onely conceit of so great an impiety striketh an horroir into my minde. Shall Tutor of Triers have watch and ward as a Prince? shall a Batavian give you the signe of the battell? will you be carried about for supplements to the Germane regiments? and what end will you finde of your treason? when the Romane Legions shall march out against you what shall become of you then, but of fugitives to be fugitives againe, and traitors of traitors, between your old oath and your new, an abomination to the Gods, and to men? O thou most mighty and mercifull Jupiter, whom with so many triumphs these eight hundredth and twenty years we have adored and worshipped: and thou Romulus the founder and father of the citie, I pray and most humbly beseech you, that if it be not your heavenly pleasures, that

"under

"under my hand and government this campe should be kept uncorrupted and clean, yet at least you will not permit it to be polluted, and stained by Tutor and Classicus: and that it would please you to inspire to the Romane souldier, either a minde to follow honourable courtes, or else a speedy and harmeles repentance. The oration was diversly taken, as of men diversly affected between fear, hope, and shame. After the speech Vocula withdrew himselfe, and consulting upon his end, was by his freedmen and bondmen staied from a voluntary preventing of a most shamefull death: for Classicus sent by and by Æmilius Longinus a fugitive of the first Legion to dispatch that piece of service. As for the Lieutenants, Herennius, and Numisius, it seemed sufficient to put them in prison. Then Classicus assuming the markes and ornaments of the Romane governours came into the campe: and albeit he were hardened to all kinde of desperate mischiefe, yet would not his utterance then serve him any further, but barely to recite the words of the oath. All that were present sware fidelitie to the Empire of France. Then he advanced the murder of Vocula to a higher place, and the rest he rewarded, each according to the lewd service they did.

XXIII. Tutor bringeth Coleyn and all upper Germany to the oath of France. The Legions of Vetera surrender the place to Civilis with condition onely of saving their lives: which notwithstanding is not performed.

After these things Classicus and Tutor divided charges. Tutor with a strong power lay about Coleyn, and brought both them, and all the souldiers which lay upon the upper bank of the Rhene, to the same oath, slaying the Tribunes at Magontiacum, & driving away the Camp-master which refused to sweare. Classicus suborned certaine of the lewdest companions of those which had yeelded themselves commanding them to go to Vetera, and there to proclaime pardon to all those, that would submit themselves to follow the present course: otherwise to looke for no hope but sword, and famine and all extremities. They which were sent used their owne example as a motive unto them. On the one side the respect of their loyaltie, on the other their present necessitie, distracted the persons besieged, betwene the two courses of honour and shame. While they delayed to resolve, their food failed them both usuall and usuall: they had eaten their mules and horses, and other creatures, which being otherwise abhorred and loathed, hunger had made favorie and sweet: and lastly feeding of branches, and sprigs, and pulling of grasse which grew in the wals, they were a patterne of misery and patience, till such time as sending Embassadors to Civilis for life, they stained their honorable actions with a shamefull and dishonorable end. Neither was their petition admitted, before they sware fidelity to France. Then he granted them life, reserving the spoile of the campe to himselfe, and appointed keepers to stay the money, the servants, and stuffe, and others to conduct the souldiers empty away. About five miles off the Germanes lying in ambush, rose and suddenly set upon them unawares, such as were most valiant and made resistance were slaine where they stood: many were cut off in the flight, the rest recovered the campe. Whereupon Civilis made complaint and rebuked the Germans as having wickedly broken their faith, whether it was but a countenance of his, or else he could not bridle them in their fury is not assuredly knowne. When the campe was ransackt they set it on fire, and all the men that escaped in the field, were burned therein.

XXIII. Civilis

* Adhuc nos, si fortuna presens virtutem deseruit, etiam vetera exempla disticiunt?

XXIIII. *Civilis upon performance of his vow cutteth his beard. Of Velleda Queen of the Bructerians. Two Legions of them which forsook Vocula and yielded themselves to Classicus, namely the sixteenth and the first, the one from Novesium, the other from Bonna their standing camps, are by commandement transported to the Triers.*

*a Tac. de morib.
Germ. Aliis
Germanorum
populis usitatum
vera & privata
cujusque auden-
tia apud Cottos
in consensum
venit, ut pri-
mum adol. ve-
runt cinem bar-
bamque sum-
mittere, nec nisi
hoste caeso ex-
civotum obli-
gatumque vir-
tuti cras habi-
tium.*

Civilis upon a barbarous vow when he first entred warre with the Romanes, suffered his yellow haire to grow long without barbing, and now, as upon accomplishment thereof caused it to be cut, when the slaughter of the Legions was performed: and it was reported, that hee set up as markes, certaine of the captives, for his little sonne to shoote and dart at in sport. Neverthelesse neither did he sweare, nor caused any Batavian to take the oath of France, trusting in the strength and assistance of the Germanes, and if there should happen hereafter contention to grow with the French about the Empire, accounting himselfe both of more name and abilitie. Mummius Lupercus the Lieutenant of a Legion among other presents were sent to Velleda, a Virgin of the Bructerian nation, and Queene over many countreys: so the old manner of the Germanes is, to beleve many of their women to be Prophetesses, and so, superstition increasing, goddesses. And at that time the authoritie of Velleda was grown in more reputation, by reason that shee had told before hand the Germanes should prosper, and the Romane Legions should be destroyed. But Lupercus was slaine in the way: a few Centurions and Tribunes French born were reserved as a pledge of alliance and amity. The standing camps of the cohorts, wings and Legions, were overthrown and burned, those onely excepted which were at Magontiacum and Vindonissa. The sixteenth Legion with the Auxiliaries, which at the same time yielded themselves, was commanded to depart from Novesium to Triers, and a day set down, before which they should avoid the campe. The meane time was spent in sundry cares. Some of the cowardliest were terrified with the late example of them which were slaine at Vetera, in their issuing out; the better sort blushed for shame, to thinke of the infamous and dishonourable journey, whom they must follow for guides, and how all things should be at the simple pleasure & discretion of those, whom they had made Lords over their life and death: others without respect of dishonour packed about them mony and such things as were of most price: others made ready their harness and buckled themselves to their weapons as though they were going to field. While they were thus musing, and casting their cards, the houre of remove was come, more grievous and dolefull then was imagined. For within the trench the deformitie of the spectacle was not so apparent: the field and the day discovered the shame, the images of the Emperours being plucked out of their places, the ensignes tied up; whereas contrarily the French banners glistered and plaied on every hand; in summe a silent and sorrowfull troupe, and as it were a long funerall pompe. The conductour Claudius Sanctus augmented the indignitie, one eyed, ill-favoured in countenance, and weaker in wit. The dishonor was doubled, when as the first Legion relinquished their campe at Bonna, upon the like commandement adjoynd themselves to the other: and the countrey men, that a little before quaked for feare at the very name of a Romane, when the fame of the Legions captivity was noised, ran out of the houses, and fields from all quarters, to gaze and feed their eyes with

so strange a sight. The Picentine wing could not endure the joy, and insulting of the people, but neglecting as well the threats as the promises of Sanctus, turned to Magontiacum; and meeting by chance in the way Longinus the murtherer of Vocula with their darts slew him for a begining of future amends. The Legions went forward in their purposed journey, and fate downe before the wals of Triers.

XXV. *An embassage of the Tencterians to them of Coleyn. Coleyn yielded to Civilis and Velleda upon reasonable composition.*

Civilis and Classicus puffed up with prosperous successe made a question, whether they should permit the city of Coleyn to bee sacked by their fouldiers. Their naturall inclination to cruelty and covetousnes drew them that way, but the policy of warre was against it, and especially the opinion of clemency needfull in those which are to found a new Empire: the remembrance also of a private benefit made Civilis more tractable toward them, because in the very beginning of the troubles taking his sonne in their towne they committed him to honourable custodie. Notwithstanding the nations beyond the Rhene envied the riches, and growing of the city, and judged there could be no end of war, unlesse that towne were either made a common habitation for all Germans indifferently, or else rased to the ground, and so the Ubii also disperfed. Wherefore the Tencteri, a people only severed from them by the river, sent an embassage, with instruction to declare their charge in the common councill of Coleyn, which one of the most imperious among the embassadours uttered in this peremptory manner. We thanke our gods and yours, and Mars cheife of all gods, that you are returned into the corps and communitie, and name of Germanie; and we rejoyce for your sakes, that you shall at length live as freemen among freemen. For hitherto the Romans have shut both water and land, and in a manner the very heaven it selfe betweene you & us to hinder our conferring & meeting, or else which is more contumelious to martiall men, that we should never have access to your city but unarmed, and naked almost and that guarded and paying a toll. But now, to the end that this mutuall league of alliance and friendship may stand & continue for ever, we require of you to pull downe the walles of your towne, the bulwarkes of your bondage, for even wilde beasts shut up forget their accustomed valour and vertue. Next we require you to kill all the Romans within your territory: liberty and Lords cannot dwell together. Then to bring out all their goods and divide them in common, that no man should hide any thing, or seeke to sever his cause from the rest. Moreover that it may be indifferent both for us, and you, as it was in times past to our fathers, to converse and inhabite upon both sides of the river. As nature hath communicated the day and the night to all men, so she hath layed open all lands of the world to valiant minds. Resume your ancient customes and lawes, laying aside all your effeminate pleasures, by which meanes, more then with armes the Romans subdue nations & countries. So shall you be a people uncorrupt, without admixtion of forraine manners or bloud: so shall you forget servitude, & either live in liberty, or be lords over others. The Agrippinenfes taking a time to deliberate: seeing neither future feares would permit them to yeeld to the conditions, nor their present estate plainly to refuse them, made answer in this manner. We have taken, you see, the first opportunity of recovering our liberty, perchance with more hast then good speede, that we might be joynd with you, and the rest of the Germans our kinsmen:

"kinsmen: but seeing the Roman armies do gather of all sides against us, it is meet
 "and safer to strengthen, then to pull downe the wals of our city. As for strangers,
 "Italians or other, which lived among us, either they are slaine in the warres, or fled
 "home to their countries. To them which be ancient inhabitants amongst us, and
 "are linked with us in marriage, and to their ofspring, this countrey is their own na-
 "tive soile: neither do we thinke you so unreasonale as to wish us to kill our parents,
 "our bretheren, or children. For taxe and tallages we acquire and discharge you for
 "ever: you shall passe and repasse without all impeachment, but onely in the day
 "time, and unarmed, till our raw and new amity be joynd, and confirmed by con-
 "tinuance and custome. Civilis and Velleda shall be arbiters: to their knowledge we
 "referre the cause, and the conclusion of the whole treatie. The Teucteri being
 "thus in part pacified, embassadours were sent to Civilis and Velleda with presents
 "who obteyned all things as they of Coleyn desired: onely they were not admitted
 "to have access of speech with Velleda, nor suffered to see her, for more keeping of
 "state, and to maintaine a more reverend conceit in the hearts of the people. She was
 "lodged in a high tower, and one of her kintred appointed to carry as from a goddesse
 "her oracles and answers.

XXVI. *The Bethasii, Tungri and Nervii yeeld
 to Civilis.*

Civilis thus strengthened with new increase of confederates, resolved to as-
 sociate the cities adjoining, or to warre against them if they resisted. So he
 tooke in the Sunici, and composed their able men into cohorts: but as he
 purposed to have passed further, Claudius Labeo with a raw company of Bethasii,
 Tungri, and Nervii, having seized upon the bridge of the Mosse, and trusting to the
 advantage of the place opposed himselfe and stopped his passage. The event of the
 skirmish was doubtfull in the straites, till the Germans swimming over the river
 came upon Labeos backe: and withall Civilis, whether upon a bold venture, or
 upon a set match, rushed into the midst of the Tungri, and with a loud voice pro-
 tested, that the warre was not undertaken to that end, that the Batavians & Treveri
 should be soveraigne lords over all other nations: Farre be all such arrogancy (quoth
 he) from our thought: only receive us as your good friends and allies. Lo here for
 my part I commit my selfe to your hands, employ me as you list, either for a captain
 or a common souldier. The common people was much moved at these words, and
 put up their swords, and Campanus and Juvenalis chiefe men of the Tungrians yeel-
 ded the whole enation unto him; Labeo before he was compassed in, fled away. The
 Bethasii also and Nervii yeelded themselves: whom Civilis adjoining to his power
 became very puissant and strong, all the cities either fearing, or favouring him vol-
 untarily.

XXVII. *Julius Sabinus with his Lingones giveth battell to the
 Sequani, and is overthrowne.*

IN the meane season Julius Sabinus, breaking downe the monuments & records
 of the Roman alliance, tooke upon him the style and title of Caesar, & led after
 him a huge and rude company of his countrey folkes, the Lingones, against the
 Sequani, a state bordering upon them, and faithfull to us. Neither did the Sequani
 refuse to wage battell, wherein fortune favoured the better side, and the Lingones

were

were discomfited. Sabinus as rashly he enterprised to give battell without due cir-
 cumsppection, so without feare of shame he ranne cowardly away: and to raise a ru-
 mour that he was dead, he set on fire the house into which he was knowne to have
 fled, and there was supposed voluntarily to have ended his life. But hereafter in
 convenient place we will shew by what meanes, and secret shifts he prolonged it,
 for the space of nine yeares, and withall the rare faithfulness of his friends, and the
 memorable example of his wife Epponina.

XXVIII. *A Diete of the cities of France summoned at Rheims. The preparations
 at Rome for the warre against the Batavians, Treveri, and Lingones.
 The Diete at Rheims resolveth upon peace, notwithstanding
 the embassage of the Treveri and Lingones, and
 the allegations of Tullius Valenti-
 nus to the contrary.*

THIS successe of the Sequani rebated and staid the violent course of the warre.
 The cities began to consider better of matters, and to remember their cove-
 nants and leagues with the Romanes, at the motion principally of the Remi,
 who sending messengers throughout France summoned a Diet, to deliberate what
 course they should take, keepe peace, or seek liberty. All these things reported at
 Rome to the worle, troubled Mutianus, least the captaines whom he had chosen,
 Annus Gallus and Petilius Cerealis, albeit excellent men, should hardly be able
 to wade through so mighty a warre. Neither was it expedient to leave the citie
 without a governour or head, and yet not in Domitians hand whose wilde and un-
 bridled affections were greatly feared: especially Antonius Primus, and Arrius
 Varus, as before we have shewed, being suspected not fully to favour the state.
 Moreover Varus was captaine of the Guard and strong, as having so many souldiers
 at commandement. Therefore Mutianus before his departure displaced him from
 the roome, and least he should be discontent altogether, made him chief officer for
 the provision of corne: and to pacifie the minde of Domitian, that bare some good
 will unto Varus, he set in his place over the Guard Aretinus Clemens, one neerely
 allied to the house of Vespasian, and dearly beloved of Domitian: alleading that
 his father had worthily performed the same place under Caius the Emperour. The
 name was acceptable to the souldiers, and the man, though a Senatour by calling,
 was thought sufficient to discharge both the roomes. The greatest men of the city
 were willed to provide for the voyage of France: some others were taken in by
 especiall suite. Domitian and Mutianus both of them prepared for the journey,
 but not both minded alike; Domitian hastening forward upon hope, and young
 blood: Mutianus seeking delaies to retain the fiercenesse of Domitian, lest if he
 put himselfe in possession of an army, through the heat of youth and ill counsellors,
 he should disturbe both the peace and the warre. The sixth and eighth of the
 victorious Legions, of the Vitellianists the one and twentieth, the second of the
 lately enrolled, were conducted part over the Penin and Cortian Alpes, part over
 the Graian: and moreover the fourteenth Legion was sent for out of Britanny, the
 sixth and tenth out of Spaine. Now the cities of France partly upon the fame of
 the host approaching, and partly of their owne disposition inclining to the milder
 course, met in councill at Rheims, where an embassage of the Treveri attended,
 whereof Tullius Valentinus was the chiefe man a principall firebrand of the warre,
 who with a premeditate oration applied to the Romans all those objections, where-
 next,

with

with mighty monarchies are usually charged, sparing no spite of words, nor art to aggravate matters against them; a factious person and apt to stir troubles, and willingly heard of the multitude, by reason of his eloquence such as it was. But Julius Aufpex, one of the noblemen of Rheims, discoursing of the puissance of the Roman power, and the great commodities of peace, and affirming that war might be commenced by cowards, but must be fought with the hazard of the most valiant men; and that even now the Roman legions were upon their backs, by this grave speech staied them all: the wiser sort with respect of duty and faith, the younger of danger and feare. And so they commended the courage of Valentinus, but followed the counsell of Aufpex. It is certain that the Treveri and Lingones had the worse audience in France, because in the comotion of Vindex they had sided themselves with Verginius. Many were discouraged by reason of the emulation that would ensue between the provinces; what should be the head of the warre, from whence should Law and soveraigntie be derived; and if they did conquer which should be the seate-towne of the Empire. They were not yet conquerours, and yet were they at discord brawling about the presence, some alleaging their treaties and ancient leagues, some their riches and present strength, and some their antiquitie. Whereupon the whole counsell detesting the future confusion, affirmed and ratified the present estate. Letters also were written unto Treveri in the name of the common counsell of France to desist from armes, whilest pardon might be easily obtained, and many would become suters in their behalfe if they repented. But Valentinus refused the courtesie, and at his returne stopped the ears of his city against this good motion, being a man rather plentifull in orations and speeches, then carefull for other provision of warre.

* vide jus auxiliumque potestatem.

XXIX. *The one and twentieth Legion surnamed Rapax cometh into Germany. Sextilius Felix with his cohorts overthroweth Tutor and the Treveri. Valentinus returning from the Diete stirreth up the warre againe, the two Legions transported from Novesium and Bonna to Triers departed to the Mediomatrici.*

IN like manner neither did the Treveri, nor Lingones, nor the rest of the states that revolted, carry themselves as the weight of the cause and the danger required: even the Captains themselves conferred not counsels together. But Civilis wandred about the wildes of Belgium to catch Claudius Labeo, or else to chase him out of the country: Cladius lay for the most part idle & lazie, and as it were took the fruition of his supposed gotten kingdome. Tutor also slackted to make himselfe strong upon the upper bank of the river, and with garrison to possesse the passages and heights of the Alpes, whilest in the meane time the one and twentieth Legion brake in from Vindonissa, and Sextilius Felix, with the Auxiliarie cohorts by the way of Rhoetia; unto whom a wing of horse-men called Singulares (who marching at the first by Vitellius appointment toward Italy revolted afterward to Vespasian) adjoyning themselves. Their captaine was Julius Brigantius Civilis sisters sonne, mortally hating his uncle, and hated againe; as commonly the enmities of nearest kinsfolkes, if once they fall out, are most despightfull and deadly. Tutor increased his power consisting of Treveri with a fresh supply of Vangiones, Caracates, and Triboci, and that which added most strength with old experienced Legio-

narie

nary souldiers, both footmen and horse, some corrupted with hope, and others awed with feare: who at the first killed a cohort sent before by Sextilius Felix, and anon when the Romane captaines and armies approached, redeeming their former fault fled over to them, and were followed by the Triboci, Vangiones and Caracates. So Tutor being left alone with his Treveri eschewing Magontiacum fled to Bingham, trusting upon the strength of the place, because he had broken down the bridge of the river Nava: but Sextilius with his cohorts following his footsteps, and finding a forde descried his power, and overthrew it. This discomfiture utterly discouraged the Treveri: and the common people casting their weapons away returned to their husbandry. And certaine of the nobility that they might seeme to be foremost in laying hostility aside, fled to those cities for refuge which had not broken with the Romanes. The Legions, which, as before we declared, went by commandement from Novesium and Bonna to Triers, voluntarily resumed the oath to Vespasian. These things were done in the absence of Valentinus: who at his returne in a desperate fury and rage stirred the coales, and kindled the fire anew. Whereupon the Legions got them away to the Mediomatrici, a state in league with the Romans: and Valentinus and Tutor perswaded the Treveri to take up their weapons againe, and go to the field, having first killed Herennius and Numisus the Lieutenants, to the intent that being without all hope of pardon, they might be more fastly united together in their wicked conspiracy.

XXX. *Petilius Cerealis overthroweth the Treveri, taketh Valentinus alive, adjoyneth the two Legions from the Mediomatrici, and maketh an oration to the Treveri.*

THIS was the state of the war, when Petilius Cerealis came to Magontiacum and by his presence raised great expectation, and hope of our side. Cerealis himselfe was desirous of the battell, and having a better grace sometime to contemne the enemies, then alwaies to beware them, with lusty courageous words he inflamed his souldier, as supposing, so soone as he could overtake the enemies without delay to joyne issue in the field. A supply of souldiers sent out of France he turned home againe, willing them to signifie so much to the rest in his name, that the Roman Legions sufficed for the defence of the Roman Empire: and that all our good friends and allies should returne to their peaceable businesse, without further care, assuring themselves; that the war, now that the Romanes personally undertook it, was as good as already dispatched. That increased the obedience of the French: for having received their men back againe, they supported more easily all taxes and tributes, and were the more ready to performe all points of their durie, because they saw their helpe was not needed. But Civilis and Cladius, when as they heard of the overthrow of Tutor, the slaughter of the Treveri, and the good successe every where of their enemies, all in a fright and haste seeke to unite their dispersed powers, sending messengers in the mean time to Valentinus one after another warning him to take heed to the main chance, and not rashly to venture and hazard the battell. With so much the more expedition Cerealis dispatched to the Mediomatrici, lying neerer upon the enemy, certaine to leade the two Legions thence to assaile them on that side: and assembling all the souldiers at Magontiacum, and the power which he had brought with him over the mountaines, himselfe marched forward, and at the third remove came to Rigodulum, a place naturally strong by reason of the high situation, and the river Mosella closing it in: where Val-

entinus

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lentinus with a great power of Treveri was incamped; and had made it stronger by art, casting trenches and ditches about it, and mightie huge stones to hinder the passage. But these fortifications terrified the Romane captaine nothing at all, but boldly he had the footmen breake thorow, and appointed his battell of horsemen to cline up the mountaine, despising the enemy, whom he knew to be raw, and unskilful in service, and not to have that advantage by the difference of the place, that himself had by the difference of men. At the going up of the hill some little stay was made, untill the enemies had spent their arrowes and darts: then coming to handie strokes, they were driven down headlong, and tumbled one over another, as it were stones at the fall of a building; and part of the horsemen fetching about by easier ascents took many of the chiefe nobility of Belgium prisoners and amongst others Valentinus Generall that day of the field. The next day Cerealis entred the town of Triers. The souldiers extremely desirous to raze the city alleaging that here Claudi-
 ficius, here Tutor was borne: here were the men through whole wicked conspiracy the Legions were besieged and slain. What had poore Cremona deserved to greatly, as to be rooted out of the body of Italy because it differed the victory only one night: here in the confines of Germany stood the seat-town of rebellion entire, and triumphing with the spoiles, and slaughter of our armies and Generals. As for the spoile he might at his pleasure dispose of to the Princes behoofe, they could be contented with the burning and ruines of that rebellious colony, to requite thereby in some part the destruction of so many camps. Cerealis for fear of insamy, if he should be thought to nasse his souldiers in licentiousnes and cruelty, repressed them anger and they obeyed being become, now they had left off civil war, of more modest behaviour also in forrain. Then the miserable pitifull spectacle of the Legions, which came from the Mediomatrici, drew mens minds to the consideration thereof. Upon the guilt of their offence they stood with a sad and sorrowfull countenance, casting their eies down to the ground, no joyful greeting when the armies met nor answering ought to those that sought to encourage and comfort them, but hiding themselves in their tents, not abiding to looke on the light: not so much amazed with danger or fear, as with the shame & discredit. And even the conquerors were astonished at the sight, who not daring to speak begged their pardon with silence and teares, till such time as Cerealis with comfortable words revived their spirits, affirming that those things, which indeed came to passe through the mutinouseffect of the souldiers, or the dissention of the leaders, or the malice of the enemies, were but farall mischances, which could not be escaped: and therefore that day they should account the first both of their service, and oath: their former facts neither the Prince, nor he would remember. Then were they received into the same camp & proclamation made throughout all the bands, that no man in contention or anger should object to any of them their misdeeds or mishaps. Then calling the Treveri & the Legions to an assembly he spake unto them in this wise. I was never practised in the art of speaking: my profession is arms, & with arms I have made good proof of the vertue of the Romans. But because words prevaile so much with you, & I see you esteeme good and evil, not by their own natures, but by the speeches of factious persons, I thought it expedient to say some thing, which now that the warre in a manner is finished may be more behooveful for you to heare, then for us to speak. The Romans, their Captains and Leaders, entred your countrey, and the rest of France, not pricked by any desire of theirs, but requested thereto by your predecessors at what time civill dissentions had tired & ruined them and the Germans called in by one side brought both into thralldome. How many battels we have

fought against the Cimbri and Teutones, what paines our armies have taken, and with what successe we have handled our selves in the German wars for your sakes, it is notoriously knowne; neither doe we therefore with so much expence of money and men guard the Rhene for the safety of Italy, but lest some other Ariovistus should passe and conquer the kingdome of France. Or do you think your selves better beloved of Civilis & the Baravians, and the Germans over the Rhene, then your fathers and grandfathers were of their predecessors? the same causes stil are remaining, and so will be for ever, to move the Germans to passe into France; to wit, satisfying of their pleasures and lusts, avarice, and desire of changing feat, that leaving their mires and deserts, they may take possession of this fruitfull countrey, and you the inhabitants thereof, yea but liberty and glorious shewes are pretended. Where was ever any, I pray you, that sought to enthrall or usurpe over other, but he cloaked his purposes with some goodly titles? France never was without petty tyrants and wars, till ye came under our jurisdiction. We, albeit we have been often provoked, have put that onely as conquerors upon you, whereby peace might be maintained. For neither peace can be maintained without armes, nor armes without wages, nor wages without tribute: all other things are like to us both. You commonly govern our Legions, you are the Presidents of these and other provinces, no prerogative is kept from you, or reserved for us. Againe, they which dwell far off, feeble the commodity alike of a good prince, whereas tyrants oppresse most the neereff. As you endure and support with patience a barren yeare, if it happen, and unseasonable weather, and such other defects of nature; even so tolerate a little and beare with the riotous life or avarice of governours. Faults will be so long as there be men: but neither are they continuall, and amends is commonly made by better which follow. Unlesse peradventure you hope for a more moderate, or easier government under the reigne of Tutor and Claudi-
 ficius, or that with lesse tribute then now is payd, armies can be maintained to hold out the Germans and Britans. For if the Romans, which the gods defend, should be dispossessed, what els can ensue but wars of nation against nation; and the confusion of the whole world: This frame is the workmanship of eight hundred yeares, good fortune and discipline, which cannot be dissolved without the destruction of the dissolvers; but your danger, which have gold and riches the chiefeft causes of war, of all is the greatest. Therefore embrace your peace, and love that city whereof both you and we are members alike. You have proved both fortunes: let them be a warning unto you to chuse rather subjection with safety then rebellion with ruine. With this speech he settled their mindes and lightened their hearts who feared a heavy doome.

XXXI. Civilis and Claudi-
 ficius write to Cerealis.

At the time that the Romane armie was within Triers, Civilis and Claudi-
 ficius sent letters to Cerealis, the contents were, that Vespasian was dead, although the Postes concealed the matter: that Rome and Italy were consumed and wasted with inward warre. As for Mutianus and Domitian they were nothing else, but vaine names without forces: if Cerealis list undertake the Empire of France, it were his best course, and they would not be against it, contenting themselves with their own cities and confines, or if battell pleased him better, even that they would not refuse. To these points Cerealis answered nothing to them, but sent the messenger that brought the letters, away to Domitian.

XXXII. *Civilis with his confederates overthrowne by Cerealis at Triers.*

IN the meane season the enemies began to march, and approached on every side in severall companies: whom Cerealis permitting to joyn, was blamed by many for suffering them to unite, with whom he might have fought single, and defeated them easily being divided. The Roman army cast a ditch and trench about their campe, in the which they were before unadvisedly lodged without any defence. Among the Captaines of the other side there was diversitie of opinions, and the matter debated both waies. Civilis thought it expedient to stay for the Germanes coming which dwelt over the Rhene, the terrour of which nations would tread under foot the Romane powers: as for the Frenchmen it mattered not much what way they went, being nought els but a prey to the conquerors; and yet the strength of France, the Belgians, had either openly declared for them, or at least secretly wished them well. Contrarily Tutor affirmed, that by delay the Romanes would grow and increase, so many whole hostes coming in from every side, one Legion being already transported out of Britanny, others sent for out of Spaine, and many Legions at hand out of Italy, not of raw souldiers, but old and well expert in war: as for the Germanes they looked for, what were they else but a kinde of unprofitable troubles of a campe, out of all awe and obedience to superiours, that would not be commanded nor ruled, but do all as they listed themselves? Now for money and gifts, the onely means to corrupt the Germanes, the Romanes had more abundance, and no man was so hasty to fight, but would rather chuse quietnesse then danger with the same hire. Whereas if they would presently fight, Cerealis had no other Legions as yet, but onely the remnants of the Germane army entangled with an oath to the Empire of France. And moreover this their late unlooked for successe against Valentinus, & his rude untrained company, would be a baite unto the and their Generall to further rashnesse, and therefore they would without doubt venture againe, and so fall into the hands not of an unskillfull youth, better seene in words and babble, then armes and military feates, but of Civilis and Classicus; at the very sight of whom the enemies would tremble, calling to remembrance their former feares, and flights, and famines, and how oft they had been taken and pardoned their lives. Neither doe the Treveri and Lingones keep in with the Romanes now upon love and good will, but for feare: which take ye away and they will resume their weapons againe. Classicus approving the opinion of Tutor decided the controversie, & forthwith they proceed to execution. The middle battell was assignd to the Ubi and Lingones, on the right side stood the Batavian cohorts, on the left the Bructeri and Tencteri: in this array partly from the mountains and part betweene the way and the river Mosella they assailed our army so suddenly, that Cerealis, lying abroad that night out of the campe, had word brought to his chamber and bed all at one instant, that the battell was begun, and his men overthrowne rating at the first their dastardlinesse that brought in the newes, untill with his owne eyes he saw the whole message clearly confirmed, the campe of the Legions broken up & entered into, the horsemen defeated, the bridge over Mosella in the midst of the towne possessed by the enemy. In which confusion Cerealis behaving himselfe without all feare, with his owne hands drew back them which fled away, and manfully, albeit unarmed among so many weapons, with his fortunate rashnesse, and assistance of some valiant souldiers coming in, recovered the bridge, and left

left a chosen company of men to guard it. Then returning to the campe he found the bands of the Legions, which were taken at Bonna and Novesium, disbanded and scattered, few souldiers at their ensignes, and the standers almost circumvented. "Whereupon being full of indignation and wrath, You forsake not (quoth he) Hordeonius or Vocula, you can alleadge no falsehood or treason in me: neither ever did I commit any act that needed excuse, save onely in affirming you had forgotten your oath to France and remembred your allegiance to the Roman Empire, I shall, and so am contented to be numbred with Numisus and Herennius, that all your Lieutenants may be said to have died either by the hands of their own souldiers or else of the enemy. Go tell Vespasian, or which is neerer Civilis and Classicus, that you have left your Generall in the field: Legions shortly will come, doubt ye not, which shall neither suffer me to be long unrevenge, nor you unpunished. The accusation was true, and the Captaines and Tribunes spake, and urged to the same purpose. So they railed and made head by cohorts and bands, for the whole battell could not be displaid, partly because the enemy was upon them, and partly by reason of their tents and stufte, which hindred them greatly fighting within the trenches. Tutor and Classicus and Civilis each in their severall quarters animated their men to fight, the Frenchmen for liberty, the Batavians for glory, and the Germans for spoile, and all went with the enemy till the one and twentieth Legion knitting together in a more open place then the rest, valiantly received the adversaries charge; and recharging by and by drave them from their ground. It was not without the speciall help of the gods, that our enemies being victorious so suddenly altered their mindes, and turned their backs. They affirmed afterward the sight of the cohorts terrified them, which at the first joyning being defeated, united againe in the hill tops, and seemed a new supply in their sight. But indeed the chiefe impediment of their victory was, that they left off to deale with the enemy, and quarelled foolishly among themselves for the spoile. Cerealis as he had almost undone all by negligence, so by diligence and constancy he recovered it againe, and following his fortune took the same day, and razed the enemies campe.

¹ Betweene the way and the river? Tacitus, might well in this place, after the example of the most approved story writers have set us down a more plain and particular chorography of the place wherein this battel was fought, of whether side of the river the campe stood, and how in respect of the towne: for as it is written it is, in my fancy, hard to conceive, not onely to us now, but even to them for whose use he wrote it himselfe we will suppose that every comon man that lived in Rome in those times knew this: it, which he telleth us of here, and such other perititious matters in the life of Tutor is necessary for the full conceiving of the place. Beside that perchance, alter the time as you list, some objections may be picked out of the text here hardly answerable.

XXXIII. *They of Coleyn kill the Germans which they finde in their towne: and cut a cohort of Civilis lying at Tolbiacum in pieces. The Caninefates fight prosperously against the fleet of Britanny, and Civilis against some of Cerealis horsemen.*

THe souldier without any long intermission was straight waies called to a new service. They of Coleyn requested their helpe, and offered to surrender the wife and sister of Civilis, and the daughter of Classicus, which were left with them as pledges of mutuall amity, and in the mean season slew the Germans which lay disperfed in their towne: whereupon growing into extreme feare they had just cause to cry for aide before the enemies gathering new strength should resume courage, or prosecute the revenge. For Civilis also purposed thitherward, beside other

competent forces, upon confidence principally of his most courageous cohort composed of Chauci and Frisii, which was not present in the overthrow, and lay at Tolbiacum in the territory of Coleyn, but he was diverted from that determination by a sorrowfull message, that the cohort was massacred by the fraud of the Agrippinenses, who when the Germanes had filled themselves with wine and good cheere, and so were laied to sleepe, shut up the doores, put fire to their lodging, and burned them alive: and withall Cerealis was come himselfe with speed to relieve them. Moreover another feare troubled Civilis minde not a little, lest the fourteenth Legion together with the navy of Britanny should waste and spoile the Baravian border that lyeth upon the Ocean. But Fabius Priscus the Lieutenant, having crossed the seas at the shortest cut, led forth the Legions by land into the coasts of the Nervii and Tungri, and those countries yielded themselves to the Romanes. As for the navy, the Caninefates venterously made out against it, and took or sunck the greater part of the ships: and the same Caninefates defeated a multitude of the Nervii, voluntarily gathered together to fight in favor of the Romans. Claficus also against certaine horsemen, which Cerealis sent before to Novesium, skirmished prosperously. Which small but often losses did dimme and diminish the glory of the victory lately obtained.

XXXIIII. *The sonne of Vitellius is slaine. Antonius Primus discontented saileth from Rome to Vespasian lying at Alexandria.*

ABout the same time Mutianus commanded the sonne of Vitellius to be slaine, pretending that a perfect union could not grow, unlesse all seeds of warre were utterly rooted out. Moreover he would not permit that Antonius Primus should be assumed into Domitians traine in the voyage of France, having him in jealousy, by reason of the souldiers love towards him, and because of the mans haughty proud nature, who could not abide any equall, much lesse a superior. So Antonius mal-content went to Vespasian, who received and entertained him in good sort, albeit not according to his expectation. The merits of the man, by whose conduct doublelesse the war was consummate and ended, distracted him one way, and Mutianus letters another: and withall the rest put forward, inveying against him as an insolent and intolerable person, joyning thereto the faults of his former life. And he for his part by his arrogant behaviour ceased not to provoke displeasure, odiously inculcating at every word, what things he had done, and how greatly he had deserved of the cause, despising the rest as men of no service in war, and Cæcinnas a dishonoured captive, and yielded person. Whereupon by little and little he began to be in lesse credit, and lightlier esteemed of the Prince, notwithstanding outwardly he countenanced him as before.

XXXV. *Certaine miracles which happened whilest Vespasian staid at Alexandria attending for a good winde, and a seasonable time of the year.*

IN those moneths which Vespasian staid at Alexandria, attending the ordinary summer windes, and a sure season by sea, many miracles happened, whereby the speciall favour of the gods and their good will towards Vespasian was evidently signified. A certaine poore blinde man of Alexandria, knowne in all the

^a Suet. l. 1. c. 7. *autoris & quasi majestas quedam sic, in opinione & adulatione principis erat, hęc quoque accessit: e plebe quidam tumulus, item alius debilis crure,*

towne

towne by reason of his infirmity, warned by the god Serapis, whom that superstitious nation adored above other gods, fell downe at the feete of Vespasian, and humbly besought him with teares to remedy his blindnesse, praying him to vouchsafe with the spittle of his mouth to wet his eyes round about. Another lame of a hand, by the commandement of the same god, prayed Vespasian that it would please him to tread upon him with his foot. Vespasian at the first scorned and rejected their suits. But when they persisted still instant upon him, he began to doubt with himselfe, fearing on the one side discredit, and opinion of vanity, on the other upon the importunatenesse of the diseased, and speeches of flatterers, entring into some hope, at the last he willed the Physicians to consider, whether such blindnesse and lamenesse were possible by humane helpe to be cured. The Physicians according to their custome disputed the point diversly; discouraging out of their learning, that it might be, the blinde mans eyes were not perished, but onely overgrown with some skinn, which being removed, the sight would returne: likewise the other mans limbes were dislocated, and might with force conveniently used be set right again; and perchance it is the pleasure of the gods to restore them to health, and to chuse the Prince for the means of performing the same. Finally if the remedy had good successe, the glory would redound to the Prince that did it: if not, the scorne should light upon the poore patients that importuned him. Whereupon Vespasian supposing all things feasible to his good fortune, and nothing now incredible, stepped forth with a merry countenance, and in the presence of a great multitude, that stood by attending the event, did as they had desired him to do, and presently the lame recovered the use of his limbes, and the blinde of his eyes. They which were present at both affirme both to be true, even now at this time when nothing is gotten by lying. Then Vespasian became more desirous to visite the sacred seat of the god, and there to aske counsell concerning the affaires of the Empire; and commanding all to avoide, he entred into the temple, and as he was busied about his devotion suddenly he saw behinde his back, as he thought, one of the noble men of Egypt named Basilides, whom he knew to be sick in his bed many daies journey from Alexandria. Then he enquired of the Priests whether Basilides that day had entered the church and of others whom he met whether he had beene seene in the city or no: at the last sending horsemen of purpose to see, hee found at the same moment Basilides was no lesse then fourescore miles off: then he perceived it was a divine vision, and out of the name of Basilides derived an answer. The originall of this god hath not hitherto beene declared by any of our writers. The Egyptian Priests doe report the history thus: that Ptoleme the king, hee which first of the Macedonians ordered the kingdome of Egypt, when hee had walled the litle built city of Alexandria, erected temples, & instituted religious rites, saw in his sleepe a faire goodly young man much taller then the ordinary stature, who warned him to send into Pontus of his most trusty friends, and fetch thence his image: that it would bring great prosperity to the whole kingdom, and that place would especially flourish where the image should be received: and straightwaies the young man seemed to be carried up into heaven out of his sight in a great flame of fire. Ptoleme moved with so great and prodigious a miracle, declared his vision to the Egyptian Priests: who are wont to interpret such things. But when he saw them utterly ignorant of Pontus and forraigne matters, he asked Timotheus an Athenian one of the Eumolpidae, whom he had sent for from Eleusis to have the chiefe government of matters of religion, what devotion or what god that might be? Timotheus, conferring with some which had travelled in Pon-

tus,

^b Some think it to be the Priest in mount Camel mentioned 2. hist. but in the circumstances doe hardly agree. ^c Deduced of *Basileus*. ^d The same story is recorded by *Plut. lib. de Iside & Osiride*, with some difference in circumstances: and by *Eusebius* in his comment upon *Dionysius* more agreeably to the tradition here.

exercife of all good qualities and arts. And befide his owne difpofition clearly and wholly given to good, it was a good means to withhold him from the allurements of vice, that he hapned to have the town of ^b Maflilia for the place of his firft abroad and ftudy in youth, a city compounded of Greek civility and provincially frugalitie well fortified together. I have heard him fay, I remember, that being young he had addicted himfelf to the ftudy of philofophie in earneft fort, and beyond the meafure of a Roman and Senatour, had not the wifedome of his mother corrected and cooled the heat of that humour. That noble and haughty minde of his was carried to embrace with more fervency then difcretion, the beauty and gay fhew of that high and glorious profeflion: but reafon anon and riper years reformed his judgement: and fo he retained a point moft hard to be kept, of wifedome a mean.

His firft fervice in war was in Britanny under Suetonius Paullinus; into whole train being affumed he was of that diligent & difcreet leader well liked: not fpend- ing the time in riot after the manner of youths, which convert warfare into wantonneffe; nor accepting the title of tribunefhip without skill in the fervice, as a calling of eafe for pleasure and gadding abroad; but wholly directing his mind to know the province, to be knowne of the army, to learne of the fkillfull, to follow the beft, to defire no employment upon vain-glory, to refufe none for feare, joyntly to fhew himfelfe both careful and earneft in action. Neither did our affairs in Britanny ftand at any time in the like termes of doubt and diftrefle: our old fouldiers were flain, our colonies burned, our armies entrapped, then we fought for to live, afterward for to win. All which exploits, though performed by the counfel and conduct of another, and confequently the credit of the caufe, and glory of recovering the countrey appertaining to the Lieutenant, yet were they occasions to increafe in the young man skill, experience, and defire of military renowne, a qualitie not fo acceptable in thofe feafons, wherein great vertues were greatly fufpected, and a great fame endangered more then a bad.

From Britanny departing to Rome to bear offices, he joynd himfelf in matrimony with Domitia Decidiana, a woman of honourable birth: which marriage was a countenance, and a ftrength to his further purpofes: and they lived together in matvellous unity with mutuall love, and "yeelding preeminence the one to the other; a point otherwife not greatly material, faving that a good wife is a great commendation, as well as an ill a reproch. Being Queftor his lot fell in Asia with Salvius Titianus the Proconfull. Neither was he withdrawne by that meanes from his wonted integrity, although both the province was rich and readily miniftred matter to offend, and his Proconfull a man of infatiable greedineffe would with any remiffeffe willingly have redeemed at his hand mutuall connivence and covering of faults. There his wife bare him a daughter both to his ftay and his comfort, for the fon he brought him before was already decefed having lived but a little. After his Queftorship till he was created Tribune of the people, and the year alfo of his Tribunefhip he paffed over in reft and quietneffe, well weighing the nature of Neroes time wherein sloth was a vertue, and to do nothing the greateft wifdome of all. His Pretorship alfo he paffed over in the fame fort, with the like f Silence: for none of the judiciall places hapned unto him. The plaies and vanities of the office he governed and executed by the rule of reafon and meafure of wealth: far from exceffe, and yet not without magnificence and honour. Anon afterward being elected by Galba to view and furvey the jewels and gifts belonging to the temples, by moft diligent and ftrait fearch he procured full reftitution of all fave onely of thofe which Nero had taken.

The

The yeere following wounded his minde, & plunged his houfe in a heavy mifhap. For Othoes fleet roving at large licentiously, in wafting Intemelium a part of Liguria, flew the mother of Agricola in her own grounds, fpoiled the grounds, & carried away moft part of the wealth which was the caufe of the murder. As Agricola went to folemnize the funerals he received advife, that Vefpafian was in armes for the Empire, and without more advife joynd himfelfe to the fide. Domitian as yet was but young, & challenged not, as an Emperors fon, any thing elfe fave only licentious life. The affaires of the Empire and ftate of the city were governed at the beginning, and wholly directed by Mutianus alone. By commiffion from whom Agricola being fent to take Mufters, and behaving himfelf in that charge with great integrity and courage, he was by the fame Murianus, upon meffage received of the feditious demeanor of Rofcius Coelius made in his place Lieutenant of the twentieth Legion, a Legion which flowly had sworn to Vefpafian, and was out of awe, or awed much rather even the Lieutenants generall; much leffe was the Legions Lieutenant of power to refrain them, whether through the weakneffe of his own arme, or hard mouth of his fouldiers, it is not affured. Thus being elected both to fucceed and revenge, he fhewed an example of moft rare moderation, in chufing to feeme rather to have found, then to have made, them dutifull fouldiers. At that time Vettius Bolanus was Lieutenant of Britanny, governing in a gentler and milder manner, then was fit for fo fierce a countrey. Under him Agricola cunningly conforming himfelf to that humour, and not unlearned to joyn profitable counfels with honeft, tempered the heat of his nature, & reftained from growing his haucie defires. Soon after Petilius Cerealis was appointed Lieutenant generall there, under whom the vertues of Agricola had a large field and free fcope to fhew themfelves in. For Cerealis communicated and imparted unto him, firft himfelf and his counfels, then actions of labour and danger, and laftly glory alfo; committing oftentimes for a proof to his leading fome portion of the army, fometimes many more, according to the fuccesse. Neither did Agricola at any time brag of his doings as feeking to win fame for himfelf, but humbly alwayes as a minifter referred to his fuperior, and Generall, the good fortune and honour of all his exploits. So by his vertue impartially doing his charge, and his modefty in fparingly fpeaking thereof, he was without envy, but not without glory. Upon his return from the Lieutenantship of the Legion, Vefpafian of ficed memory elected him into the company of the Patritians, and afterward fent him Lieutenant generall into Aquitania, an honourable roome, both in refpect of the office it felfe, and as being a way to the Confulship by the Prince purpofed unto him. The received opinion is, that military wits are not refined to that fharpneffe and fubletie, that is practifed in Pleas and Courts of juftice, becaufe the martiall law is but groffe and blunt, executing moft by the hand: notwithstanding Agricola, though brought up in the field, upon a naturall wit and difcourte of reafon, among thofe peaceable men, carried himfelfe eafily with great uprightneffe and juftice. Now the feafons of affaires and vacations he divided difcreetly and well: in times of audience and judgements grave, heedfull, auctere, and yet mercifull too: that dutie performed, no face any more or fhew of authoritie: fowre looks and ftately, ftrait and hard dealing were laid apart: in fuch fort, that neither his gentle nor courteous behaviour weakened the reverence due to his perfon, nor his feverity the love: a thing rarely fo feen. To fpeak of integrity, and forbearing of bribery in fo great a perfonage, were a wrong to his vertues: even glory, upon which good men alfo oftentimes dote, he never affected by oftentation of vertue, or by artificiall means: farre from emulation with his colleagues, farre from

R

contention

b Strabo lib. 4.
c Samolodunum
and P. rufus
um: but this
later was mu-
nicipium, and
not colonia in
the ftraiteft
of termes.

"Or, follow-
ing another
fenfe of the
Latine words
which may
feeme doubt-
full; and each
preferring the
other both
vertuous alike,
faying that the
commendati-
on is fo much
the greater in
a good wife, as
the reproche is
the more in a
bad.
d Tac. i. hif.
fpeaking of
Galba, and the
fame times,
clivus natali-
um & meus
temporum ob-
itum, ut quod
fignificat fa-
pientia voca-
tur.

Of this mar-
ter we read in
Tacitus. 2. hif.

For Aquita-
nia was then a
peaceable pro-
vince, void of
wars and fould-
iers.

contention with the Procurators; whom to overcome he esteemed no honour, and to be overcome a foule shame. In that Lieutenantship having spent scarcely three yeeres, he was called home to be Confull, the opinion going also, that Britanny should be assigned him, without any speech given our by himself to that purpose, but because he seemed sufficient and meet: fame faileth not alwayes, sometime she chuseth right. Being Confull he assured to me his daughter, even then of rare hope, and after his Consulship solemnized the marriage: and straight thereupon was made Governour of Britanny, having besides a Pontificall dignitie annexed.

The fire of Britanny and dwellers, described by fundry writers, I purpose heere to declare, not to compare in finenesse or wit, but because it was then first thorowly subdued: so that such things, as our elders without perfect discovery, have polished with pen, shall now be set faithfully down upon knowledge. Britanny, of all Ilands known to the Romanes the greatest, coasteth by East upon Germany, by West toward Spaine, and hath France on the South: Northward no land lying against it, but only a vast and broad sea beating about it. The figure and fashion of whole Britanny, by Livy of the ancient, & Fabius Rusticus of the modern, the most eloquent authors, is likened to a long dish or two edged axe, and so is the part shapen indeed of this idle Caledonia, whereupon the fame went of the whole, as it seemeth: but there is beside a huge and enorme tract of ground, which runneth beyond unto the furthestmost point, growing narrow and sharpe like a wedge. This point of the utmost sea the Romane fleet then first of all doubling discovered Britanny to be an Iland, and withall found out and subdued the Iles of Orkney before that time never known. Thyle also was lookt aloofe, which snow hitherto and winter had covered. The sea therabout they affirme to be dull and heavy for the oare and not to be raised as others with winds: belike because land and mountaines are rare, which minister cause and matter of tempests, and because a deep masse of continuall sea is slower stirred to rage. To examine the nature of the Ocean, and tides, pertaineth not to this worke, and many have done it before: one thing I will adde, and may safely avouch, that the sea nowhere in the world rangeth and ruleth more freely, carrying by violence so much river water hither and thither, and is not content to flow and to ebbe so far as the banks, but inserteth & windeth it self into the land, shooting into the mountains and cliffes as to his own channell. Now what manner of men the first inhabitants of Britanny were, forraine brought in, or borne in the land, as among a barbarous people, it is not certainly knowne. Their complexions are different, and thence may some conjectures be taken: for the red haire of the dwellers in Caledonia, and mightie limbs import a German descent: The coloured countenances of the Silures, and haire most commonly curled, and site against Spaine, seeme to induce, that the old Spaniards passed the Sea and possessed those places. The nearest to France likewise resemble the French, either because they retain of the race from which they descended, or that in countries butting together the same aspects of the heavens doe yeeld the same complexions of bodies. But generally it is most likely the French being nearest did people the land. In their ceremonies and superstitious perswasions, there is to be seene an apparent conformitie: the language differeth not much: like boldnesse to challenge and set into dangers: when dangers are come, like feare in refusing: saving the Britans make shew of more courage, as being not mollified yet by long peace; for the French also were once, as we read, redoubted in war, till such time as giving themselves over to peace and idlenesse cowardise crept in, and shipwracke was made both of manhood and libertie together: and so it is also befallne to those of the Britans which were subdued.

subdued of old ; the rest remaine such as the French were before. Their strength in the field consisteth in footmen ; some countreys make warre in wagons also : the greater personage guideth the wagon , his waiters and followers fight out of the same. Heretofore they were governed by kings , now they are drawne by petty Princes into partialities and factions : and that is the greatest helpe we have against those puissant nations , that they have no common counsell together : seldom it chanceth that two or three states meet and concurre to repulse the common danger : so whilst one by one fighteth , all are subdued. The skie very cloudy and much given to raine without extremitie of cold. The length of the dayes much above the measure of our climate. The nights light , and in the furthermost part of the Iland so short , that between the going out and coming in of the day the space is hardly perceived , and when clouds doe not hinder they affirme that the sunshine is seene in the night , and that it neither setteth nor riseth but passeth along : because belike the 7 extreame and plain parts of the earth project a low shadow and raise not the darknesse on height ; so the night falleth under the skie and the stars. The soile , setting aside olive and vine and the rest , which are proper to warmer countreys , taketh all kinde of grain and beareth it in abundance : it shooteth up quickly and ripeneth slowly ; the cause of them both is the same , the overmuch moisture of the soile and the ayre. Britanny beareth gold and silver , and other metals to enrich the conquerour. The Ocean bringeth forth pearle also , not orient , but duskish and wan , which proceedeth , as some doe suppose , of lack of skill in the gatherers , for in the red sea they are pulled panting alive from the rocks , in Britanny cast out by the Sea , and so taken up. For my part I doe rather beleieve the nature of the pearle not to yeeld it , then that our covetousnesse could not finde out the way to gather aright. The Britans endure levies of men and money and all other burdens imposed by the Empire patiently and willingly if insolencies be forborne , indignities they cannot abide , being already subdued as to be subjects , but not to be slaves.

The first of the Romanes which entered Britanny with an army was Julius Cæsar, who although he terrified the inhabitants with a battell which went on his side, and gained the shore, yet may seeme rather to have shewed the place to posteritie, then delivered them to the possession thereof.

Then civill warres ensued, and bandings of men of great qualitie against the free state and long after that lay Britanny forgotten, even in peaceable times. Augustus teamed it a policy, and chiefly Tiberius.

That Caius had a meaning to invade Britanny, it is certainly known: but his rash running head and hasty repentance, and chiefly his great attempts against Germany turning to nothing, everted that purpose.

Claudius^m did first with effect prosecute the matter, transporting Legions and Aydes, and assuming Vespasian into the action, which was the beginning of the greatnesse whereunto he after attained: some countreys were subdued, some kings were taken, and Vespasian made known to the world.

The first Lieutenant General was Aulus Plautius, then Ostorius Scapula, both excellent warriors: and so by little and little was the neereſt part of the Iland reduced to the forme of a province; and beſides a colony of old ſouldiers eſta- bliſhed there. Certaine cities were alſo beſtowed in pure gift upon king Cogidu- nus (who remained moſt faithfull even to our daies) according to an old cuſtome anciently received of the Romanes to uſe even kings themſelves for instruments of bondage.

Then Didius Gallus succeeded in place, who kept that which his predecessour had

had gotten, and builded some few castles further in the land, to win by that means a fame of augmenting the office.

¹ Tac. 14. Ann.
Of the success of his affairs read Tac. 14. Annal.
where they are more largely described.
² Tac. 14. Ann.

After Didius succeeded Verantius, who died within one yeere.

Then Suetonius Paullinus for two yeeres space behaved himselfe fortunately, subduing the nations and establishing garrisons. Upon confidence whereof going to assaile the Ile of Mona, which ministred supply to the rebels, he disurnished the countrey behinde and laied it open to all opportunities of the enemy. For through the absence of the Lieutenant, the Britans free of feare began to discoure the miseries of bondage, to lay their injuries together, and aggravate them by constructions. That their patience had profited them nothing, save onely to draw heavier burdens upon them, as men that would gently beare. That whereas in former times they had onely one king, now were there two thrust upon them, the Lieutenant to sucke their blood, the Procuratour their substance: whose disagreeing was the torment of the subjects, their agreement their undoing; the one vexing by souldiers and captains, the other by wrongs and indignities. That now their covetousnesse and lust layed hold, without exception, of all: and whereas in field he that spoyleth is commonly stronger, now were they by cowards and weaklings for the most part dispossessed of their houses, bereaft of their children, injoynd to yeeld souldiers for other mens behoofe, as though they were men, that knew how to do nothing else, save only to die for their own countrey. For otherwise what a small handfull of souldiers were come over, if the Britans would fall to reckon themselves! that

³ In the battell against Quintilius Varus.

Germany so had shak't off the yoke, having no Ocean sea, but only a river, for their defence. That their causes of taking armes were urgent and just, their wives and children, their parents, and countrey, whereas the Romanes had nothing to move them to warre, but their own covetousnesse and wanton lust: and that they would doubtlesse depart, as Caesar Julius had done, if the Britans would imitate the vertues of their progenitors, and not be dismayed with the doubtfull event of one skirmish or two. That men in misery had more courage and vehemency to attempt, more constancy to continue: and now even the gods seeme to pite the poore Britans estate, having sent the Romane Captain out of the way, and confined the army, as it were, into another land. That now being assembled to advise and deliberate together, they had attained the hardest point, in an action of that nature, wherein without question it were more danger, to be taken, then consulting, doing.

⁴ Tac. 14. Annal.
her name is written Boadicea, and Boadicea, in X. lib. copie, Boadicea.

With these and the like speeches inciting one another, by common content they resolve to take armes under the conduct of Voadicaa Lady of the blood of their Kings: for in matter of governing in chiefe they make no distinction of sexe. And first pursuing the souldiers which lay divided in garrisons, and winning the forts, they invaded anon the Colony it self, as being the seat of their slavery: in facking whereof no kinde of crueltie was omitted, which either anger or the rage of victory might induce a barbarous people to practise. And unlesse upon knowledge had of the revolt Paulinus had come to succour with speed, Britanny had then been lost, the which with one prosperous battell he restored to her former obedience, and patient bearing the yoke, some few keeping out and remaining in armes, whom the guilt of the rebellion excluded from all hope of pardon, and some feare also of the Lieutenants private displeasure: who though otherwise a singular man, yet seemed to shew too much haucie and hard dealing toward those which yeelded themselves, and to revenge in a sort his own injury. Whereupon Petronius Turpilianus was sent in his place as a more intreatable person, and a stranger to their faults, and therefore more ready to receive their repentance: who having composed the former troubles, and daring no further, delivered Trebellius Maximus the charge.

Trebellius

Trebellius a man unfit for action, and altogether unexpert in service, by a kinde of courteous & milde regiment intertained the countrey in quiet. For now the Britans also had learned good manners, not rudely to repulse the sugred assaults & flatterings of vices; and the disturbance of civill dissensions ministred a lawfull excuse for his doing nothing. But the souldier accustomed to warfare, waxt wanton with ease, and grew to be mutinous. Trebellius by flying away and hiding himselfe eschewed their first indignation, and anon resuming his place without majestie, without authoritie, he ruled by way of intreatie, and at his souldiers discretion: and so coming as it were to a capitulation, the army for licence to do what them listed, the Captain for safetie of his own life, the mutiny ended without any bloodshed.

Veetius Bolanus succeeded in place, and in the same loosenesse of discipline, the civill warres continuing still; like default against the enemy, like licence in the camp, saving that Bolanus, a good honest man, not odious for any crime, in stead of obedience had gotten good will.

But when as Vespasian with the rest of the world recovered Britanny also, great Captains, good souldiers were sent, and the hope of the enemy was greatly abated. For straightwaies Petilius Cerealis strooke a terror into them, by invading upon his first entry the Brigantes, the most populous state of the whole province. Many battels were fought, and some bloody, and the greatest part of the Brigantes either conquered or wasted.

⁵ Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmerland, Cumberland, and the Bishoprick of Durham.

And whereas Cerealis would doubtlesse have dimmed the diligence and fame of another successour, Julius Frontinus a great man, as he might after that predeceffor, sustained the charge with reputation and credit, subduing the puissant and warlike people of the Silures: where he had, beside the vertue of the enemy, to struggle with the straits and difficult places.

In this estate Agricola found the province, and the warres thus farre proceeded in, when as about the middest of the summer he passed the seas: at what time the souldier, as if the season were past, attended an end for that yeare of his travell, and the enemy a beginning to hurt. The Ordovices a little before he entred the land had cut a wing almost wholly in peeces, which lay in their borders. Upon which beginning the countrey being awaked, as men desirous of warre, allowed the example: some stayed to see how the new Lieutenant would take it. Agricola although the summer was spent, and the bands lay dispersed in the Province, and his souldiers had fully presumed of rest for that yeare, which hindred much and crossed directly the undertaking of warre, divers also being of opinion rather to keepe and assure the places suspected, all this notwithstanding he resolved directly to encounter the danger: and gathering the ensignes of the Legions, and some few Auxiliaries, because the Ordovices durst not descend into indifferent ground, himselfe first of all, to give others like courage in the like danger, led up to encounter the enemy. And having destroyed almost the whole nation, knowing right well that same must with instance be followed, and as the first should fall out, so the rest would succeed, he deliberated to conquer the land of Mona: from the possession whereof, as before I have rehearsed, Paullinus was revoked by the generall rebellion of Britanny: but as in a purpose not purposed before, ships being wanting, the policie and resoluteness of the Captaine devised a passage, commanding the most choice of the Aydes, to whom all the shallows were know, and who after the use of their countrey were able in swimming to govern themselves with armour and horses, laying aside their carriage, to put over at once and suddenly invade them. Which thing so amazed the enemy attending for ships and such like provision by sea that

R 3

surely

⁶ Agricola went into Britanny, as it may be gathered by some circumstances in this booke, in the very yeere before Vespasian died, and returned about the fifth or sixth of Domitian: of whose gets in Britanny, beside Tacitus, Xiphilins, Tuto, maketh honorable mention, and other.
⁷ Northwales.

surely believing nothing could be hard or invincible to men which came so minded to warre, they humbly intreated for peace and yeelded the Iland. Thus Agricola at his first entry into his Province (which time others consume in vaine ostentation or ambitious seeking of ceremonies) entring withall into labours and dangers became famous indeed and of great reputation. Neither did he abuse the prosperous proceeding of his affaires to vanitie or braving in speeches. He termed it not an exploit or a conquest to have kept in order persons subdued before: he bedeckt not with lawrell his letters of advertisement, but stopping and suppressing the same he augmented the same, when men began to discourse upon what great presumptions of future succeſſe, he should make so light an account of such great actions already performed.

Now as touching his civill government, Agricola knowing right well the disposition and minde of the Province, and taught also by experience of others, that armes availe little to settle a new conquered state if injuries and wrongs be permitted, determined to cut off all causes of warres and rebellions. And beginning at home, his house first of all he reformed and restrained, a point of more hardnesse to some then to govern a Province. He committed no manner of publike affaires to bondman or freed: he received no souldier neere to his person upon private affections of partiall suiters, nor upon commendation or intreatie of Centurions, but elected the best, presuming the same to be the most faithfull. He would see into all things, not exact all things to the rigour: light faults he would pardon, and the great severely correct: not alwaies proceeding to punish, but often content with repentance: chusing rather not to preferre to office and charge such as were like to offend, then after the offence to condemne them. The augmentation of tribute and corne he mollified with equall dividing of burdens, cutting away those pettie extortions which grieved the subject more then the tribute it selfe. For the poore people were constrained in a mockery to waite at the barnes which were locked against them, and first to buy corne, then after to sell at a price. Several wayes were enjoined, and farre distant places by the Purveyours commandments: that the countrey should carry from the neereſt standing camps to those which were farre off and out of the way, till that which lay open to all and at hand was turned in fine to the gain of a few. By repressing these abuses straight in his first yeere, a good opinion was conceived of the peace, which either by the negligence or connivence of former Lieutenants was now no lesse feared then warre. But when the summer was come, assembling his army together, those which in marching behaved themselves in modest fort he commended, and checked the loose and dissolute straglers: the places for pitching the camp he designed himself, the firths and the thickets he proved the first in his own person: not suffering in the meane season any corner in quiet in the enemies countrey, but waſting and ſpoiling with sudden excursions and roades, and when he had thorowly terrified them, then would he again spare and forbear, alluring thereby their mindes to friendship and peace. Upon which kinde of proceeding many states, which before that day stood upon termes of equalitie, gave hostages, and meekly submitted themselves, receiving garrison and permitting to fortifie; which he so wisely with such great foresight and reason performed, that nothing was ever attempted against them, whereas no new fortified place in all Britanny escaped before unassailed.

The winter ensuing was spent in a most profitable and politicke devise. For whereas the Britans were rude and disperſed, and therefore prone upon every occasion to warre to induce them by pleasures to quietnesse and rest, he exhorted them

in private, and helpt them in common to build temples and houses, and places of publike resort, commending the forward and checking the slow, imposing thereby a kinde of necessitie upon them, whilst each man contended to gain the Lieutenants good will. Moreover the noble mens sonnes he tooke and instructed in the liberrall sciences, preferring the wits of the Britans before the students of France, as being now curious to attain the eloquence of the Romane language, whereas they lately rejected the speech. After that our attire grew to be in account, and the Gowne much used among them: and so by little and little they proceeded to those provocations of vices, to sumptuous galleries, and bathes, and exquisite banquettings, which things the ignorant counted civillitie, being indeed a point of their bondage. In the third yeere of his warres he discovered new countreys, waſting a long time, till he came to the firth of Taus. Which thing so terrified the enemies, that although the army had been toiled with cruell tempests, yet they durst not assault them, and the Romanes moreover had leisure and space to fortifie there. They which were skilfull that way observed, that never any Captain did more adviſedly chuse his places: no cattle planted by Agricola ever was either forced by strength, or upon conditions surrendered, or, as not defensible, forsaken. Many times they issued forth: for against a long siege, they were stored with a whole yeers provision. So they wintered there without teare, every garrison guarding it self, and needing no help of their neighbours: the enemies assaulting sometimes, but in vain without any succeſſe, and driven thereupon to despair. For the losses of summer they were commonly wont to repaire with winter events: now summer and winter alike they went to the worke. And in all these actions Agricola never sought to draw to himself the glory of an exploit done by another, but were it Centurion or of other degree, he would faithfully witness the fact, and yeeld him alwayes his due commendation. By some he is said to have been somewhat bitter in rebuking: and indeed the man was, as toward the good of most sweet disposition, so to bad and lewd persons unpleasent and fower: but his choler passed away with his words: closenesse in him and silence you needed not feare: he esteemed it more honest to offend, then to hate. The fourth summer was spent in perusing and ordering that, which he had overrun: and if the valiant mindes of the armies, and glory of the Romane name could have permitted, or accepted it so, they needed not to have sought other limit of Britanny. For Glota & Bodotria, two arms of two contrary seas shooting mightily into the land, are onely divided asunder by a narrow partition of ground, which passage was guarded and fortified then with garrison and cattle: so that the Romans were absolute lords of all on this side, having cast out the enemy, as it were, into another land. The fift yeere of the warre Agricola first taking sea went over and subdued, with many and prosperous conflicts, nations before that time unknown, and furnished with forces that part of Britanny, which lyeth against Ireland, more in hope then for feare. For Ireland if it might have been wonne, lying between Britanny and Spaine, and fildy also for the French sea, would aptly have united, to the great advantage of the one and the other, these strongest members of the Empire together. In bignesse it is inferior to Britanny, howbeit bigger then the Ilands of our sea. The soile and temperature of the aire, the nature and fashions of the People, differ not much from the British. The ports and places of access are more knowne by reason of more frequenting of merchants. Agricola had received before a Prince of that countrey driven out by civill dissention, whom under colour of courtesie and friendship he retained til occasion should serve. I have heard him oftentimes say, that with one Legion and some few Aydes, Ireland might

A thing usual in those dispatches wherein any notable victory was signified, as it appeared by Livy, li. 45. in the beginning and Annals, Movellan, 16.

An error in Agricola being General to do it, and a double error in Tacitus to set it down for a point of commendation. See y^e 1st & 2^d of the subject, li. 10. speaking of the like.

Twice, as is thought by some.

The firth of Dumbarton, a firth in Scotland.

He meaneth the Mediterraean and the Ilands there, as Sicily, &c.

be won and possessed, and that it were also a strength for our British affaires, if the Romane forces were planted else where, and libertie, as it were, banisht out of sight.

Now in the summer, which began the sixt yeare of his office, because a generall rising in armes of all the further nations beyond Bodotria was feared, and passages were all beset with the power of the enemies, he manned a flecte to search the creekes and harboroughes of the ample region beyond it, backing them first of all with a navy the rest of his strength, and with a goodly brave shew bringing warre both by land and by sea. And oft so it chanced, that the horseman and footman and the sea-souldier met and made merry in the same camp, extolling and magnifying each their own prowesse and adventures: making their vaunts and comparisons souldier-like, the one of the woods and high mountains, the other of dangers of tempests and waves: the one of the land and the enemy, the other of the Ocean, subdued. The Britans, as by the prisoner it was understood, were amazed also at the sight of the navy, as though now the secrets of their sea were disclosed, and no refuge remained if they were overcome. Whereupon the Caledonians arming with great preparation and greater fame, as the manner is of matters unknown, assailed our castles as challengers, braving and putting in feare: insomuch that some of our side, which would seeme to be wise, being dastards indeed, counselled the Generall to retire on this side Bodotria, and rather to depart of her own accord, then to be repelled with shame. In the meane season Agricola hath knowledge, that the enemies meant to divide themselves, and to give the onset in severall companies. Whereupon lest he should be enclosed about, and intrapped by their multitude and skill in the countrey, he marched also with his army divided in three. Which when it was known to the enemy, changing advise on the sudden, & uniting their forces together, they joyntly assailed by night the ninth Legion, as being of weakest resistance: and having slain the watch, partly asleep, and partly amazed with feare, brake into the camp. And now were they fighting within the trenches, when Agricola having understood by spies what way the enemies had taken, and following their footsteps, commanderth the lightest horsemen and footmen to play on their backs and maintain the skirmish, and anon the whole army to shewt. And when it drew neere to be day, the glittering of the ensignes was seen. So the Britans being quailed with a double danger, the Romans recovered courage again, and being out of perill of their persons, fought now for their honour, freshly assailing their late assayers, and driving them to the gates: where in the straits the conflict was sharp and cruell, till in the end the enemies were forced to flee, whilest both our armies contended, the one to seeme to have helped their fellows, the other to have needed none other to help them: and if the bogges and woods had not covered their flight, that victory had ended the warre. Upon this battell so manfully fought, so famously won, the army presuming that to their prowesse all things were easie and open, cryed to leade into Caledonia, and to finde out the limit of Britannie with a course of continuall conquests: and those which ere while were so wary and wise, waxt forward enough after the event, and grew to speake bigly: such is the hard condition of warres: if ought fall out well all challenge apart, misfortunes are onely imputed to one. Contrariwise the Britans presupposing that not valour, but the cunning of the Generall, by using the occasion, had carryed it away, abated no whit of their stomach, but armed their youth, transported their children and wives into places of safetie, and sought by assemblies and religious rites to establish an association of the cities together. And so for that yeare both parties departed incensed away.

The

The same summer a cohort of Vspians, levied in Germany, and sent over into Britannie, committed a hainous and memorable act. For having slaine a Centurion and certaine souldiers set over them for direction in discipline, they fled and embarked themselves in three vessels, compelling the Masters by force to execute their charge: and onely one doing his office, the other two being suspected and thereupon slaine, this strange going out, the fact being yet not noised abroad, was gazed and wondred at. Afterward being driven uncertainly hither and thither, and assailing the Britans which stood in defence of their owne, often prevailing and sometime repulsed, they came at the last to that misery, that they were enforced to eate one another, first of the weakest, then as the lot lighted. And thus floating about Britannie, and leeing their vessels for lacke of government, they were intercepted first by the Suevians, and then by the Frisians, as pirates and robbers, and some of them being bought by merchants as slaves and by change of masters brought to our side of the river, grew into a name by giving first notice of so great and so rare an adventure.

In the beginning of the summer Agricola was deeply touched with a grievous mischance which happened in his own house: for he lost his own sonne being about a yeere old. Which infortunate hap he neither bare out, as some great men have done in the like, vain-gloriously, nor tooke it again so impatiently as women are wont: and amidst his mourning and sorrows used the warre as one of his remedies. Therefore sending his navy before, which by spoiling in sundry places should induce a greater and uncertainer terrour upon them, he made ready and followed himself with his army, joyning thereto some of the valiantest Britans, whom by long experience in peace he had found most faithfull; and so arrived at the mount ¹Grampius, where the enemies were lodged before. For the Britans not daunted with the event of the former battell and attending for nothing else but revenge or servitude, and being taught at the length that common danger must be repelled with concord, by leagues and embassages had assembled the power of all the cities together above thirtie thousand armed men, the view being taken, beside an endlesse number of youth, which daily flocked to them, and lusty old men, renowned in warre and bearing the badges due to their honour: at what time Galgacus, for vertue and birth, of all the leaders the principall man, seeing the multitude hotly demand the battell, is said to have used this speech.

"When I view and consider the cause of this warre, and our present necessitie, I have reason, me seemes, to presume, that this day, and this your agreeing consent, will give a happy beginning to the freedome of the whole land. For both have we all hitherto lived in libertie, and beside no land remaineth beyond, no sea for our safetie, the Romane navy thus, as you see, surveying our coasts: so that combat and armes, which men of vertue desire for honour, the dastard also must use for his securitie. The former battels, which have with diverse event been fought with the Romanes, had their refuge, and hope resting in our hands. For we the flower of the British nobility, and seated therefore the furthermost in, saw never the coasts of the countreys, which served in slavery, even our eyes are kept unpolluted, and free from all contagion of tyranny. Beyond us is no land, beside us none are free: us hitherto this corner and secret recess hath defended. Now the uttermost point of the land is laid open: and things the lesse they have been within knowledge, the greater the glory is to achieve them. But what nation now is there beyond us? what else but water and rocks, and the Romane lords of all within land? whose intolerable pride in vain shall you seeke to avoide by service

"service and humble behaviour: robbers of the world, that having now left no
 "land to be spoiled, search also the sea. If the enemy be rich, they seeke to win
 "wealth: if poore, they are content to gain glory: whom not the East, nor the west
 "have satisfied: the only men of all memory that seek out all places, be they weal-
 "thy or poore, with like ardent affection. To take away by maine force, to kill and
 "to spoile, falsely they terme Empire and government: when all is waste as a wil-
 "dernesse, that they call peace. His children and bloud each man by nature hold-
 "eth most deare: those are pressed for souldiers, and carryed away to be slaves o-
 "therwhere. Our sisters and wives, though they be not violently forced as in open
 "hostilitie, are in the meane while under the colour and title of friends and guests
 "often abused. Our goods and substance they draw for tribute, our corne for provi-
 "sion: our bodies and hands, they weare and consume, in paving of bogges and of
 "woods, with a thousand stripes and indignities. Slaves which are born to bondage
 "are sold, but once, and after are fed at their owners expences: but Britanny daily
 "buyeth, daily feedeth, and is at charges with her own bondage. And as in a pri-
 "vate retinue the freshman and last comer is laughed and scoffed at by his very fel-
 "low servants, so in this old servitude of the whole world our destruction onely is
 "sought, as being the latest and most vile in account. We have no fields to ma-
 "nure, no mines to be digged, no ports to trade in: and to what purpose then
 "should they reserve us alive? Moreover the manhood and fierce courage of the
 "subiect pleaseth not much the jealous Sovereigne: and this corner being so secret
 "and out of the way, the more securitie it yeeldeth to us, in them it works the grea-
 "ter suspicion. So seeing all hope of pardon is past, at the length take courage to
 "defend and maintain your safety as well as your honour. The Brigantines led by a
 "woman fired the colony, forced the castles: and if such a lucky beginning had not
 "ended in sloth and securitie, they might have with ease shakt off the yoke. We as
 "yet neither touched, never subdued, and born to be free, not to be slaves of the
 "Romanes, let us shew straight in the first joyning what manner of men Caledonia
 "reserved in store for herself. Or do you think the Romans to be as valiant in warre
 "as they are wanton in peace? No, nor by their vertue, but by our jarrings and dis-
 "cords they are grown into fame: and the faults of their enemies they abuse to the
 "glory of their own army composed of most divers nations, & therefore as by pre-
 "sent prosperitie holden together, so if fortune do frown it doublelesse dissolveth:
 "unlesse you suppose the Frenchmen and Germans, and, to our shame be it spoken,
 "many of our own nation, which now lend their lives to establish a forein usurper,
 "and yet have been enemies longer then servants, to be led and induced with any
 "true hearted and faithfull affection. No, it is terrour and feare, weake workers of
 "love, which if you remove, those which shall have ceased to feare will straight be-
 "gin for to hate. All things to incite to the victory are on our side. No wife to en-
 "courage the Romans: no parents to upbraid them if they flee: most have either no
 "countray at all, or some other: a few fearefull persons, trembling and gazing at the
 "strangenesse of the heaven it self, the sea and the woods: whom the gods have de-
 "livered mewed up, as it were, and fettered into our hands. Let not the vain shew
 "and glittering of gold and silver terrifie us, which neither defends nor offendeth.
 "Among the enemies we shall finde of our side: the Britans will agnize their own
 "cause: the French will remember their freedome and former estate: the rest of
 "the Germans will leave and forsake them, as of late the Utipians did. And what
 "else then have we to feare? the castles are emptie, the colonies peopled with aged
 "and impotent persons, the free cities discontent and in factions, whilest those
 "which

"*Proditia*,
 whose *Tacitus*
 humbly ma-
 kethe wife to
 the king of
Teuti, people of
 Northolke, &c.
 and not of the
Brigantes, 24.
Annal.

which are under obey with ill will, and they which doe governe rule against right.
 Here is the Generall and here the army, there tributes and mines, and other misfe-
 ries inseparably following them which live under subjection of others: which whe-
 ther we are to continue for ever, or straight to revenge, it lyeth this day in the field.
 Wherefore going to battell beare in your mindes, I beseech you, both your "ance-
 stours and your posteritie. This speech was cheerefully received, with a song after
 their barbarous fashion, with confused acclamations and noises. And as the com-
 panies clustered together, and glistering of armour appeared, whilest some of the
 boldest advanced forward, and withall the ranks were putting themselves in array,
 Agricola albeit his souldier was glad of that day, and scarce could with words be-
 withholden, supposing yet best to say somewhat, encouraged them in this wise.

Fellow-souldiers and companions in armes, your faithfull service and diligence,
 these "eight yeeres so painfully shewed, by the vertue and fortune of the Romane
 Empire hath conquered Britanny. In so many journeys, in so many battels we had
 of necessitie to shew our selves either valiant against the enemy, or patient and labo-
 rious above and against nature it selfe. In which exploits we have borne us both
 hitherto so, that neither did I desire better souldiers, nor you other Captaine. We
 have exceeded the limits, I of my predecessours, and you likewise of yours. The
 end of Britanny is found, not by fame and report, but we are with our armes and pa-
 vilions really invected thereof: Britanny is found and subdued. In marching when
 the passing of bogges, or mountaines, and rivers, troubled and tired you out, how
 oft have I heard the valiant souldier say, When will the enemy present himselfe?
 when shall we fight? loe they are now put up out of their holes: and here they are
 come: your wish loe here, and place for your vertue, and all things to follow in an
 easie and expedite courle, if you winne; if you loose, all against you. For as to have
 gone so much ground, escaped the woods, passed over the firthes, is honourable
 forward, so if we doe flee, the vantages we have this day will become our most dis-
 advantage. For we are not skilled so well in the countreys, we have not the like
 store of provision, but hands we have and weapons, and therein all things included.
 For my part I am long since resolved, that to shew their backs is neither safetie
 for souldier nor Generall: and therefore a commendable death is better then life
 with reproch; and furetie and honour are commonly dwelling together: or if
 ought should misshappen, even this will be a glory, to have died in the uttermost end
 of the world and nature. If new nations, and souldiers unknowne were in the
 field, I would by the example of other armies put you in courage: now recount you
 your own victorious exploits, and aske your own eyes. These are the same men,
 which the last yeere assailed one legion by stealth in the night, and were by a blast
 of your mouth overthrown: these of all other Britans have been the most nimble
 in running away, and therefore have escaped the longest alive. For as in forrests
 and woods the strongest beasts are chased away by maine force, the cowardly and
 fearefull are scared by the noise of the hunters, so the valiant of the British nation
 we have already dispatched, the rascall herd of dastardly cowards only remaineth:
 whom at length you have found, not as having intended to stay and make head, but
 as last overtaken, and by extreme passion of feare standing as stocks, presenting oc-
 casion to us in this place of a worthy and memorable victory. Make an end there-
 fore of your warfare, and to "fiftie yeeres travels let this day impose a glorious
 conclusion. Approve to your countray, that the army could never justly be charged
 either with protracting the warre, or pretences for not accomplishing the conquest.
 As Agricola was yet speaking, the souldiers gave great tokens of fervencie, and
 when

"Your ance-
 stors which li-
 ved in the hap-
 py estate of
 libertie: and
 your success-
 fors, which un-
 lesse we shew
 valour this day
 shall live for
 ever in most
 miserable ser-
 vitude.
 "And yet this
 was but the
 seventh yeere
 of his office, as
 appeareth be-
 fore.

"From the
 first entry of
Claudius into
 Britanny
 (seemeth not to
 have been a-
 bove foure or
 five and fortie
 yeeres.

for other matters might more easily be passed over, but to be a good commander of an army was to be above private estate, that being a virtue peculiar for a Prince. With these and the like cares being tormented, and musing much in his closet alone, which was a token and signe of some cruelty intended, he thought it yet best for the present to dissemble and put off his malice, untill the heat of his glory & love of his souldiers, were somewhat abated; for as yet Agricola remained in charge. Wherefore he commanded that all the honours of triumphall ornaments, * image triumphall, and what else usually was conferred in lieu of triumph, should be awarded unto him in Senate in most ample & honorable termes: and sending a successor caused withall a bruit to be spread, that the province of Syria which then lay voyde, by the death of Atilius Rufus the Lieutenant, and was reserved for men of great quality, was purposed unto him. And a common opinion went, that Domitian sending one of his most secret and trusty servants to Agricola, sent withall the patent of Syria, with instruction, that if he were in Britanny it should be delivered: and that the same man meeting Agricola as he crossed the sea, without speaking unto him, or delivering his message, returned againe to Domitian. Whether this were true or fained and surmized probably, as correspondent to the princes disposition, I cannot affirme: but in the meane season Agricola had delivered to his successeur the province in good and peaceable estate. And left his arrivall at Rome should be noted, by reason of the multitudes of people which would goe out to see, and to meet him, cutting off that curtesie of his friends, he entred the city by night, and by night, as he was willed, came to the palace. Where being admitted to the Princes presence, & received with a short salutation and no speech, he sorted himselfe with the rest of the waiters. Now to the end he might temper & qualifie with other good parts his military renown, a virtue unpleasant to men of no action, he gave himself wholly to quietnesse and meddling with nothing; being in apparell moderate, affable in speech, accompanied usually but by one or two of his friends: so that many, which commonly judge of great men by outward appearance and pompe, seeing and marking Agricola, missed of that which by fame they conceived, few ayined aright at the cause. Often was he in those dayes accused to Domitian in absence, and in absence acquitted. The cause was neither matter of crime, nor complaint of party aggrieved, but the renowne of the man, and the Princes disposition hating all vertue, and " the most capitall kind of enemies commendeth, procured the perill. And in truth those times ensued in the state, which would not suffer Agricolaes name to be buried in silence: so many armies in Moesia, Dacia, Germany, Pannonia, either through the rashnesse or cowardlinesse of the Generals cast away: so many good souldiers, with so many cohorts defeated and taken. Neither was it the question then for the uttermost bounds of the Empire and banke of the River, but the standing camps of the Legions, and the provinces themselves were in danger of leeching: so that losses being heapt upon losses, and every yeere becoming notorious for some calamity and overthrow, Agricola was required by the speech of the people for Generall, every man comparing his quicknesse, resolutenesse, and experience in warre, with their insufficient and dastardly dealings: with which kinde of talke, it is certainly knowne, Domitiāns eares were not unacquainted: his faithfulest servants upon love and allegiance, the rest upon spite and envy pricking him forward, being of himself prone to the worse. So Agricola partly through his owne vertues, and partly the vices of others, was drawne headlong perforce into glory. Now the yeere was at hand; when as the Proconsulship of Asia, or Africke should be allotted unto him, and upon the late murdering of " Civica, nei-

* Illiis statu-
e honorem.
i. hift. trium-
phalis statua.

in Suevius
Domitiano e.
10. complures
seuantes, in his
aliquot consu-
latus intercomit,
in quibus Civi-
cam Cretalem
in ipsi Asia
proconsulatus.

ther could Domitian faile of example to follow, nor Agricola of direction what he should doe. Some also privy to the Princes secret intents offered speech of themselves, and asked him whether he could be content to accept of the government: commending at the first a farre off a quiet life and voyde of businesse, and proffering anon their mediation to the Prince to allow his excuse. At the last declaring their purpose in plaine termes, by perswasions and threats they induced him to become a direct suiter in that behalfe to Domitian: who setting a fained countenance upon it, and composing himselfe to keep majesty and state, both heard his humble petition excusing himself from that charge, and when the excuse was admitted, sufferedbeit the pension, which was wont to be offered to men of that quality and by him had bene granted to certaine, he did not bestow upon Agricola: either being offended it was not sued for, or upon the guiltinesse of his owne conscience, lest thereby he should seeme to have bought out * that thing, which he had forbidden. It is the property of mans nature to hate those whom he hath hurted: beside Domitian was prone and headlong to anger, and the more close the more irrevocable, yet was he notwithstanding altered and mollified by Agricolaes discretion and wary behaviour: for he did not with obstinacy, nor vaine ostentation of liberty, neither hasten his fame nor his fall. Let them well know that are wont to admire those things alone, which are done against the streame of the time, that great men may be found even under bad Princes; that dutifull obedience and modesty, if industry and valour be joyned, may attaine to that degree of praise and renowne, which some following dangerous courses have aspired unto by an " ambitious death, without any further profit at all.

The end of his life brought mourning to us, and grieve to his friends, and even by strangers and persons unknown was lamented: the common sort also, and this retchlesse people of ours, both came oft to his house, and in all publike places & meetings had it in speech, neither did any person, when he heard of his death, either rejoyce, or sodainely forget it. And that which procured the greater compassion was a constant report, that he was made away by poyson. Of mine owne knowledge I dare assure nothing: this only, that during the time of his sicknesse there came from Domitian, oftener then usually are wont from Princes, who visit by others, both of his secretest servants and neereft physicians to see him, whether as of carefulnesse, or only to spie, I leave it uncertain: certain it is, that the day of his death, every degree of his going away was carried in post to the Prince; and few men beleeveth the newes should be hastened so much, that he would be forry to heare. Notwithstanding he made shew of sorrow in minde and in countenance, being now out of danger of that which he hated, and one that more easily could dissemble his joy then his feare. When Agricolaes testament was read, wherein he made Domitian coheire with his most deare wife and most dutifull daughter, it was certaine he greatly rejoyced thereat, as if it had bene a signe of honour, or proceeded of judgement: so blinded he was, and so greatly corrupted by continuall custome of flatteries, that he could not perceive, that no good father did ever appoint for his heire any Prince, but a tyrant. Agricola was borne the thirteenth day of June, Caius Caesar being third time Consull, and dyed the " fixe and fiftieth yeere of his age, the fower and twentieth day of August, Collega and Priscus being Consuls. Of personage (if posterity desire to be informed thereof) he was rather well proportioned then tall, with an assurednesse and great grace in his countenance: " a good man you would easily thinke him, and willingly a great. And although he dyed in the middle course of

* That is, his
going into the
province.

" Meant, as I
take it principally
by Helvidius
and Thrasea,

whom
Marcellus also
noteth in an
Epigramme to
Decianus much
to this purpose.

Quod magni
Thrasee con-
summatique
Catonis Dogma-
ta se sequens,
salvus ut esse
velis, Pectore

nec nudo sri-
bos incurris in
extis, Quod
fecisse velim te,
Deciane, facis.

Xolo virum,
facili redimat
qui sanguine
famam: Hunc
volo laudari
qui sine morte
potest.

y That is, of
the vertuous
qualities of A-
gricola.

z Foure and
fiftieth, at the
most, for from
Caius Caesar. 3.

conf. to Collega
and Priscus
Consuls were
no more but
fifty three,

yeeres, but so
is the fashion
not only of
Tacitus, but of
other History
writers, to
misreckon in
a manner al-
ways to the
more.

1 Scribebantur au- C
tem fere legiones A
quibus millibus h
pedum. lib.8. A
n Quia milia f
ex vetere infituro p
dabantur in sin- fa
gulis legiones. g
n If in these al
three places of b
Appian the o
horsemen also
were comprised, o
the number of fi
the footmen per-
taining to a leg-
tion is according
to them some-
what less than
we have set
downe.
o f ap.6. t

[illegible]

from Polybius, and from his owne both rules and examples, in the warres with the Latines about the yeere of the City 415. maketh five thousand the ordinary number of that age, and lib. 42. ^a the custome of ancient times. And yet the same Livy, as having forgotten himselfe, *Paulo & Varone Coss.* in the second Punicke warre writeth: *numero quaque legiones tum auctas, milib. pedum in singulas adjectis, ut quina milia pedum essent.* Of five thousand we have examples every where: of five thousand and two hundred in Polybius, lib. 2. in the French warres; and in Appian 1. ⁴⁴⁰ where he resolveth 23. legions of Sylla into one hundred and twenty thousand. Of five thousand and four hundred in Livy, lib. 37. in the warres against Antiochus. Of fixe thousand in the warre against Perseus. Livius lib. 42. Appianus in Mithridaticis resolveth the five Legions of Lucullus into thirty thousand. *Quinto*, ⁴⁴⁰ where the warre at Philippi, Antonius interpreteth to the Grecians twenty eight Legiones, *ἑξήκοντα τριὰς μυριάδας*. That is, with their associates in the field, that is, their Auxilia, to containe above one hundred and seventy thousand persons, that is, above fixe thousand a peece. *Sex milia & ducentiarum hominum primus C. Marius conscripsit legionem*, saith Felsus. But Marius surely was not the first that gave the example of that number, for the Elder Scipio (saith Livy, a man of more credit, li. 19.) *supplevit ita eas legiones quas in Africam transtulit, ut singule sena milia & ducentis pedites haberent.* Under the Empire fixe thousand or thereupon was the ordinary number. *Plena legio*, saith Vegetius, ^{lib. 2.} speaking no doubt of that time, *pedum sex milibus centum fundatur*, at the lowest reckoning. Where yet we are to understand, that the corpes of his Legion consisted onely of five thousand and five hundred, the rest being officers, to wit, five hundred and fifty Dizinters, and fifty Centurions: the summe fixe thousand one hundred. Whereas contrariwise in the ancient times the Centurions and under officers, as it was in truth most meete, were taken out of the bodie of their companies, not by ambition and suit superinduced. And in the declination of the Empire under Honorius we finde the said number of fixe thousand. Zosimus lib. 2. *ἑξήκοντα τριὰς μυριάδας ὁπλῖταις ἐκαστὴν τὴν φρουρὰν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἐκίδειν.* *Ἐξ ἑκατὸντα τριὰς μυριάδων ὁπλῖταις ἐκαστὴν τὴν φρουρὰν ἐκίδειν.* That is, It seemed expedient to the Emperour to send for out of Dalmatia five Legions to guard the City of Rome, in these Legions were fixe thousand men. For so I interpret the place *distribuisse* as they call it, fixe thousand for every one of the five Legions, especially the same Zosimus lib. 6. resolving *ἑξ ἑκατὸντα τριὰς μυριάδας* into *πενταδὸς τριῶν*. That is, Sixe Legions of fouldiers into 40000. persons. Now for horsemen ^a Polybius writing in and of the free estate assigneth to every Legion two hundred, and upon extraordinary occasion three hundred. Livy likewise sometime two, sometime three hundred. Appian in Mithridat. giveth to five Legions one thousand fixe hundred horse. In the Macedonian warre, *Anno urbis condite* 581. according to Livies supputation to a Legion were attributed 3 three hundred and thirty horse. In *epitoma libri* 130. we have in the warre of Antony in Parthia sixteen thousand horse to eightene Legions. As having to deale with a nation whose principall strength consisted in horsemen: and yet peradventure of those sixteen thousand the smallest part was Legenary. In Appian 3. ⁴⁴⁰ in the civil warres after Cæsar's death, two Legions in Affricke had a thousand horse annexed, the ancient proportion belike seeming, as it was, too scant. Under the Empire, as it may be gathered by Vegetius, fixe hundred at the least were mattedricated in a Legion, and fixe hundred and sixty where *prima cohors* was *miliaria*, beside sixty fixe Decurions: summe, seven hundred twenty fixe comprehending the officers. As for ^a Josephus allowing to each Legion but a hundred and twenty horse, it was an oversight. And thus much of the number of fouldiers in a Legion, which we are to understand at the first enrolement when it is entire, not diminished by warre, or misfortune, nor contrarily through ambition overcharged. Cæsar in the civil warre had his Legions so worne, that they contained scarce three thousand a peece, and even at the first enrolement ^a not above four thousand. On the other side the *Legio classica* conscribed by N. rowas so huge and enorme, that when seven thousand of them were slaine at the entry of Galba into the city, the rest *decumati*, yet the remainder sufficed Otho to make up a Legion. Such Legions Appianus, 4. ⁴⁴⁰ seemeth to call *τὰς ἀδελφὰς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς*, and *ἀδελφωτόρας*. So that of the number of the Legions in an army, without due consideration of other circumstances, we may not haile to conclude the number of fouldiers.

The footmen in the Legion of Romulus were divided, according to the tribes which yielded them, into *Rammes*, *Luteræ*, and *Tatiensæ*, each containing a thousand : and every thousand into tenne Centuries or * *Curias*. In the Popular Legion, consisting, as we have said, ordinarily of foure thousand and two hundred, the footmen were 7 distributed into foure fifts, *quæ*, *quatuor*. The youngest and poorest they named *Velites*, the next in age *Haſtati*, the third being at the age of their principall strength *Principes*, the fourth somewhat elderly *Triarii*. Of this last kinde in every Legion altered or increased howsoever were fixe hundred onely : of *Principes*, *Haſtati*, and *Velites*, twelve hundred a peece in an ordinary Legion, and proportionable in an increased. When this partition was induced I cannot precisely define. Dionysius lib. 5. straight after the Kings were expelled, maketh mention of *Triarii* as of a matter not new. Valerius Maximus lib. 1. * writeth, that the use of the *Velites* was first devised by Fulvius Flaccus at Capua in the second Punicke warre. In later times, and especially under the Emperors, this division so famous an ancient story was in the manner worne out. Now the *Haſtati* were divided againe into ten * *Ensignes*, or *ordines*, every one in an ordinary Legion containing an hundred and twenty persons. The first Ensigne or order whereof was called *primus Haſtium*, the second *secundus Haſtium*: and so forth *usque ad decimum* *Haſtium*. Likewise the *Principes* into tenne *Ensignes*, *primum*, *secundum*, *tertium*, *Principem*, &c. Every Ensigne containing as before. And lastly the *Triarii* were also divided into tenne *Ensignes*, each one containing sixty persons. The first Ensigne whereof was called *Primum Pilus*, the second * *secundus Pilus*, and so forth to the tenth. The *Velites* were proportionably dispersed among all the *Ensignes*. Of these thirty *Ensignes* called in Latine *Manipuli*, according to Gellius lib. 6. cap. 4. and Servius in 1. *Æneid.* (although Plutarch, in *Romulo* interpreteth *Manipuli* *versus* founding it with *Centuria*, and Vegetius lib. 2. cap. 13. most advantage maketh it equivalent with *Contubernium*, a company of tenne or eleven persons) each one was divided againe in duas *Centurias*, *Centuriam priorem*, and *Centuriam posteriorem*, although in truth they contained not the full number of an hundred, but onely in an ordinary Legion sixty persons beside the *Velites*, and of the *Triarii* but thirty. Livy in describing these *Centurions* seemeth to use an inverted kinde of speech, lib. 42. *Hic me imperator dignum judicavit, cui primum Haſtatum prioris centurie assignaret*, in place, as it may seeme, of *cui prioris centuriam primi haſtati assignaret*. And in the lease following left it might be supposed as done by chance or negligence

a M. Atilio mihi primus princeps prioris centurie est assignatus, for prior century a primi principis. Beside these divisions of the footmen in a Legion, we finde another in latter times more usfull into ten Cohorts of eequal number. Julius Frontinus, Strategem. lib. 2. dissolveth one Legion into ten Cohorts : *Fuerunt Cohortior legions, de qua sup'a dictum* c cap. 6. *est, quinque cohortes in dextram partem vice direxit, quinque ad sinistram.* And, (Cesar, lib. 4. 6. de Bellu Gall. three legions d cap. 2. into thirty Cohorts. Tacitus, 1. Annal. dissolveth four Legions in quadringenta cohortes Romanas. The first Cohort consisted of the three first Ensignes, or Manipuli, to wit, ex primo ordine Hastato, p. incipit, and primo Piloi joyned in one; & the second of the three second, and so forth to the tenth. Cohors, saith Varro, lib. 4. de Ling. Lat. qui ut in 3. Cafa villa ex pluribus uetis conjungitur, ac quidam fit unus, sic haec ex manipulis copulantur cohortes. The Grecians call it *enkele*. This division of a Legion into ten Cohorts, is not mentioned in Polybius, and therefore, as I think, was not usual before his age. For although the words be not unknown to ancient times, as Livy often times in his former bookes, unless he spake by a figure, and to Polybius likewise twice in the eleventh booke, expressly and by name *nepentes*, in the warre of Scipio in Spaine, yet then peradventure it was rather certaine *Anipuli* united, & assigned extraordinarily, then any member of a Legion : but of that I cannot greatly affirme. Now although in former times it is out of question, that the Legionary cohorts were equal of five hundred a peece where the Legion was five thousand, and moreover more, yet in Vegetustime, or at least in his Legion, the first Cohort contained a thousand, and the rest but only five hundred. For in his rebus, as Servius saith, accessit temporis ductum, u. nris semper mutavit militie disciplinam. The horse beinge in the Royall and popular Legion most commonly the hundred, were divided in Turmas decem: Polyb. l. 6. ταρχματα δ' ἐξ ἑκάτontος εἰς ἑκατὸν διέτετο. That is, In like manner the horsemen also were divided into ten Turmae : every Turma containing thirtyhorse, even from the beginning of Rome; as generally few things we finde after in use, whereof the grounds were not laid at the first. Varro lib. 4. de ling. Lat. Turma Terma est (E in V abito) quod ter deni equites ex tribus iustub. Tatiensium, Rammium, & Lucernar fiebant. In Vegetustime, being fixe hundred and sixty beside the officers, they are divided into two and twenty Turmaes, every Turma likewise containing thirty persons, whereof he attributeth foure Turmaes to the first Cohort of the Legion, and to the other nine, two a peece. Lastly Timia was divided in tria Decurias, each consisting of ten horse, as the

c cap. 6.
d cap. 2.
e Veget. lib. 2. c
f Cic. lib. 5. ep. ad Attic. 20. Cafa
g Com. in 11. Anaeides.
h Tribuni milium, saith Varro, quod terni tribus tribubus Rammium, Lucernar, Tatiensium aliud ad exercitum miscebantur.

In the Legion of Romulus over the footmen (faith Dionysius) three Tribunes, *τρίηγετες*, were appointed to govern under the King, each over his own tribe: and over every Century or Curia, a Centurion, or Curion.
Three Tribunes and thirty Centurions in a Legion, the Tribunes elected out of the greatest men for nobility or reputation, *οἱ ἐν ἐμπροσθεν*; the Centurions of the most valiant, *οἱ ἐν ἀνδραγαθίᾳ*. Under the Consul or Pretor in time of liberty, and Prince in the Empire, captains in chief and sovereignty the next and immediate officer in both was named Legatus Confularis, as it were vicegerent deputed by the Consul or Prince: by the Consul one, or many as his Lieutenants in the army; by the Prince one only as Lieutenant General over an army or country. Under the Legatus Confularis in the Empire were subordinate Legati Prætorii, or Legati Legationum, none or more according to the number of the Legions in the army; which name I find not in the three states, nor any office answerable to it. Now for the Legion in both states the ordinary officers were, as before in the Legion of Romulus, Tribuni and Centuriones. Decani and reft were of smaller name. The Popular Legion being *quadrata* had also at the first four Tribunes elected by the people, or sometime at the Consul's discretion: afterward in Polybius time six, executing their charge alternatively, two at one time for two months, so that in one Summer every one had served his course. In the Empire, as it may be conjectured by some places in Vegetius, there were in every Legion ten Tribunes, not with charge over the whole by turns, but with several and continual each over his Cohort. Now out of every ensigne, faith Polybius, were chosen *ἐκαστῆς δυνάμεως* two Centurions (*τρίηγετες, ὑποηγετῆς*) having charge each of his several Centurie, in absence, or sicknes, or otherwise mischance the one of both. To every Ensigne beside the Centurions belonging two Ensigne-bearers at the Centurions appointment. The Centurions were distinguished in names according to the Ensignes or Centuries which they led. Livius lib. 42. *Mihi T. Quintus decimum octavum hastatum assignavit.* Cicero epist. 8. ad Brutum: *C. N. Cicerus Meis lib. Imperatoris octavum principem duxit.* Livius lib. 7. *Septimum principum hastatum legions decime quartæ lib. 2. de bell. Gallic. P. Omniaque fore centuriones aut centuriones aut o. c. s. in his principibus P. Sexto Elicado, milibus numeribus confecto, the first man whom lib. 3. cap. 1. he calleth at large, *principi Centurionem*; but whereas there were in every Ensigne two Centurions, whether only the Centurion of the former Century was *κεφαλὴ*, for example called *Principius, primus Princeps, primus Hastatus*, and so in the rest, or both the one and the other equivocally, I dare not without better ground of authority then hitherto I have scene, preemtorily determine. Onely by *centurio primi Pili*, I take to be meant the Centurion alone of the former Century, of the first Ensigne of the Triarii; a Centurion of principall credit, and endowed with speciall privileges, as to be of the Generals counsell, to have the custody of the Eagle or Standard of the Legion, to found the watches, &c. Polyb. Veget. This number of sixty Centurions in a Legion we finde also retained under the Empire. Tacit. 1. *Annal. Probatos verberibus multati sexagenis singulis, ut numerum centurionum adequarent.* although Vegetius in I cannot tell what mischance, * maketh but fifty, and in another place by error of the copy, or over sight of the author, *Quinquaginta quinque*: for *Quinquaginta* is much more suitable even to his owne grounds. Under the Centurion were the Decani Dizini, one over every tenne, as the word also importeth. Veget. lib. 2. cap. 3. *Rufus ipse Centurie in comensaria divise sunt, ut decem militibus sub una papilionis agensibus unus quæ præfess decanus, qui caput comensariæ vocatur*: The horsemen in the Legion of Romulus were governed by *ιπποταγῆς, ὑπὸ τῶν*, faith Dionysius, not expressing the number: but the horse in the Royall and Popular Legion being of one number had in all likelihood the same officers, that is, Decuriones, three chosen out of every Turma, whereof the first Turma and principall is called also Præfæctus Turmæ, Polybius lib. 6. And Varro lib. 4. de ling. Lat. But Vegetius lib. 2. cap. 14. writing that *turma habet 32. equites, huius qui præfess decurio nominatur*, reckoneth two of his officers as common souldiers, and the third nameth amilic. For *Decurio* of *decem*, not of *triginta* or *triginta duo*. Wherefore if he*

Thus much of the Legionary souldiers, among whom none were inrolled but *civis Romani, ingenui, artis luditæ* *expertes*. As touching the first point it is cleere in story, that many hundred yeeres together all the *delictus* were *ex plebe Romana* alone, which in latter times seldome was mustered, in the Empire scarce ever, nor almost any Italian borne, but *civis Romanus è provincia*. Herodianus lib. 2. v. Cæsar sometime in the French warre seemeth to have enrolled of the transpadani into Legions, being then not Citizens of Rome. Concerning the second point, it is which were *libertini generis*, though *civis Romani*, were never enroli'd, much less *servi*, but once or twice in extraordinary. For the third, according to Dionysius lib. 2. not only *Histrionica* disabled to Legionary service, but all sedentary, mechanically, and voluntary arts. Agriculture was only allowed of, as the only nurse of fit men for service in warre: not as in the practise of Sparta, and precepts of Plato, one man to till at home, and another to fight abroad; but one and the same man in peace a good husbandman, and in warre a good souldier: no person by the opinion of many be more dangerous in a fire, than he which maketh souldiery his occupation and trade. Furthermore it was requisite, that the Legionary souldier should be within the yeeres of service, *à septuaginta annis*, and afflicted at least in the fifth classis. The military age was "from seventeen to forty five, as Dionysius saith, or forty five, as Polybius, and in dangerous times till fifty. *Sic talis de brevitate vite cap. 20. Lex a quinquagesimo anno militum non cogit, à sexagesimo senatorem non citat.* In which time the footmen might be compelled to serve sixteen or twenty yeares, if need so required, the horseman tenne. In Augustus time, Dio lib. 5. appointeth twelve yeeres of service for the Prætorian souldier, and sixteen for the Legionary: and in the booke following, as having forgotten himselfe, sixteen to the Prætorian, and twenty to the other. In Tiberius time to the souldiers in Germany *missi data* sūt, sixth Tacitus 1. Annal. *vicesis septuaginta menses: exactissimi, quæstio dena scilicet, ac recensis sex vestilio, ceterorum immunes, nisi propinquant hostis.* Which words peradventure may reconcile in some part the repugnant places of Dio. Now for the classes, the manner of mustering, which in Romulus time went merely *tributum*, every tribe conferring his thousand, Scævus Tullius reduced to a matter of censo or tax: according to which not only the muster was taken, but all officers of importance in the state elected, lawes established, and tributes imposed. The whole number of Citizens being enginell into fixe classes, in the first were all those, which in the tax or subsidy booke were assessed at an hundred thousand *asses* and upward. The second from a hundred thousand downward to seventy five thousand. The third from seventy five thousand to fifty thousand. The fourth from fifty thousand to twenty five thousand. The fifth from twenty five thousand to twelve thousand and five hundred. And the sixth of all such as were under the last rate. Now whereas the first classis conferred eighteen horse, and eighty footmen, the second conferred twenty footmen, and two artificers beside, as smiths, carpenters, &c. The third classis twenty footmen. The fourth twenty, and two beside to sound the trumpet, and strike the drumme, &c. The fifth thirty. The first classis *universis militibus, spatium ætatem largiente tribus*. That is, Free from all service in warre, and all payment of Tribute. Dionysius lib. 4. although the same Dionysius in the same place alloweth it by oversight one souldier in 193. true it is that the sixth classis had a new censo 193. in *comitiis centuriatis*, but it yielded no man to the muster at all. So that one cause by this manner of mustering yielded a hundred and ninety two men to the warre, whereof eighteen were horsemen, four artificers, and hitherto a hundred and seventy footmen: and so about againe, as the case required a greater or lesser army, in the same proportion. Dionysius lib. 4. With whom Livy lib. 1. agreeing in the rest, differeth only in the censo of the first classis, which by him is but seven thousand *asses*, and furthermore the artificers Livy joyneth to the first classis, and the fifths to the fifth, whereas Dionysius putteth them to the second and fourth. The reason why this last and poorest sort was excluded from service is well set downe by Julius Exuperantius. *Populus Romanus, sicut he, per classes divites erat, & pro pauperum facultate celebratur. Ex his omnes quique vere erat, ad militum decorentur. Diligent enim pro victoria laborant, qui præter libertatem, bona deinde habent, illi autem quique nullæ opes erant, capiti solum solum præstabile celebratur, & belli tempore in manibus residebant. Facile enim poterant exsilire proditores: quia egestas haud facile habetur sine damno.* This kinde of mustering per classes instituted by Scævus, was in latter times, as it may be gathered by the practise in the Roman stories and plaine words of Polybius, altered in part and reduced somewhat nearer to a manner of tribe, as being a more popular order, and more agreeable to the present government; yet so, that to Legionary service none could be mustered but such as were lesse than a four thousand *asses* at the least, (saith Polybius, which is indeed somewhat lesse than the censo of the first classis limited by Dionysius and Livy; which it were that Polybius had forgotten the summe, or that the censo of the classis was abated for that both then and afterward regard was had of the classis in taking the muster it is cleere by the words of Salust in Jugurthino. *Marius interea scribere non more maximam, neque ex classibus, sed ubi cuiqueque libido erat, capite censos plerisque, such as for lacke of wealth were censed only by poll. After which time the classis were, as I take it, in little consideration in the muster of Legions, especially, in the civill warres, and in the Empire utterly neglected, the censo also being abolished.*

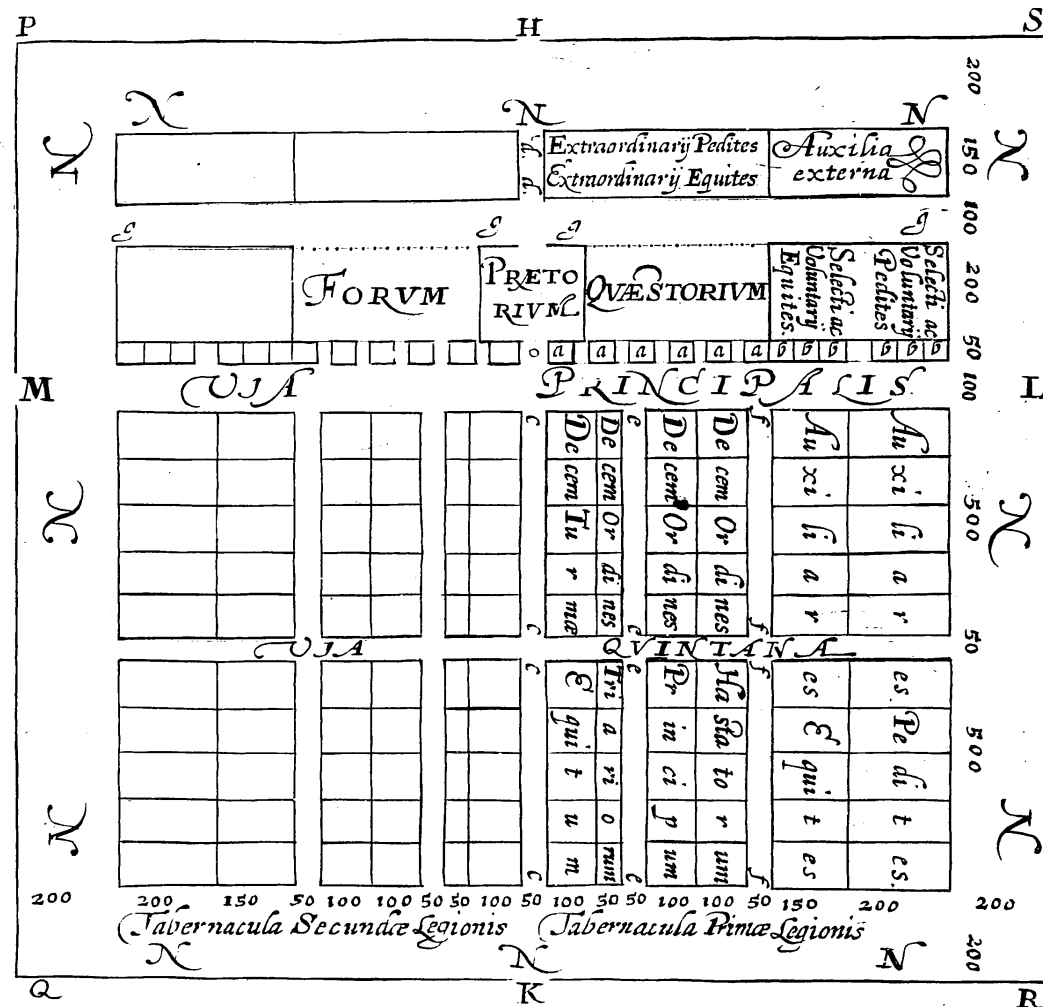
Rome

i Diuoy.
 k Hior apud Li-
 vium. lib. 22.
 l As in Tullies
 epistles; Aprian;
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 m Vi. Tacit.
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Legions had three thousand Auxiliarie horsemen. Of these Cohorts of Auxiliarie footmen the Governours in latter times also were called *Præfetti*; and the wings of horsemen likewise in latter times had their *Præfetti* severall from the foot, of which in Polybius we finde no mention. In Wings the under captains, as in the Legionary, were named *Decuriones*. Of the number I cannot affirm: only it seemeth probable, that the *Præfetti* then were according to the number of the Cohorts and Wings, and the *Decuriones*, as in the Legion, three in a Turma consisting of thirtie horsemen: To conclude this point, although the Imperiall Auxilia seem not to observe always one stint, as by the examples alledged may be averred, yet taking two Wings and eight Cohorts for the Auxilia of a Legion, those things presupposed which we have set down, the Legion Imperiall with her Auxilia arriveth to twelve thousand persons Six thousand Legionarie footmen, six hundred horsemen, four thousand eight hundred Auxiliarie footmen, and six hundred Auxiliarie horse, Summe twelve thousand. Vegetius out of other particulars collecteth the same totall. *Vna Legio, fœdit he mixtis auxiliis, hoc est decem millia peditum & duo millia equitum*. Whereof six thousand one hundred footmen, and seven hundred twentie six horse according to his principles being Legionarie, there remains three thousand nine hundred foot, and twelve hundred sevenie four horse for the Auxiliarie; or in round numbers 4000. foot, and 1200. horse, approaching neare to the ancient proportion in Polybius of double the Legionarie horse. At the enrolment the names were imposed to the Legions Prima, Secunda, Tertia, as they were in order of multering first, second, or third. Which custome, as I suppose, continued in his first institution so long as the Romans armed and disarmed every year. But afterward retaining *sub signis* some of their Legions with their old names, and with perpetual supply as it were eternizing them many ages, the rest decaying, or being dissolved, the name was no longer a note of his place, but rather became a proper name simply. In the latter times we reade of three Tertia, and two sexta distinguished by surnames, Tertia Italica, Tertia Cyrenaica, Tertia Augusta; Sexta Vindex, and Sexta Ferrata. Of which devise of furnaming the Legions we have no example before Cæsar's time, and after no end: a novelty induced upon ambition, or countrey, or accident, or for distinction sake, or lastly upon pleasure or voluntarily. The Auxiliarie Cohorts and Wings, especially locals, had also their severall names, as *cohors Decima septima*, *Decima octava* of numbers, *cohortes Tungorum, Rhætorum, ala Treverum, Caninefæ* of nations. *Ala Syllana, Scriboniana, Petronia*, of Sylla, Scribonius, Petrus their governours as it may seeme at the first enrolment: *Ala singularium*, of what accident I know not.

After the enrolment followed the great mystery of the Roman estate, saith Herodian, *sacramentum militare*, the very forme and silence of a souldier, without which first solemnly taken, or after the expiration of which, as upon the casting of the Legions, though qualified otherwise never so well, though present in the camp, it was not lawful for any to kill, or wound, or prevent himselfe in fight against the enemy. This oath Polybius conceiveth thus: *HMHN HEIΘAPHXEIN KAI FOIHEIN TO PPOZATTOMENON THO TON APKONTON KATA ATNAMIN*. That is, *That they should be obedient, and execute to the uttermost of their power whatsoever should be commanded them by their superiors*, lib. 6. Dionys. lib. 11. not much otherwise. *ὅς ἐστι τὸ σπασμωδὸν ὁ ἀρχηγὸς ἐκείνῳ, ὅς ἐστι τὸ σπασμωδὸν ὁ ἀρχηγὸς ἐκείνῳ*. That is, *The military oath which the Romans sw. are to their Generall commandeth the souldiers to follow whithersoever it pleaseth their Generalls to lead them*. Livy lib. 2. *Milites tunc jurjurando a Tribuni militum adacti jussu consulum conventuros, neque injussu abiturus*. With these agreeth that of Vegetius lib. 2. cap. 5. *Fiunt milites se omnia strenue facturos que præceperit Imperator, nunquam deserturos militiam, nec moriem recusaturus pro Romana Republica*. In the place of Livy before quoted mention is also made of a voluntary conjunction, *que postea*, saith he *ex voluntario inter milites federe ad legitimam jurisjurandi adactionem translata est*. The forme of it was *FVG AE AT QVE FORMIDINIS ERGO NON ABITVROS SE SE, NE QVE EX ORDINE RECESSVROS, NISI TELI SVMENDI AVT PETENDI, AVT HOSTIS FERIENDI, AVT CIVIS SERVANDI CAVSA*. Beside this oath I finde another oath tendred, which we may call the oath of allegiance and soveraigntie. Whether it was in use before the Emperours time, or not, I doe not remember. It may be they sware then in *Senatus populiq; Romani nomen*, as afterward they did in *Principis*. Arrianus conceiveth the form of it thus: *HMHN PPOTIMHEIN APANTON THN TOT KAIΣAPOΣ ΣΩTHPIAN*. That is, *That they should preferre before all things the safetie of the Prince*. Marcus Antonius in his funerall oration in Appian pronounceth verbatim and out of his proper the oath they had sworn to D. Julius: *HMHN ΘΤΑΞΕΙΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΟΤ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΩΜΑ, ΠΑΝΤΙ ΣΘΕΝΕΙ ΠΑΝΤΑΣ, Η ΕΙΤΙΣ ΕΠΙΒΟΤΑΕΞΕΙΝ ΕΞΩΔΕΙΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟΤΕ ΜΗ ΑΜΙΝΑΝΤΑΣ ΑΤΤΩ*. That is, *that they all with their might would guard the person of Cæsar, accusing all those that should not defend him, if any attempt should happen to be made against him*. Suet. Caio cap. 15. addeth this formall clause: *neque me liberisq; meos cariores habebō quam Caium & sorores ejus*. The militar oath the souldiers onely as well Auxiliarie as Legionarie received straight after their first enrolment, *ἐνταυτοῖς τὸν καμψαγῆς*, saith Polybius. The oath of soveraigntie the souldier, the magistrate, senate and people of Rome and of the Provinces, *mutatis mutandis* with some little diversitie according to the qualitie of the persons, received at the creation of a new Prince whensoever it happened, and upon the anniversary thereof flatterie increasing, and every year likewise renewed the same the first day of January: at what time the magistrates and Senators also particularly sware *in aña* of the present Prince and of his predecessours, those onely excepted *quorum damnata erat memoria*, as in Caius time and afterward they were not sworn in *aña Tiberii*, nor in *aña Claudii*.

The Roman manner of encamping according to Polybius and other ancient Writers is represented in the figure following.



a The length of the campe I call according to Polybius, from the top of the page to the bottom, and from the left hand to the right the breadth: albeith the latter he calleth as often *βίσις*, as *μέτρον*.

b The Centurions according to Polybius quartering in the two corners toward the street: *κῆρ' ἡγέρθη ὁ σκεπταίω τοις ἀσπίσι τοις ἀπ' ἡμετέρας τοῖς ἐκείνων οἱ πελὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡλασμένοι*.

c *ἦν δὲ πεπομφύ- κενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν*.

d Mathematical.

ly 133. but Po-
lybius useth not
to mince it so
nicely. Neither
were the Ro-
mans so great
masters in that
kind of learning
if we may be-
leeve their owne
Poet, *excelsus*
alii spirant
mollis ara, &c.

ΕΤΥ ΜΗΔ' ΟΥ ΜΕΤΩΣ
ΖΗΜΙΑ ΖΗΣΤΑΙ ΤΩΣ
ΣΠΑΤΤΑΝΕΒΙΔΕΣ ΤΙ-
ΣΤΟΣ ΖΑΝΟΥ ΙΟΥ.
ΠΑΛΛΕΣΤΙ.

Of the other side of the three *f.f.f.f.* are the lodgings of the *Auxiliares equites in dextro cornu*, and at their back the lodgings of the *Auxiliares pedes in dextro cornu*, the horse opening into the three *f.f.f.f.* the foot into the voyde places betwene the lodgings and the trenches, of which we shall have occasion to speake anon. Now the *Equitibus auxiliaries* of a Legion (the Extraordinary Band being deducted) amounting according to Polybius to foure hundred horse, and allowing to three hundred Legionary horse tenn lodgings of a hundred foot every way, we are to allow to these following the same proportion, tenn lodgings each a hundred foot in length (for that way we may increase them) and a hundred fifty in breadth, to make the one as conveniently lodged as the other. And for

Upon the left hand of the street *c. c. c. c.* are the lodgings of the second Legion with her *Auxilia* in the same proportion and order in all points with the first. And so have we the breadth of the camp from the utmost Auxiliary footmen of the one Legion to the like of the other a thousand six hundred fifty foot, or three hundred thirty pace, accounting five foot for a pace.

Now of the hundred fifty foot, which as we noted are between the foundlers quarter and the PRAETORIUM, a hundred foot was the breadth of VIA PRINCIPALIS, of which Treiter, faith Polybius, special care was had, that it should be sweet and handfome, because it was the usuall place of resort for the foundlers in the day time. In the other fifty foote toward the PRAETORIUM was a row of lodgings opening upon VIA PRINCIPALIS, each lodging bearing every way fifty foot, for the twelve Tribuni and twelve Praefecti, scilicet, their traine, horses and carriage a. a. a. a. a. are the lodgings of the fixe Tribunes of the first Legion, the fift lodging answering directly to the Legationy horsemens quarter, and the last to the street f. f. f. f. f. with patiges betweene of thirty foot: b. b. b. b. b. are the lodgings of the Praefecti, (whom as it seems Polybius had forgotten to lodge) answering precisely to the breadth of the Auxiliary quarter, with a voyde space of fifty foot betweene the third and fourth cent. And so of the other side for those of the other Legion, a voyde space of fifty foot being left at 0. to answer the street c. c. c. c.

Extraordinarij Eques, And Extraordinarij Pedites) A plot of a hundred and fifty foot in length (for so it will fall out if we make the whole ground for the lodgings, as we muſt, perfectly ſquare) and four hundred and fifty in breadth, anſwering to the QVABSTORIVM and part of the PRAETORIVM for the Extraordinary band of the

Extraordinarij Eques, And Extraordinarij Pedites) A plot of a hundred and fifty foot in length (for so it will fall out if we make the whole ground for the lodgings, as we muſt, perfectly ſquare) and four hundred and fifty in breadth, anſwering to the QVABSTORIVM and part of the PRAETORIVM for the Extraordinary band of the

1. *Selecti ac voluntarii Equites*, and *Selecti ac voluntarii pedites*. A plot of two hundred foot in length, and three hundred fifty in breadth, where the selected out of the extraordinary band of the *Auxilia prime Legions*, are placed, the Foot quartering toward the trenches, and the Horse toward the *PRÆTORIUM*; and so of the other side for the other Legion, reserving in both place for voluntary men, which upon kinred or friendship, or other respects follow the General. These *Selecti* and *Voluntarii* do not only, faith Polybius, quarter neere the General, but also in marching, and at all other times of any service are continually attendant upon the General and the *Quæstor*, in the nature peradventure of a *Cubors Prætoris*.

F O R V M) a plot equal in both dimensions to the Q U A S T O R V M. Here was the place of public assemblies, and the Tribunal with the seat of state. Here also in likelihood were those *scaui*, *Scaus*, whereof I Josephus maketh mention, on which the Tribunes and Centurions sat in judgement to decide the controversies happening between the fouldiers. In the F O R V M also the Eagles and Ensignes of the Legions with their bearers *Aquiferi* and *Signifery*, certain images of the gods, in latter times of the Prince and his children, and sometimes of his great favorites also, were quartered. Tacitus lib. vi. Annal. describing a solemn assembly in that place, find^t: *fuit hecque hinc agmina legionum steterit fulgentibus aquilis signisque et simulacris deum, in modum templi. Medio Tribunali scdm curiam, sedes effigium Nervus instituit.* The Eagles, excepter adventure in time of assemblies, stood in little Chappels, Dio lib. 4. *ἐν τῷ τοῦ Νέρου θυσίᾳ, ἐν δὲ ἀμφὶ αὐτὴν ἄστυος οὐδ' οὐρα; καθεστάναι δὲ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς σπραντίδος.* That is, In all the Roman armies there is a little chappell, and in it a golden Eagle doth stand. The Ensignes were placed *fuit ibi*, as indeed, being certaine long speares covered with silver with the Princes image hanging upon them under the Empire, they could hardly be planted under a tent. And yet Herodian lib. 4. seemeth to place them all in one chappell. *ἐν ὧν τῇ τῇ νύκτι, ἵδμεν τὰ εὐαγγέλια καὶ τὰ ὑμῶν ἀναγινώσκοντες.* That is, He fate downe in the chappell where the Ensignes and images were adored, *ἀναγιώσκοντες*, faith he, for as well the *Aquila* and *figra* as the *Simulacra deum*, and *imagines principum* were by the Roman fouldiers adored as gods, and therefore the place of their standing accounted sacred. For by *Principia* to often remembred in * Tacitus and others I take the F O R V M to be principally meant, although in some places of the histories *Principia* may seeme particularly to be intend^d of that row of lodgings where the *Tribuni* and *Prefecti* are quartered, specially in that place of Tacitus lib. i. Annal. *Prima pars castris in ambitu, ceteramque Principis trux legumum manus spectabant.* And in some other places of the same ^m Tacitus this word *Principia* seemes to be taken pro *issa Aquila significare*.

The use of this void room is for the commodious entring and issuing of the Legions, for the safe custody of the cattell in the night season, which are provided for the use of the campe, or otherwise catched from the enemy. But the principall commodity is that the enemy upon sudden approaches by night to the trenches cannot throw any fire work, or dart to doe any great hurt in so great a distance.

P. Q. R. S. *Agger*, or *Vallum* *ἀγερ* *ἢ* *ῥαλλιον*, the trench which compassed the whole campe, *Agger* signifying generally *quodlibet rei coactionem*, as ^a one of the Grammarians faith, is here appropriated to that mount of earth which is raised for defence about the campein which certain flakes called *Valli* were pitched with two, three, or foure forked heads to close and wreath one within another, and were for that purpose prepared and carried by the souldier, each man carrying three, foure, and sometimes *usque ad septenos valli*, faith Livy. Of these *Valli* the whole fortification of the campe is called *Vallum*. Varro lib. 4. bringeth two other etymologies : *Vallum quod ea variare nemo possit* : *vel quod singula ibi extrema bacilla furcillata habent figuram litteræ V*. describing rightly the *Valli*. In the *Vallum* in convenient distances were raised and cast out certain plot formes like turrets, and on the *P* curtaine between the turrets were placed *Balistræ*, *βελιστῆραι*, *καταπαλῆται*, *καταβῆλαι*, *is puer* ἀντιστοιχὸν ἑπαυρὸν ἀποστα τοῖς πύλιν τοῖς ἑσπέραις. That is, catapultæ, balistæ, and all engines of shot ready bent : such artillery as that age did afford. And about the *Vallum* they cast a ditch of fixe foor deepe and as much in breadth.

In the *Vallum* of the campe were foure gates. Livius lib. 40. *Aemilius ad quatuor portas exercitum instruxit, ut signo dato simul ex omnibus partibus eruptionem facerent.* and Joseph. 3. ἀλάς. πύλαι, ὅ ἐποικοδομήσαντες ἑκάστη ἕκαστη τῶ ἐπέκεινται ἀμύνης. That is, In every side of the campe a gate is built. So that the sides of the campe being foure, the gates mutually be foure.

H. Porta Prætoria, so called a P R A E T O R I O which standeth neere it : the foregate of the campe, and in times of danger next to the enemy.

K. Porta Decumana, so called à Decimis ordinibus ibi tendentibus (as appears by the former description) the backgate of the campe, and in times of danger furthest from the enemy. Otherwise in places of safety, as appears by Polybius, opportunity of water and forrage was rather respected in the placing of the gate, because all the common soldiers in a manner were quartered upon that side.

M. The third gate of the campe called *Sinistra Principalis*: and L. the fourth called *Dextra Principalis*, so denominated, because they open into *Via Principalis*. Livy in the place 4 above alleged nameth them thus: 1 *Extraordinarii*, 2 *Dextra Principalis*, 3 *Sinistra Principalis*, & 4 *Questoria*: whereof *Extraordinarii* is without all question the same with *Prætorii*, so named of the Extraordinary band: who quartered there: so that *Questoria* in that place must be all one with *Decumana*, belike because in his conceit the *QVÆSTORVM* was not far from *Decumana*. And so it maye seeme he conceived of it by another place, lib. 10. *Ab tegro californum Decumanæ porta impetus factus itaque capium Questorium*. But that placing of *QVÆSTORVM* cannot stand with Polybius description, whom

...the

g Sedes curulis.
H 3. אלמ. cap. 6.
i Coliqs per thura
tra & fora effi-
gies Sejani, inter
que principia le-
gionum fineret.
Iuc. 4. An. qua-
dam munera Sy-
riacis legionibus
largitus est quod
sola nullam Seja-
ni imaginem insi-
gna coluissent.
Sues. Tiberio. c. 48

k 1. *Hift. In tpis*
principis hystor.
aufa 3. Hift. Nox
proditiōis ellet
ut exteru ignari
foli defectoris in
principis coirent.
Ibidem seque
castrum affe.
stans in principia
vocar. Paulo post
sed ubi teus cofe
tijama proditi.
recurrent in princi-
pia miles.
1 *Principia.*
expetis, ad tē
expetis, ondu.
the leaders
loingis.
m 2 *Hift. Eriman*
strati uacroece
stimatorum princi-
pium Agulna
uacere. 4. An.
effigies. Iam in
stati in principia
legationem.
n *Servius in 10*
Aeneid.
o *Vallum, faich*
Servius in 9. E
neid. p3. muniti
valli. fuisse quibz
vallum munitur.
p *enī p3. munitur*
suppl. Iofeph, 3.
enīo. c. 6.
q *Libido.*

in this case we are rather to believe. Now that *Pretoria* was nearest to the enemy, and *Decumana* further off, it is evident by *Cæsar* li. 3. *de bell. civ. Pompeius*, faith he, *acie accersit, protinque se in castra equo contulit, & centurionibus quos in statione ad Pretorium portum posuerat, clare, & summi, inquit, castra.* And immediately after: *Pompeius cum intra vallum nostrum cursarent, equum nactus Decumana porta se ex castris eiecit.* That *Pretoria* was the foregate, and *Decumana* the backgate, it appears by the place of *Livy* above alleaged, lib. 10. *ad tergo castrorum Decumana porta impetus factus*: and yet *Polybius* calleth the side where *K.* standeth perpetually *τὸ ἐξωστὸν πύλωνα τὸ πρὸς τὸν ποταμόν*. That is, The foreside of the campe: and that other wherein *H.* standeth *οὗ ἐνδὸν πύλωνα τὸ πρὸς τὴν ὁδόν*. That is, The backside of the campe, as I thinke, only by way of supposition and *doctandicaul*, because in his description of the lodgings he beginneth at the *P R A E T O R I U M*, and proceedeth on forward toward *Porta Decumana*.

Thus have we a description for two of Polybius ordinary Legions with their *Auxilia*, which was the ordinary army of one Consul: a camp perfectly square, nor as the Grecians (although if Frontinus fay true, the Romans took this whole learning of Pyrrhus a Grecian) who framed their camp according to the ground, whereas the Romans framed the ground to their camp, and distinguished it with streets and passages in so good an order, that a man might as readily finde his place there, as his own house in the town where he was borne. The whole perimetre within the trenches amounted to eight thousand two hundred foot, or one thousand six hundred fifty paces: the trenches amounted to eight thousand two hundred foot, or one thousand six hundred fifty paces: every side, according to the positions already laid, containing two thousand fifty foot. Now when the Legions were much fuller then ordinary, in lodging both horse and foot, the partitions were made proportionably bigger as well in length as in breadth, and so the square figure well retained. But if the *Auxilia* doe exceed, first they contrive the *QVAESTORIUM* and *FORM* into one, and lodge them in the other: or if that doe not suffice, they make more rows of lodgings upon the right and left hand of the *Auxiliare* quarter, enlarging the figure in breadth by that means, and retaining the former length. And likewise if more then two Legions under one General were to be encamped together, the figure was, I suppose, a long square, enlarged only in breadth with more rows of lodgings on both sides the street, *c. c. c. c.* For Tacitus in a place above allaged significth that by measuring the *Principia* we might finde out the number of the Legions, which presupposeth the enlargement in length could not be by that means be so well discerned. But when four Legions under two Consuls were to be joyned in one camp, if it pleased the Generals to keepe their standings apart, it was likewise a long square, but doubled in length, in all other respects agreeing with this description: and the campe so doubled contained twice as much ground, perimetre halfe as much more with six gates, two *Decumane*, two *Sinistre Principales*, and two *Dextre* without any *Prætorium* at all. But when it pleased them to pitch together, they placed the *FORM QVAESTORIUM* and *PRÆTORIUM* in the middle betweene the two armies; the *Extraordinarij* and *Auxilia* extending quartering, as it may seeme, in this case, betweene the Tribunes and souldiers lodgings in the same quantity of ground as before, and with convenient streets on both sides.

The General Officer over the Campe was called *Praefectus Castrorum*: "to whose charge appertained to stake out the Campe and see it kept sweet, to appoint and order the trenches and ditch, to quarter the souldiers with their carriage and lodging, to provide dyer and physicke for the sick, and pay the Phylitian, &c." Particularly over the Smiths, Carpenters, and other artificers, with the Engineers, and such like, the officer was called *Praefectus fabrum*. Both of them, as I thinke, lodged in *QVAESTORIO*, where it is likely the *Legati legionum* also were quartered, and in the free state the *Legati consularis*.

10. Allone as ever the tents were pitched, and camp fetled, all which followed the Campe both bond and freere-
 ceived an oath called *sacramentum castris*, which according to Polybius was, ΜΗΔΕΝ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΓΑΡΕΜΒΟ-
 ΑΣ ΚΑΕΥΕΙΝ, ΑΔΑΑΚΑΝ ΕΡΘΗ ΤΙ ΤΙΣ ΤΟΤ' Τ' ΑΝΟΙΞΙΕΙΝ ΕΝΙ ΤΟΤ' ΧΑΙΡΑΠΧΟΡΕ.
 That is, That he should steale nothing out of the campe, but if any happened to finde ought he should carry it to
 the Tribunes lib. 6. and in another place he toucheth a matter of greater importance, concerning the just represen-
 tation of the spoile in the sacking of cities, a point most profitably induced, whether the spoile were to be reserved
 to publicke uses, or else divided among the souldiers, whereof the worst sort are commonly most nimble that way.
 But chiefly it stayed the mindes of those, who by the Generals commandement remained in armes in the market
 place against all sudden mischances of warre, being assured thereby of equall part with the rest in the prey which
 should be taken by others. *Autus* & *Gellius* setteth the very forme of the oath downe in more particular termes out
 of *Ciculus de re militari*; *In exercitu decemque milia passuum prope futurum non facies dolo malo solus, neque cum pluribus prius
 nummi argenteis diti fregulis. Extraxae hastam, hastile, ligna, pabulum, utrem, follm, faculam, si quid ibi invenimus quod
 pluris nummi argentei crederi, uti tu ad Coss. sine ad quem corum alter iussisset perferas, aut proficere in tria milia, proximo qui quid
 invenimus subtiliusque dolo malo, aut domino tuo cuiusmodi est censebis esse redder, uti quod velle factum esse volas.*
 In these words the Generals commandement is expressed.

In service the Legionarie fouldiers had allowance of pay, corne and apparell: and at the end of his service a consideration in money, or land of inheritance, and sometimes both. For the pay Livy * writeth thus: *Anno urbis condite 249. decrevit Senatus ut stipendium * miles de publico acciperet, cum ante id tempus de suo quisque sanctus tu munere esset.* The quantitie Polybius limeth in the sixth booke, at least as it was in his time, assigning to a footman the third part of a *drachma*, or two *oboli* by the day, which Polybius in another place resolveth into foure *as*, to a Centurion twice so much, to a horseman a *drachma*, or Roman *denarius* then current for twelve *as*. This pay continued, as I suppose, in this forme till Cæsar's time, *qui legionibus stipendium in preceptum dedit.* Suetonius Julio. cap. 6. So that the footmen had by the day eight *as*, the Centurion sixtine, the horse twenty foure. Augustus increased the footmen's pay to *ten as* a day, and as it seemeth shortly after it rose to a full *denarius*. Besides wages the fouldiers received in latter times *vestimentum de publico*, as it were some livery garment, nor all his apparell, as I suppose. Plutarchus Græchis, among the lawes which were established by C. Græchus, one was, *faith he, στρατιωτικὰ, ἱερὴν καὶ ἀνδρῶν ὑποπόδησιν.* *ἡ γὰρ τὴν αἰῶνα τῶν πολεμικῶν ὑποπόδησιν.* That is, Military, commanding a garment to be given the fouldier by the officer without any deduction of wages therefore. For before, as it appeareth by Polybius, they received apparell, and other necessaries of the Quæstor, but the price was set up in their wages. Vegetius lib. 2. cap. 19. *Imperatoris miles, qui vestie annona publica pascitur.* Thirdly they received *frumentum*. Vegetius in the place above alledged, *Imperatoris miles qui annona publica pascitur.* And in the free state,

Schluss

Salut. Jugurth. Stilis frumentum publice datum vendere, panes in diem mercari. In Polybius time the price was deducted out of their wages, and so it continued long afterward: for Nero was the first, which unto the Prætorians (who were in all preferences the foremost) *dedit (line pretio frumentum,* which before they had at some under price, Tacit. 15. Annal. The measure was to a footman for a month two thirds of an Athenian *Medimnus* of wheat: to a horseman two *Medimni* of wheat, and seven of oats or barley: as having, as it may be supposed, a spare horse, and an attendant or two allowed. Polyb. lib. 6. Donatun Terence limiteth *dimenjunjervi* to be four *modii* the month, precisely agreeing with the rate of Polybius footman in this place. For a *medimnus* contained justly *fix modii*, according to Tully *Frumentaria in Pærem*, Suidas, and others. Herodotus Polynnia victualleth Xerxes people at a *chænis* (that is, the fortieth eighth part of a *medimnus*) a day, and that was indeed *heptan* ~~of~~ *Egypt*. That is, a daies allowance. *Suidas & alij*, among the Græcians, somewhat lesse then Polybius rate, who alloweth thirty two *chænis* the month. For the quantitie of *medimnus* and *modius* thus we may gather it. Quadrantal is the measure of a cubical i Roman foot. Festus and others. Now quadrantal containeth *tredecim modios* according to Volufius Maritianus, which is half a *medimnus*. So that a measure of a square Roman foot in the bottom and the third part of a foot high, is the Roman *modius*: and of two foot high with the same bottom, an Antical *medimnus*. Of our vulgar measures *medimnus* were lesse then a bushel and a half, and *modius*, which our common learning construeth for a bushel about a pinte lesse then a peck. For consideration at the end of their service the old souldier had oftentimes an assignement in land of inheritance, as after the second Punick war the Senat ^{at} awarded to them which had served in Affrick *quod agri Samnitici & Apulij publicum populi Romani esset*, and at other times upon like occasions, Sylla to the ¹ Legions which had served under him in the civill warres, *ἐπισημειωσέν τε τοῖς πολέταις τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γῆς, τὴν ἑξῆς ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ ἀδικοῦσαν, ἥ ἢ καὶ πόλιν ἀναβέβηκεν*. That is, distributed much land in Italie: some which had lien in common before, & some taking it by force from the owners: not only as in recompence of their former service, but much more to have so many good souldiers at hand, whose fortune could not be severed from his, and whom he might raise in a moment the case so requiring. The like upon like respects did Cæsar Julius placing his *veteranæ legiones* in colonies about him. Antonius & Augustus conspiring against the state, named before had eighteen of the fairest and richest Cities in Italie, as Capua, Rhegium, Venusia, Nuceria, Beneventum, Ariminum, &c. which they promised to distribute and part among the souldiers after the warre, *αὐτοῖς ὑποσχέται το ἡμίονας*. That is, both lands and houses: voiding all the old inhabitants, and accordingly for the most part performed it: under the Empire all ^a provinces were replenished with such militar colonies. For consideration in money at the end of their service before Augustus time I finde no hint for down. At the triumph after some great warre the souldier had some little remembrance: at the triumph of ^a Africanus fortie *asses* a piece, two shillings six pence English. At the triumph of ^a Paulus fortie five *asses*, double the Centurion, triple the horse. At the triumph of ^p Pompey out of Asia ⁴ fifteen hundred drachmes a common souldier, and the rest in proportion, so much was either wealth or ambition grown in so few yeares. At the triumph of ^c Cæsar after the civill warres the souldier ⁵ five thousand drachmes, the Centurion ten thousand, the Tribune twentie thousand. Augustus reducing into a certaintie upon the Guard-souldier at the end of sixteen yeares service ¹ bestowed five thousand drachmes, upon the legionarie at the end of twentie, three thousand. For the pay of the *Auxilia*, the allies in the free state had their pay and ^v paymaster, from whom, as living in some equality of alliance, and yet recognizing a superiority. Some allowance in corne they had even in Polybius dayes from the Romans. In Augustus time first, and join the Empire the Social *Auxilia* carrying arms more for the maintenance of the Princes estate, then for the interest of their own liberty, received their pay and other commodities of the Prince as well as the Legions.

It remaineth now to consider the number of the Legions and men which the Romans commonly armed, or armed at the highest, or possibly could arme. Rome in her infancie had onely one Legion, according to Dionysius and Varro, consisting of three thousand footmen, and three hundred horse, as before it is shewed: notwithstanding the words before alleaged of Plutarch, a man of baser alloy, seem to import a multitude. After the Cambrines, and Antennates were incorporated, the Romans had then, saith Dionysius lib. 2. six thousand Legionary footmen, that is according to the usage of that time, two complete Legions. In his time againe the Sabins, Romulus armed of his own people, and from his grandfather twentie thousand footmen, and eight hundred horse. Dionysius. Afterward the Sabins being received into the citie, and the Cambrini with others, at his Death Romulus left the City furnished of fortie fix thousand footmen, and little lesse then a thousand horse; a great and almost incredible increase in one mans reigne. In the time of Tullus Hostilius third King of the Romans by the ruines of Alba the Roman forces were doubled. Dionysius lib. 3. Which if it be true in Grammaticall understanding, the state of Rome at that time was able to make welne an hundred thousand men to the field: an excecive number of fouldiers, seeing the whole cencie, which contained all men above seventeen yeares, not so bond nor mechanically, in Servius time amounted but to eightie thousand, or eightie foure thousand seven hundred, as Livie and the same Dionysius doe witness; although Fabius Pictor indeed maketh it the number of men able for service, something approaching to our number collected by consequence out of Dionysius words. In the free state from the beginning in a manner without interruption, they commonly armed every yeare foure Legions with their Auxilia, as Polybius an eye witness, and (i) Livy doe testifie, which according to the lowest reckoning of those times with the Auxilia make thirty two thousand footmen, and foure and twenty hundred horse. And this was their ordinary yearly flint, observed even in peaceable times, and as it were to keep their hands in: a point of great consideration and necessary use in a warlike common-wealth. But how many they armed upon occasions, or possibly could arme, is another consideration. In the bartel ad lacum Regillum, Anno urbis condite 257. the Romans put in the field twentie foure thousand, that is six complete Legions, as the Legion was then, and three thousand horse, five hundred as it seemeth to a Legion, which exceedeth greatly the use of that age and the Latines, at that time enemies not Auxiliaries, fortie thousand footmen, and three thousand horse. In the censf two yeares before was censed an hundred and fifty thousand seven hundred, of which, exempting those which were above militarie age, we may reasonably presume the one half sevenitie thousand at least to have been serviceable men for the field. Anno urbis condite 245. the yeare after the kings were excluded, the censf was an hundred and thirctie thousand *πλὴν τῶν ἡγεμόνων*. That is, Of those seventeen yeares and upward, and the number of persons men and women

i The Roman
foot lesse then
ours by halfe
our inch.

k *Liv. lib. 31.*
l *Appian. 1. Europ.*
which were,
saith he, thirty
two, *Liv. in epi-*
toma 89. fortie
seven, as I think,
by corruption
of copy.

*m Seneca conso-
lar. ad Albinum*

c.7. Hic populus
quor colonias in
omneis provincias
misi? ubicunque
vicit Romanus
habitat.

n Liv.lib.30.
 o Liv.lib.45.
 p Ancient Mss.

p Appian Mirbr.
q 46. lib. 3. s. 9. d.
r Appian 2. Euq.

r Appian 2. Emφ.
 £ 156. lib. 5. s.
 r Dio. lib. 55.

a Livy in Romu-

lus time, *ad hos*
Romana legio

ducta, saith he,
in the singular

number, and in the beginning of

Tullus Hostilius,
Romanas legiones

jam spes deseru-
rar in the plural

ὁ Ῥωμύλος, εἰς σω-
ταγματὰ στρατιᾶς

παραδίδω, ἵνα
 σου ὁ σωτήρ
 πιστὸς ποιηθῇ.

πιζῶν τευχελίον,
 ὅς.
 ε. ἐ. χαρπυλάρις.

c εἰ χρηταλόχοις.
d Dionys. lib. 2.
e According to

Livy lib. 1.900.
horie in tribus

für die nächsten

ἡ γὰρ σπαρὰ τὸν Ἰξά-
 γηθ' ὅτι τὰ ἐμυθόματα

ἀπίστα δύναμις
καρποφύτης δι-

നാഷണൽ ഓർഗനൈസേഷൻ
 ഫോർ ദി യൂണൈറ്റഡ് സ്റ്റേറ്റ്സ്

၂၆၀ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိ
 ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်တို့၏ အကျိုးအမြတ်
 အကျိုးအမြတ် အကျိုးအမြတ်

g Dionys. lib. 9.
h lib. 1.
i lib. 8.

i lib. 8.
 k Dionys. lib. 6.
 l Dionys. lib. 5.

in Dionys. lib. 5.

Г
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1

d
n

women above three hundred thousand. Now halfe of the cenſe, or a quarter of the heads in common intendment being accounted men of the field, we may probably conclude, that the ſtate of Rome in thoſe dayes was able to put ſeventie thouſand, or not much leſſe in armes. Anno urbis conditæ 360. Quatuor nunquam ante exercitus, ſaith Livy lib. 2. legiones decem efficit. Dionyſius addeth ἑκατὸν πεπαιγμένους τεύχεσι. That is, each of them conſiſting of 4000. men. So that the Romans armed that yeare actually forty thouſand men of themſelves, without the Auxilia of the Latin nation, whom it was not thought convenient as yet pati retrahere arma. In the war of the Decemviri contra Sabinos & Aequos ten Legions were levied οὐκ ἐπιβουλεύοντες ἀλλὰ κατὰ νόμον συγκαταστήσαντες τὴν βουλὴν αἰετοειδῆς. That is, Accompanied with as many more of the Latines, and their allies, Dionyſius lib. 11. Summe eighty thouſand. Anno ab urbe condita 486. upon the revolt of the Latine nation, the Romans armed forty thouſand footmen, and three thouſand horſe. Livius lib. 8. Undique non urbana tantum, ſed etiam agrestis juventute, d. cem legiones ſcripte dicuntur, quaternum millium & ducentorum pedum, equitumque trecentorum, quem nunc novum exercitum, ſi qua ætate viſus ingruat, he vires p. Regibus vix terrarum capiti orbis contrahite in unum haud facile efficiant; adeo in que laboramus ſola crevimus, divitiis luxuriante. Between the firſt and ſecond warre Punick, at what time the cenſe of the Citizens prickd about three hundred thouſand, a full view being taken of the forces of them and their allies in Italie, there were found, as P Polybius reporteth, above ſeven hundred thouſand footmen able to beare armes, and ſeventy thouſand horſe, an incredible number if we compare it with latter ages: and produced by Diodorus Sic. 2. Bibliot. to confirme the admirable populouſneſſe of ancient times notwithstanding that Cæſars Apian writeth Romæ in few yeares fought in France with four millions of men, a number comparable with Xerxes armie, which dried up with drinking the rivers, failed the mountains, bridged the ſea, as Horics and Panegyricks make us beleve. Anno urbis cond. 538. & 539. & 543. in the ſecond Punick warre, the Roman ſtate armed twenty three Legions, which according to the count of that time riſeth to an hundred and fiftene thouſand Legionarie footmen, and almoſt ſeven thouſand horſe. After the third Punick warre, in which time the cenſe was about four hundred thouſand, in bello ſociali the Romans armed an hundred thouſand : the ſocii as many on the contrary ſide, beſide ſufficient garriſons in their ſeverall Cities. Appian Ep. 1. In the civil warre of Sylla the Conſuls had two hundred Cohorts of five hundred a peece, Ep. 1. and Sylla twenty three Legions, which Appian reſolveth into an hundred and twentie thouſand: on both ſides two hundred and twenty thouſand. In the Civil warre between Pompey and Cæſar, about which time the cenſe amounted to a foure hundred and fifty thouſand, Pompey had 7 fixty thouſand and five hundred men, Caſar eighty Cohorts, in which were but twenty two thouſand, and two Cohorts preſidio caſtris lib. 3. de bello civili. After Cæſars death when the peace was made at Mutina to trouble the ſtate, Officines a had twenty Legions: Antonie twentie: Brutus eight: Caſſius twelve: Lepidus three: Dolabella two, and at leaſt one in Africk. Summe ſixtie fix: all at one time: which following the rate ſet down in Antonius oration, ſ Ep. (an hundred and ſeventy thouſand ſouldiers in twentie eight Legions) in fixty fix bringeth our better than four hundred thouſand, the greateſt reckoning actually in arms that we read of hitherto in the Roman ſtate. After the civil warres ended, Auguſtus ſetting the ſtate, and removing armies out of Italie, eſtabliſhed in the provinces and limits of the Empire. 23. Legions with their Auxilia, that is, according to the Poſitions already laid, two hundred ſeventy ſix thouſand ſouldiers. Tiberius maintained twenty five Legions, that is, three hundred thouſand ſouldiers, placing in the two Germanies eight Legions: in Spaine three: Africk two: Egypt two: Syria four; Illyricum fix: to wit, twin Pannonia, two in Mœtia, two in Dalmatia, Summe twenty five.

In Britannic (c) three,

In Spaine two,

In Gallia (m) Lugdunensi one,

In High (m) Germany three,

In Low Germany four, 9

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In Pannony two,

In Dalmatia two,

In Meefia three

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In Africa one,

In Egypt two,

In Syria¹ four

Secunda (f) Augusta.

2 Nona Hispaniensis.
 3 Vicefima (g) Victrix.

(h) Sexta, (i) Ferrata
(k) Decima, (l) Ger

(n) Prima (n) Italica.

(o) Quarta, (p) Macédoe
(p) Decima oitava, e

2(q) Vnaetvicefima (r.
-Prima

Quinta.

- Decima sexta.

Septima * Galbiana.
Tertiadecima * Ger

Vndecima ^b **Claudio**

S^d Tertia • Gallica.

Septima & Claudiana
Octava & Augusta.

sta.
I^k Tertia Cyrenaica

1 Duoetvicesima Pri

Quarta Scythica.
Sexta & Viatrix.

9 Duodecima: Fulm
Vicesima. if the plac

continued from A

In Jewry ^sthree, { Quinta v Macedonia.
Decima x Fretensis.
Quintadecima x Apollinea.

At Rome one, {Prima^b Adjutrix^b Classica

In this Catalogue Prima Italica de Gallia Lugdunensis, Prima Adiutrix at Rome, and Septima Galbiana de Pannonie were conscribed by Nero and Galba: The seven Legions of Germany, Duoetvicesima of Egypt, and Nona of Britannie were established by Tiberius Cæsar, or Claudius, or peradventure some of them in the latter times of Augustus. All the other nineteene were undoubtedly founded by Augustus, and in *esse* years before Augustus death: for albeit two of them beare the name of Claudius, Vndecima Claudiana in this Catalogue of Dalmatia, and Septima Claudiana of Mœcia, it was not because Claudius was their founder, but as Dio faith *ἐν αὐτοῖς αὖ τῇ τῷ Καυκασίου ἰπποκράτους καὶ αὐτῶν τοῦ Κανταύου*. The rest of the Countries had either no souldiers at all, or but onely some (c) Auxiliary garrisons of cohorts and wings, *quas persequi*, faith Tacitus 4. Annal. *incertum est, cum ex usu imperii huc illic mearant, gliscere numero & aliquando minuerentur*. Yet may we reasonably presume out of Tacitus (d) words, that the Auxilia annexed to the Legions joynted to these locally, were in number not inferior to the Legions considered alone. This number of Legions or there about we finde retained many yeares in the Romane Empire. Flavianus de Hadriano apud Spartianum. *Non vicesimadeitis, familiaribus, qui non paucius me illam omnibus doctiorem credere, qui habet triginta legiones*. In Alexander Severus time (c) Dio reckoneth thirty two Legions where of two and twenty are the same that we have found in Galbaes time, the nine remaining of the thirty one which we had under Galba, being miscarried in the meane time, or joynted to some other; to wit, Nona of the Brittsish, all the seven Legions of Germany, and Vicecima (secunda) of Egypt. And for Quinta and Decimaquinta in low Germany we are assured by Tacitus of their ruine at Vetera. In stead of these nine thus decayed, we have ten other named by Dio: Secunda Adiutrix, and Quarta Flavia enrolled by Vespasian; Prima Minerva by Domitian; Secunda Ægyptia and Tricesima Germanica, otherwise called Secunda Trajana and Tricesima Vibia by Trajan, Secunda Italica and Tertia Italica by Marcus; Prima Parthica, Secunda Parthica, Tertia Parthica by Severus. The catalogue of the Legions which at this day is extant in the Court of the Capitoll, and is evidently more modern then Dio, hath the same number with Dio, and nine and twenty of the same Legions, only in the particular names in stead of Vicecima, Septima Galbiana, and Tertia Italica which are in Dio, it hath *Vicesima Secunda Primigenia, Septima Gemina, and Decima sexta Flavia*. And of the Legions in Galbaes time, that monument hath but onely twenty lacking (to wite the same nine which are wanting in Dio) Septima Galbiana, and the Vicecima which we have placed in Syria. Now thirty one Legions Imperiall, which in Galbaes time we do finde, according to our suppositions containe an hundred eighty six thousand footmen, and eightene thousand six hundred horse. The Auxilia of the one kinde are of the other in number not much otherwise So we have in these times usually maintained by the Empire, footmen three hundred twenty two thousand, and horse thirty seven thousand two hundred at the smallest reckoning. Whose ordinary pay, beside corne and some apprell, at one *denarius* or *dachme* a day for the footman, and three for the horse, beinde the increase of wages given to the officers, amounteth by the yeare to a hundred twenty six millions five hundred fourteen thousand *denarii*, in our money five millions five hundred sixteen thousand sixty two pounds and ten shillings; which is more then the great Tuke at this day receiveth in two years toward all charges. And yet they maintain'd beside a Guard of many thousands for the Prince with double pay, another for the Provoyt of the City, with many Cohorts of Night watchers, and many armades with proper souldiers annexed, as shall be declared. Neither can we finde throughout all the Romane story for lack of pay any disorder or mutinie to have grown among the souldiers though otherwise very mutually dispised,

The service at home in the City was performed by three sorts of soldiers principally, *Pretoriani*, *Vibani*, and *Fidvles Praetoriani*, *σπῆραι*, the Generals pavilion, be he Consul or Praetor, or else whatso ever; and *Pretoria cohort* a band of choicest men to the guard of his person, so named by Scipio Africanus, but induced before in Romulus time by the name of *Celeres*, (*celeritas est fortitudo et nobilitas*), *οὗτοι δὲ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ σώματι ἐκείνην ἡμέραν ἐξήκουσαν* *ἐκείνην ἡμέραν* *ἀφ' οὗ καλεῖται τὸ σῶμα τούτου*. That is, Whom alwaies he had about him being 300. in number for the guard of his person and dispatch of his urgent affairs: Dionysius lib. 2. in the common wealth not used, but (h) abroad in the warre, till Sylla and Caesar usurping the state retained also at home as among enemies their usual guard. But Sylla (1) resigning the state and his guard both at once, howsoever he charged by Caesar *refuse literis*, may seeme to have followed a better Grammar then Caesar himselfe; who dismissing his guard and not his government, committed a notable and dangerous solecisme in matter of state, & opened the way to his own destruction. After the death of Caesar the state being troubled, Antonius by permission of the Senate, *περὺς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀποστασεως*, Thats is, Put a guard about his person, of six thousand men. 2. Eut. And Octavius upstart in the civill againt Antonius, returned out of Campania *εἰς μαγιστὰ πόλιν ἀφ' οὗ ἐκείνην τὸ σῶμα τούτου ἐκαλεῖται* *οὗτος δὲ τὸν σῶμα*. That is, Bringing with him 8000. men under one Fignius for the guard of his person once. And a little after Antonius marching from Brundium to Rome, *ἐκ τούτου στρατηγίου ἀναβάντες ἀφ' οὗ ἐκείνην τὴν πύλιν καλεῖται τὸ σῶμα τούτου*. That is, Selected out of his whole army a Pretorian cohort of the best and choicest men.

In bello Philippensi Praetorian cohort of two thousand going toward Ocrivius, was intercepted at sea by the contrary part. 2. Eut. And after the war Antonius and Octavius *ἀποστρεψάμενοι στρατιώτας συνέλαβον ἐκ στρατιωτικῆς κλίσης* *καὶ διελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκείνην* *ἐκείνην ἡμέραν* *ἀφ' οὗ καλεῖται τὸ σῶμα τούτου*. Thats is, Received into service 8000.ouldiers which desired to continue in pay, & distributed them into Praetorian cohorts Εut. 9. And after the battell at Actium Augustus chawing his fathers fault, and thinking it expedient for the safety of his person, maintenance of his state, & dispatch of affaires to have a readinesse a convenient company of soldiers in armes, established under the name of *Pretoriani*, a guard often thousand men divided into ten cohorts, with Dio lib. 52. Tacitus 4. Annae mentioneth but nine in Tiberius time. In Vitellius time, *privatitate vel ambitu confusus ordo militie, sedecim milibus, quatuor urbane cohortes scribebantur, quibus singula milia insunt*, 2. Hyl. This number of Pretorians consisted e praetioribus Etruria ferme Vinibus que delectis, aut vetero Latino, & colonis antiquitus Romanis, differing in that point onely from the guard of Tyrane

y

f 1. Hist.
 e 5. Hist. Ios. 30
 αλφτ. cap. 5.
 u Dio.
 x Ex lap. Capri-
 toline.
 a 1 Hist.
 b 2 Hist.

c As at this time
Mauritania,
Rhæria, Noricum,
Thracia, &c. Tac.
2. Hist.
d Neque multo
secus in iis auxi-
liis virium.
e Lib. 55.

F Agathias lib. v.
p. 152. sets down
the proportion ob-
tained in the later
Emperours
time far greater
of 64:1000.
fighting men,
which he com-
plains to have
beene by Sulkian
in his later time greatly
diminished
ὁμοῦ πολεμικῶν
καὶ ἐκτακτῶν πλὴ-
νὸς ἀνδρῶν
διεστῆς τῶ ὅλῳ
ἐκτακτοῦ πολεμικοῦ
πλὴνους καὶ πολεμικοῦ
καὶ ἐκτακτοῦ
ἀνδρῶν
ἢ ὅλῳ
ᾧ Λεωτῶν
As in the bat-
tell of Regillus
the Dictator has
shorter delight
circa. F. praefat.
caus. Liv. lib. 2.
i. Appian. 1. 5.
Esp. Sallust and
other.

1 esp. 6.

p Fetus.

q. Suet. Augusto
6. 49. neque un-
guis plures quam
tres cohortes in
urbe esse passus est
Augustus easq. fi-
ne castris, reliquas
in hiberna & esti-
va circa finitima
oppida dimittere
assueverat.
Tacit. 37.
lib. 2.

Καζιζ, 198

v :

first

After the civil warres ended, Augustus having as it were walled the State with Legions, and Aids by land, as before we have shewed, establish'd also to guard the Empire by Sea, two ordinary Armadaes in Italie, the one at Misenum in *maris infero*, to protect, and keep in obedience France, Spaine, Mauritania, Africk, Egypt, Sardinia and Sicillie: another at Ravenna, in *maris supero*, to defend and bridle Epirus, Macedonia, Achaia, Asia, Creta, Cyprus, &c. and out of Italie, one in *Ponto Euxino*, for defence of those countries consisting of forty ships at the beginning of Vespasians time. Eggeppus lib. 2. Beside these Armadaes which remained ordinary for defence of the Empire, *Proximum Gallie* Iulius, faith ' Tacitus, *Rogitate navas presidebant, quas Africæ victoria capis Augustus in oppidum Forojuliense miserat valido cum remige; et bellæ, apud idonea provinciarum secie triremes.* Claudius adjoining Britanny to the Empire, adjoynd also the British Armada. And not onely by Sea, but also upon the Rivers that bordered the Empire, severall Navies were maintained, as *Germanica classis* upon the Rhene, *Danubiana classis*, & *Euphratenensis*, Tacitus, and others.

THE EXPLICATION OF A Place in POLYBIUS, with a defence of the common copie against the opinion of certain great learned men, wherein also the reason of the militar stipend is declared.



OLYBIUS lib. 2. discoursing of the excellent and miraculous fertility of Lombardie, maketh report that a man in his Inne might there be well and plentifully entertained for halfe an *Assis* a meale, which is, saith he, the fourth part of an *Obolus*. His words in our common printed bookes be these. *πολυβίου τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀνδρὸς τὴν ἑξῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀνδρὸς τὴν ἑξῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀνδρὸς τὴν ἑξῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς Ἰταλίας.* That is, They which travell that Countrey, are entertained in their Innes, not bargaining by pcell, but demanding how much in grosse they must pay for a man. And for the most part the Hosts give entertainment with allowance of all necessary things for halfe an *Assis*, that is, the fourth part of an *Obolus*, feldome exceeding that rate. For the better declaration whereof we are to understand, that *Drachma* was a Grecian silver coyne weighing precisely the eighth part of an ounce, and usually divided into six *Oboli*: That *Drachma* and *Decarius* according to the most testimonies in number, and most pregnant in prooffe against the fewer and more doubtful, of the ancient stories are interchangeably used, and so construed in the one and the other tongue, as precisely equivalent: That *Decarius* contained precisely and in all Ages foure *Sestertii*: and at the first was currant for ten *Assis* only, as the name also importeth: but afterward went at a higher reckoning, sometime for sixteen. So that of our silver, whereof five shillings sterling maketh the ounce, *Drachma* or *Decarius* weighed even pence half-penny and *Obolus* was in value penny farthing: *Sestertius* penny half-penny farthing: *Assis* at the first institution, half-penny farthing: and when the *Decarius* went at sixteen *Assis*, of our money but farthing kue cee pence. And if at any time *Decarius* was currant for twelve *Assis*, as Polybius seemeth to make it in this place, then one *Assis* was worth half-penny kue of English money, and an halfe *Assis*, farthing cee, the price of a mans dinner in his Inne in Lombardie. This saying of Polybius seemeth to Budæus an impossibilitie, and to D. Hottoman, page 20. of his book *de re nummaria*, a miracle. Which if Hottoman had said, and said no more, it had bene well said: for as a miracle Polybius put it down, and so it may seeme much more unto us, considering the prices of things in our age. But Hottoman not contenting himselfe to accept it as a miracle, not with that most true and justifiable consideration, as anon shall appeare, that money hath his value by position, and not by nature, by the help of that blessed Art of correcting old copies proceedeth to amend the place, in stead of *ἑκατὸν* an halfe-assis, reading, *ἑξήκοντα*, that is, to *Assis* and a halfe: and in stead of *ἑκατὸν* *ἑξήκοντα*. The fourth part of an *Obolus*, *ἑκατὸν* *ἑξήκοντα*. The fourth part of a *Drachma*: the word *ἑκατὸν*, as he guesseth, being written not at large, but by note, which the next copier not understanding left out: and the note *ἑ*, signifying a *Drachma*, easily slipping into *ἑ*, which signifieth an *Obolus*. And to strengthen his correction he addeth further, that it is a thing never heard of. *Ἡ δὲ Drachma, ἢ decarius duodecim assibus estimatur*, (which must needs follow by Polybius words, as they are printed) *sed et decem duntaxat, vel sed et m.* And so by the aid of that sacred Art of Criticks we have the price of a mans dinner to be a *Sestertius*, or the fourth part of a *Drachma*, in our money penny half-penny farthing kue: a correction both more miraculous and impossible then the text as it standeth. For Polybius himselfe the best witness of the use of his age, in his sixth booke setteth down the Romane footmans pay to the supplying of all charges to be two *Oboli* a day. So that the souldier in three dayes toward his dyet and all other charges, which as it shall appeare, were many and great, shall have but a *Drachma*; and if a quarter of a *Drachma* be the price of a meale in a most plentifull countrey, in a most plentifull countrey in two dayes his three dayes wages are spent in bare meat alone, which me thinks is a miracle as great as the other, unless souldiers keep more fasting dayes then others, who as Xenophon saith some-where, are men which commonly cannot live of the least. And lest a man might suppose, that Hottoman would have laid a heavy hand upon his other place also, if it had happened into his fingers, when this correcting humour was predominant in him, we have by good fortune, his own words to approve the common reading of the printed copy herein for good and authentically. His words be these, page 164. of his booke, *De re nummaria*: *Modum stipendi Polybius lib. 6. scribit suo ten p. c. hoc est, sub initium belli Punici tertii (for so he wrote, or so he should have written, not *secundi*) fuisse in prædium duorum Obolensum.* And surely to him which considereth how many things the souldier had to furnish himselfe out of his wages of two *Oboli*, or eight halfe *Assis* a day beside his diet, as Armor, Apparell, Tents, and such like recorded by Tacitus and others, it cannot seeme strange that in a most fruitful and almost miraculously cheap countrey he might have one meale for the eighth part of his dayes wages, which in other ordinary places arose peradventure to as much more, and even there was not, as it appeareth by the very words of that text, alwayes so little. Now that so great cheapness of victuall is neither possible nor greatly miraculous, but only to us, that judge of that would by our own, it had not been hard to have discerned by that which Polybius writeth not six lines before, where he affirmeth that in the same countrey two *Medimni* of Barley, That is, three of our bushells, were sold ordinarily for foure *Oboli*. That is, sixteen halfe-assis. And I think it no great inconvenience that sixteen persons might dine for the price of three bushells of Barley, or surely much less, then that three persons could not dine under the price of three bushells of Barley a peck and half peck, as it must follow by Hottomans account. *Albenus* in the beginning

gining of the eighth book produceth another testimonie out of Polybius in the foure and thirtieth of his storie, that in Portugall a good far kiddew was usually sold for an *Obolus*, the price of foure mens dinners in Lombardie. And Hottoman himselfe bringeth out of Gellius enough to have withholden him from laying violent hands upon a poore innocent place, that *lege æterna* a sheep was prized at ten *Assis*: for I hold it no absurditie, that twenty persons might dine competently for the price of a sheep. The money, I grant, is but little, farthing cee for a dinner, and so was two pence half-penny weight for a souldiers pay by the day, which weight in silver, now will not finde the least lackey in the campe his breakfast: and yet the Romane allowance in corne, a bushell of wheat by the moneth, will even in our dayes serve the tallest souldier that is. For money receiveth valuation and price by the position of the prince and state, or mutuall convention of men, things most alterable upon every occasion. And therefore the Grecians terme it *νέμας*, because it consisteth of *νέμας*, not *εὐδος*, as being nothing in deed and in nature, but wholly depending upon the voluntary institution of men: whereas the other being a position of nature, remaineth for ever the same. Now why a piece of silver of the same weight and alloy should then go so far, and now do so little, no cause, I suppose, more generall can be assigned, then the great store of that metall. For the excessive abundance of *ἑκατὸν* *ἑξήκοντα* things, things which consist onely upon the institution of man, draweth necessarily *ἑκατὸν* *ἑξήκοντα* those things which nature requireth, to a higher rate in the market. *Capitab Augustus Alexandria*, saith Orosius, *Roma in tantum opibus ejus crevit, ut duplo majora quam antehac verum naturalium pretia statuerentur.* And here in England that which was sold about an hundred yeares agoe for tenne groats, which then weighed an ounce, now since the discoverie of the Indies can hardly be bought for tenne shillings of our currant money, or two ounces of the same goodnesse and weight. And if it should happen hereafter the whole treasures of those countreies to be transported into our Iland, the like plentie presupposed in the rest of the world adjoining, these present prices, which to us seeme so excessive, to them which should live in that age would doublelesse seeme as miraculous as that of Polybius to us. Polybius himselfe as Strabo writeth in the fourth booke of his Geographic, reporteth that upon the discoverie of certain good mines in his time about Aquileia, the price of gold throughout all Italie fell a third part: which in other termes is all one to say, the prices of all things bought with gold rose a third part. As for that which D. Hottoman maintaineth, that *Decarius* was never currant at twelve *Assis*, but either at ten, or sixteen, although it be not much materiall to our purpose, yet surely his negative is not receiveable against this positive place of Polybius inferring the contrary: then it is without all probability, that it should go at ten and sixteen, and never at any middle rate, beside that other learned men maintain directly the contrary with greater reason, as it seemes, and ground of good writers. So surely if men upon private fancie do presume thus to alter publick Records, shortly we shall have just cause to preferre Winkin de word and Badius Ascensius before the Prints of our time, and generally to esteeme those Copies most correct, which have least bene corrected.

Translations

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